BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY

His Excellency the Governor and High Commissioner

to

inquire into Matters relating to the Use of Opium in British Malaya.

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PART I.

REPORT.

LIST OF ATTENDANCES.

MINUTES.

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

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BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

REPORT.

To

His Excellency Sir Laurence Nunns Guillemard, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Straits Settlements and their Dependencies and High Commissioner of the Malay States.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

We, the Committee appointed by Your Excellency on the 27th November, 1923, to investigate the position in regard to the use of prepared opium in British Malaya, have the honour to submit our report.

2. The terms of reference to the Committee, as revised in Your Excellency's letter of the 30th January, 1924, were:—

> "To inquire into and report on the use of prepared opium in British Malaya and the measures existing to control that use; to advise whether any action is desirable to increase that control; and in particular to report whether the following measures are feasible and likely to be effective and beneficial:—
>
> (*a*) that the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops;
>
> (*b*) that a uniform maximum limit calculated according to the number of the adult Chinese male population should be fixed for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption;
>
> (*c*) that opium smokers should be registered and licensed."

3. The Committee consisted of three Government Officers and three Unofficials and, as this report may be perused outside of British Malaya, we have considered it proper to make a brief note indicating the career of each member:—

A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G. (1923), C.B.E. (1919). Joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1896. From 1896 to 1913 engaged in study of the Cantonese dialect of Chinese and in Chinese Protectorate appointments in Singapore, Perak, Selangor and Penang. Then became Colonial Treasurer, Straits Settlements. Superintendent, Federated Malay States Census, 1911 and Secretary, Central Census Committee, Federated Malay States, 1901. Joint Secretary, Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Opium Commission, 1908. Member Coinage Commission, 1917. Chairman, Mercantile Marine Services Commission, 1919. Officer in executive charge of introduction of War Tax on Incomes, 1917. Aged 50 years.

Sir DAVID GALLOWAY, KT. BACH. (1924), M.D., F.R.C.P. (Edin.). Member of Executive Council, Straits Settlements, Vice-Chairman Opium Commission, 1908. Medical Practitioner in Singapore for 38 years with large practice amongst the Chinese. Aged 65 years.

CHAN SZE JIN, Cantonese, born in Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States, educated at Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur and Downing College, Cambridge, B.A., LL.B., Barrister-at-law. Has practised as advocate and solicitor in the Straits Settlements for 13 years. President of the principal Straits-born Chinese Social Club in Singapore. Aged 37 years.

A. S. JELF, Director, Political Intelligence Bureau, Straits Settlements, joined Malayan Civil Service in 1899. Has held various administrative appointments in each of the Federated Malay States and served as Assistant Adviser in Johore. Attached to the Military Intelligence Department, War Office, during the War. Officiated as Under Secretary to Government, Federated Malay States, June, 1920 to December, 1921. Aged 47 years.

LIM NEE SOON, Tiechiu, born in Singapore, J.P., President (1921-1922) of Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Singapore; Chairman of the Oversea Chinese Bank Limited; Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Commercial Bank Limited; Chairman of the Oversea Assurance Corporation Limited; Director of the Eastern United Assurance Corporation Limited; Rubber Estate and Rubber Factory Owner. Owner of Pineapple Plantations. Employs 1,200 Chinese male employees. Aged 45 years.

L. MCLEAN, Acting Financial Commissioner, Johore. Joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1900. Studied and passed in the Cantonese dialect of Chinese. Has held various administrative appointments in the Straits Settlements, Perak and, Selangor before serving in Johore. Aged 47 years.

4. We have held 23 meetings, 21 in the Chairman's Office in Singapore and 2 whole-day meetings in Kuala Lumpur for the convenience of witnesses resident in the Federated Malay States.

5. Eighteen of our meetings were occupied in taking evidence and 71 witnesses were examined of whom 21 were Government Officers.

6. The nationality of the witnesses was: 22 Europeans, 48 Chinese and one Malay.

7. The medical aspect of the question was stated to us by nine medical practitioners of whom three were Government Officers and six were in private practice.

8. The views of Anti-Opium Associations were expressed before us by the two delegates nominated by the Selangor Anti-Opium Society (Messrs. LOKE CHOW THYE and TAN POW TECK) and by Dr. R. M. CONNOLLY, the founder of the Perak Anti-Opium Society. Several other witnesses* were connected with Anti-Opium Societies.

* For example Messrs. LEONG SIN NAM, LAU EK CHING, SHUM CHOOK SAM and FOO BAN SENG are members of the 1924 Committee of the Perak Anti-Opium Society.

9. The 21 official witnesses comprised :—

Straits Settlements.—(7) The Secretary for Chinese Affairs; Principal Civil Medical Officer; Superintendent, Government Monopolies; Inspector of Prisons; Government Analyst; Head of the Preventive Service; and Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs.

Federated Malay States.—(9) The British Residents of Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang; Secretary for Chinese Affairs; Principal Medical Officer; a District Officer from Perak and one from Selangor; Medical Superintendent of the Hospital for Mental Diseases; and Superintendent, Chandu Monopoly.

Unfederated Malay States.—(5) The Superintendents, Government Monopolies, Johore, Kedah and Kelantan; the Chief Police Officers, Johore and Kedah.

10. The following table gives the classification by tribe of the 48 Chinese witnesses of whom 12 were Straits-born and 36 China-born :—

Cantonese ...	18	Hokchiu ...	2
Hokkien ...	16	Hailam ...	1
Tiechiu ...	5	Hokchia ...	2
Kheh ...	3	Hin Hua ...	1

11. The Chinese witnesses included ten who are opium smokers and two who have abandoned the habit.

12. The following table indicates the race and occupation of the witnesses :—

Government Officers ...	18		
Doctors (Government) ...	3		
„ (Private)	6		
Contractors	1		
Merchants*	10		
Planters*	6	Europeans	22
Tin Miners*	5	Chinese	48
Opium-Shopkeepers ...	7	Malays	1
Foremen	11		
'Rikisha Owners	2		
Boat Owners	2		
Clerical	3		
Petition-Writer	1		

* Some witnesses come under more than one classification.

II.

POPULATION OF BRITISH MALAYA.

The countries constituting what is termed in our reference "British Malaya" are the Colony of the Straits Settlements comprising the Settlements of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan; the Protected States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, known as the Federated Malay States; and the Unfederated Malay States of Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei, all of which are under British Protection.

2. The total area of British Malaya is some 56,602 square miles or slightly less than half the area of the United Kingdom, but while the whole of the Colony of the Straits Settlements and the States of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan are opened up and reasonably accessible throughout, Pahang and the Unfederated Malay States generally are less advanced in means of communication, and large tracts of country are extremely difficult of access.

3. The first census taken in the Federated Malay States was that of 1891. The first census of the population in the Unfederated Malay States was taken in 1911. It follows that for all of the countries in British Malaya the only available comparative census figures are those of the persons enumerated in each country in 1911 and 1921 respectively.

4. The 1911 census in Kelantan and Trengganu resulted in few recorded statistics, and the relatively complete data in the other countries of British Malaya for 1911 are not available in respect of those two particular States.

5. The total population of British Malaya enumerated at the 1921 census was 3,358,054, of whom 2,061,622 were males and 1,296,432 were females.

6. In view of the varying stages of development of communications in British Malaya, it is interesting to glance at the division of the population into "urban" and "rural". A perusal of the table (Appendix I) printed on page B 1, shows that of 1,000 of the population of British Malaya 277 only are "urban" residents, the remaining 723 being dotted over rural areas at varying distances from the nearest town or village.

7. The total Chinese population of British Malaya enumerated at the 1921 census was 1,174,777, or 35 per cent of the total population, and comprised 848,776 males (41 per cent of the total male population) and 326,001 females.

8. The total male population of British Malaya of 20 years of age and upwards enumerated in 1921 was 1,415,682, of whom 679,485, or 48 per cent, were Chinese.

9. The problem set to us is held, and we think rightly held, to concern almost exclusively adult Chinese males and is, therefore, connected with a habit prevalent amongst the race which

supplies approximately one-half of the adult male population of British Malaya.

10. We would observe that, although 21 years of age did not coincide with an age division at either the 1911 or 1921 census, we have assumed even distribution over the quinquennial age period 20 to 24 inclusive and have so obtained the figures for adult Chinese males of 21 years and over set out in Appendix III, printed on page B 3.

11. The census records of 1921 do not enable us to distribute the adult Chinese male population into "urban" and "rural", but the table (Appendix II) printed on page B 2, shows that in British Malaya almost exactly half of the Chinese male population resides in towns or villages, the figures being 490 urban to 510 rural.

12. But as part of the problem before us concerns measures of control of the use of opium, and as we hold that measures which are applicable to and enforceable in urban areas may not be suitable to or at any rate not enforceable in rural areas, we feel it necessary to make further remarks on this table.

13. Communications in the Colony of the Straits Settlements are good throughout, and, moreover, the area of the Colony is so small (1,600 square miles only) that "rural" as applied to the Colony is distinctive in sense from "rural" as applied to the Protected Malay States. The parts of the Colony most distant from a town or village might almost be considered "urban" when compared with the inaccessible parts of some of the less developed of the Protected Malay States. We think, therefore, that it is proper to state the proposition as regards "urban" and "rural" distribution of the Chinese male population in greater detail.

14. In the Colony of the Straits Settlements, of 1,000 of the Chinese male population, 764 are town or village dwellers and 236 reside in rural areas.

15. In the rest of British Malaya, other than the Colony of Straits Settlements, whose area is 55,000 square miles, of 1,000 of the Chinese male population 309 are town or village dwellers and 691 reside in rural areas.

16. As the non-adult Chinese males are in all probability proportionately more numerous in the towns and villages than up country, it would not be a great exaggeration to say that, excluding the Colony of the Straits Settlements, the adult Chinese males who live up country in British Malaya are nearly three times as many as the town or village dwellers. We trust that the significance of this fact in connection with measures of control which, however feasible and beneficial they may appear to be and however effective they can be made in towns and villages, cannot be made effective in the up country districts, will be borne in mind.

17. We invite attention also to the approximate number of Chinese males per square mile in rural areas (cf. last column of

table on page B 2) showing 8 per square mile as the average throughout British Malaya, but here again we think it desirable to analyse the table.

18. We find that, whereas in the Colony of the Straits Settlements, the density of the Chinese male population in the rural areas is as high as 53 per square mile, in the rest of British Malaya the average density in rural areas of the Chinese male population is as low as 6 per square mile. When, moreover, it is noticed that in Trengganu and Brunei there are only 8 and 2 Chinese males respectively to every 10 square miles, the range of density of the population with which we are concerned is great enough to emphasise the unsuitability of universal measures, if they are based on suitability to relatively thickly populated areas.

19. An important part of our investigation is concerned with increase or decrease of per capita consumption, and it is unfortunate that estimates of the adult Chinese male population in intercensal years are (for the reasons set out below) almost impossible to make.

20. This difficulty would always obtain because of the constant influx and efflux of the China-born part of the Chinese population. The table (Appendix V) printed on page B 5, shows that the portion of the Chinese male population of British Malaya not locally born is 85 per cent. We may observe that locally born Chinese male children would be proportionately more numerous than those not locally born and that this 85 per cent is, therefore, on the low side as regards the proportion of Chinese immigrant adult males.

21. Since more than 85 per cent of that population are constantly on the move the migration factor is of paramount importance in any attempt to estimate the adult Chinese male population.

22. We have been supplied with records of the Chinese immigrants and emigrants by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements, which are set out in the table (Appendix VI) printed on page B 6. We are doubtful whether sufficient reliance could be placed on the record of emigrants to render possible a computation of the Chinese population in a normal intercensal year.

23. In the particular intercensal period 1911 to 1921 we have to reckon with the following abnormal factors which reacted on Chinese immigration to and emigration from British Malaya.

24. At the outbreak of the recent war emigration was encouraged and in some measure assisted by Government, and during the first year of its continuance immigration was discouraged. When the ban on immigration was removed, shipping difficulties were encountered. The armistice was followed in Malaya by a shortage of rice covering the period from July, 1919 to end of 1920; this had its effect on immigration (and probably on emigration also) and it was immediately followed by the worst phase of commercial depression in the history of British Malaya.

25. As an instance of how speedily and greatly this commercial depression affected the population, we set out the following table from the British Malayan Census Report of 1921 :—

Country.	Number of Houses.	Number of unoccupied houses in November, 1920.	Number of unoccupied houses on 24th April, 1921.
Straits Settlements ...	158,530	12,228	18,179
Federated Malay States ...	352,542	40,743	58,701
Johore	64,708	6,282	11,658
Kedah and Perlis ...	96,768	6,586	13,207
Kelantan	76,075	5,865	9,378
Total ...	748,623	71,704	111,123

26. The increase of empty houses in the 6 months covered by the table is remarkable, and if to that excess in unoccupied houses we apply the 1921 average per occupied house, we get the following decreases in population in less than 6 months :—

Straits Settlements	...	...	36,896
Federated Malay States	...	...	79,015
Johore ...	...	...	28,492
Kedah and Perlis ...	...	...	29,794
Kelantan ...	...	...	15,808

These decreases in population would practically only affect migratory races, *e.g.*, Chinese and Indians.

27. We think enough has been said to show that any attempts to estimate the adult Chinese male population at any time between 1914 and the census of 1921 would be so full of fallacies as to be purely speculative.

28. We understand, however, that it is desired that we should embark on this speculation, and we feel that the only possibility of meeting this desire is to assume the even distribution over the decennial period of the intercensal increase or decrease in the adult Chinese male population of the various territories. We may remark that the more common method of estimating increases in population in geometrical progression is only applicable to resident populations.

29. In view of what is said above we ourselves place no reliance on the results obtained by this method although they are set out in the table (Appendix XIII) printed on page B 13. We furnish the table merely to comply with the request of Government.

30. For comparative purposes the only reasonably reliable figures of Chinese population are those of the censuses of 1911 and 1921. As regards the 1921 figures we would, however, observe that the census was taken in the month of April, and that in those territories in which the slump, which was then at its worst, was most felt it is probable that the Chinese population enumerated at the 1921 census was above the mean population of the year.

31. Trade conditions improved slightly in British Malaya in 1922 as compared with 1921, and this improvement probably reacted favourably on Chinese immigration, while in 1923 a considerable improvement in trade conditions was noticed. We must confess, however, that, having regard to all the circumstances, we are unwilling to attempt an estimate of the adult Chinese male population in 1922 and 1923.

III.

CONSUMERS OF PREPARED OPIUM.

The evidence in regard to the number of persons who smoke or otherwise consume prepared opium is remarkable for its vagueness.

2. The two members of our Committee who were connected with the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Opium Commission of 1907/1908 are satisfied that there is no improvement since that time in the value of the evidence available in this connection.

3. We have had widely varying percentages given to us as the factors to be applied to the adult Chinese male population in order to ascertain the number of opium-smokers of that race. These percentages could hardly be rated higher than mere guesses, except in so far as they were given as representing the proportions of opium-smokers amongst the witnesses' own labour forces.

4. Another method which was adopted by two important witnesses was to assume an arbitrary average consumption per smoker and divide that into the total consumption to arrive at the number of consumers. This method appeared to us to be so fallacious as to have no higher value than a speculation.

5. There are many factors which militate against devising any formula to ascertain the number even of adult Chinese males who are smokers and it is clear to us that nothing short of a logical system of registration in full working order and thoroughly effective would give with any reliability the number of addicts to the opium habit in British Malaya at any time. We shall have occasion to refer to registration elsewhere in this report.

6. It is possible to ascertain the number of smokers and non-smokers amongst isolated sections of the Chinese community, and such work as could be done in that direction has been done. Censuses of opium-smokers have been taken amongst Chinese patients in hospitals and similar institutions; amongst Chinese confined in prisons; and amongst Chinese isolated in establishments for decrepits. A census of opium-smokers amongst the geographically isolated Chinese community in Christmas Island has also been taken.

7. The results of these censuses are set out in Appendices XVIII to XXIII and XXVIII and are worthy of study by those interested in this question.

8. Interesting information as to the prevalence of opium smoking amongst coolies engaged on Railway Construction work is given in Appendix XXVII. It is stated that the proportion of smokers amongst coolies engaged on earthwork in more exposed situations is high, but the percentages given in other cases are relatively low.

9. The variation in percentages at the various hospitals, prisons and decrepit wards is remarkable, and in itself affords an ample excuse for the vagueness and variation of the estimates of consumers given to us by various witnesses as based on their relatively narrow experience of their own acquaintances and labour forces.

10. It seems appropriate in this connection to call attention to the low percentage of opium-smokers amongst Chinese inmates of the Port Swettenham Decrepit Asylum and of the Kuala Lumpur Tai Wah Ward. (Appendix XX).

11. On the other hand, there is the very high percentage (79 per cent) of consumers amongst the Chinese inmates of leper asylums, but in that case we consider that allowance should be made for the desire to forget in the distractions of an almost national relaxation the physical discomforts and restraint on liberty suffered by and enforced against sufferers from such a disease.

12. The results of the Christmas Island census of consumers are set out in the tables accompanying Appendix XXVIII. Although the racial discrimination is not carried out throughout it can easily be inferred from those tables that amongst the Chinese community in Christmas Island at least 80 per cent smoke opium.

13. The Christmas Island percentage is high but this is, perhaps, not surprising in a place of hard labour, cheap opium and comparatively few amenities.

14. The censuses which have been taken of these isolated sections of the community cover some 7,600 adult male Chinese and give a percentage over all of 40 per cent as opium-smokers. This approximates closely to the 43 per cent of smokers included in the Chinese labour force of an estate in Kedah, where the various Chinese contractors employed by the estate made returns to the Manager of the smokers and non-smokers in their gangs. (Appendix LXII).

15. For reasons we have given earlier we lay no stress whatever on the value of this over all percentage but, in regard to the returns set out in Appendices XIX, XX, XXIII, we invite attention to the variation in the percentages of Chinese of the various tribes largely represented in the Chinese community in Malaya.

16. Of the 6,112 Chinese and the 1,852 smokers dealt with in the returns referred to in the previous paragraph the tribal discrimination gives the following results:—1,440 Hokkiens, 508, or 35·3 per cent, smokers; 844 Tiechius, 293 or, 34·7 per cent, smokers; 442 Hailams, 136 or 30·8 per cent, smokers; 1,313 Khehs, 350, or 26·6 per cent, smokers; and 1,753 Cantonese, 460 or 26·2 per cent, smokers.

17. This tribal variation has an important bearing on several aspects of our inquiry and we shall have occasion to refer to it in several places in our report. Here we content ourselves with

remarking that there is ample support in the evidence given before us for the proposition that the Hokkiens are the biggest smokers amongst the Chinese community in British Malaya.

18. In connection with the census of opium-smokers amongst prisoners the following interesting return was furnished by the Superintendent, Convict Establishment, Taiping (the principal prison in the Federated Malay States) showing the opium-smokers amongst Chinese prisoners admitted to that establishment in the twenty-two years 1902 to 1923 :—

Tribe.	Number of admissions.	Number of Opium Smokers.	Percentage of Opium Smokers to Prisoners.
			%
Tiechiu	1,180	693	58·7
Hokkien	1,757	920	52·4
Hailam	336	85	25·3
Kheh	2,031	404	20·0
Cantonese	4,017	722	18·0
Total Chinese ...	9,321	2,824	30·3

19. It is interesting to notice that the tribal order in this twenty-two year record only differs from that given in paragraph 16 above by the interchange of Hokkiens and Tiechius.

IV.

PLACE OF ACQUISITION, ORIGIN OF HABIT AND DOSE.

The Opium Commission of 1907/1908 reported that the general trend of the evidence tendered to them indicated that the majority of smokers acquired the habit locally.

2. We have not had so much oral evidence on the point as that Commission, but the actual result of enquiries made by us or on our behalf supports this view.

3. It seems desirable that we should review the results of these inquiries :—

(*a*) At our suggestion a discreet examination of immigrants on certain ships from China was made. The result of the inquiries shows that of 1,086 immigrants who had never been in British Malaya before, 145, or 13·3 per cent, admitted that they were opium-smokers. (Appendix XXIV).

(*b*) Our own Smoking Room sub-Committee reported that 80 per cent of the 85 smokers questioned by them stated that they acquired the habit locally. (Appendix XLII).

(*c*) In connection with the censuses of opium-smokers in Hospitals (Appendix XIX), 1,170 smokers were asked where they learnt to smoke opium and 829, or 70·9 per cent, stated that they acquired the habit locally.

(*d*) Of the 136 opium-smokers enumerated in Decrepit Wards (Appendix XX) 83, or 61 per cent, claimed to have commenced the habit in Malaya.

(*e*) Of the 584 Chinese inmates of Leper Asylums who smoke opium 341, or 58 per cent, stated that they commenced the habit during residence in Malaya (Appendix XXI).

(*f*) Our sub-Committee who made inquiries as to opium-smoking amongst jinrikisha pullers found that 65 per cent of the smokers acquired the habit locally. (Appendix XXVI).

4. We sum up this statistical evidence by accepting the view that the majority of Chinese smokers in British Malaya commenced the habit in Malaya.

5. It is interesting here to record the opinion of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Federated Malay States, an officer who has had long and intimate connection with the Chinese. In dealing with the class who come here from China as labourers, he points out that in China they would be living in the bosom of their families and subject to parental reproof for commencing the habit and that, moreover, they would not in China have control of the necessary money to indulge in it.

6. We feel that there is great weight and force in Mr. CHAPMAN'S views on this point and we hold that these remarks should be borne in mind as modifying the unfavourable inference that might be drawn from the statement that great numbers of Chinese artisans "contracted the habit under the British flag".

7. In Western Countries emancipation from parental or school control and the concomitant command of means are frequently accompanied by indulgence in relaxations previously prohibited, and it is not surprising that the personal freedom and good wages enjoyed by the immigrant Chinese in Malaya enable those who have any desires in that direction to acquire the habit.

8. Beyond the reasons given by the few witnesses who were opium-smokers, we have no oral evidence of the motives which induced its votaries to take to the opium pipe. We have, however, a certain amount of statistical evidence from our hospital and similar institution censuses.

9. We do not propose to draw any inferences from this statistical information but it appears of interest and we set it out :—

(i) Of the smokers in hospitals dealt with in Appendix XIX, 799 gave answers to the question of their reasons for commencing the habit. Of these 799, three hundred and ninety-two or almost exactly half, gave pleasant relaxation as the reason, the other 407 ascribed their commencement of the habit to a desire to relieve pain.

(ii) Of the smokers in Decrepit Wards (Appendix XX) 112 were asked their reasons for commencing the habit and 45 ascribed it to desire for relaxation and 67 to a desire to relieve pain.

(iii) Of the 584 Chinese smokers in Leper Asylums (Appendix XXI) 454 stated that they commenced the habit as a relaxation and 130 from a desire to relieve pain.

10. The result of these statistics goes to show that, of 1,495 smokers, 891 (or 60 per cent) ascribed their commencement of the habit to a desire for relaxation and 604 (or 40 per cent) plead that they were driven to it by illness. In connection with this latter reason we may mention that experienced witnesses have impressed upon us that Chinese coolies look upon opium as possessing prophylactic and curative properties.

11. Dose.—It is clear from the evidence given to us that the dose is governed by two factors—tolerance and pocket.

12. From the aspect of tolerance, the position appears to be that the amount regularly consumed by one individual without any apparent ill effects might be so great in regard to another individual as to carry with it in his case all the effects of excessive smoking.

13. Tolerance would be the primary governing factor in the middle and upper classes, and pocket the secondary factor.

14. In the case of smokers of the lower classes, numerically the great majority of smokers, the pocket would be the primary consideration, and questions of tolerance might never arise.

15. The range of dose of the opium-smokers who gave evidence before us is from 6 hoons (35 grains) to 1 tahil (583·3 grains) per diem.

16. Sir DAVID GALLOWAY in his paper (Appendix LXXI) gives the daily average consumption per head of the 1,203 cases drawn "from the leisured class with whom expense was a secondary consideration" as 2·74 chees. The present cost of a monthly supply based on this average would be $109.60, a sum obviously beyond the means of at least 90 per cent of the adult Chinese males in British Malaya.

17. Turning to the classes of opium smokers with whom expense would be the primary consideration, we have compiled the following return from the censuses of statistics of the opium smoking patients in hospitals (Appendix XIX):—

Daily Consumption.	Monthly Cost.	Number.	Percentage of total number.
	$		%
Not more than 1½ hoons (8¾ grains)	Not more than 6	137	18·3
„ „ 3 „ (17½ „	„ „ 12	310	41·4
„ „ 6 „ (35 „	„ „ 24	213	28·5
„ „ 9 „ (52½ „	„ „ 36	47	6·3
„ „ 15 „ (87½ „	„ „ 60	20	2·7
More than 15 hoons	More than 60	21	2·8
		748	

18. In regard to the census of Chinese inmates of leper asylums (Appendix XXI) the results of inquiries as to consumption were as follows:—

Daily Consumption.	Monthly Cost.	Number.	Percentage of total number.
	$		%
Not more than 1½ hoons (8¾ grains)	Not more than 6	214	36·6
„ „ 3 „ (17½ „)	„ „ 12	274	46·9
„ „ 6 „ (35 „)	„ „ 24	73	12·5
„ „ 9 „ (52½ „)	„ „ 36	9	1·5
„ „ 15 „ (87½ „)	„ „ 60	12	2.1
More than 15 hoons	More than 60	2	·4
		584	

19. Inquiries in regard to consumption were also made in the decrepit establishments in Taiping and Port Swettenham (Appendix XX), the results being as follows:—

Daily Consumption.	Monthly Cost.	Number.	Percentage of total number.
	$		%
Not more than 1¼ hoons (8¾ grains)	Not more than 6	23	20·5
„ „ 3 „ (17½ „	„ „ 12	80	71·4
„ „ 6 „ (35 „	„ „ 24	8	7·1
„ „ 9 „ (52½ „	„ „ 36	1	1·0
		112	

20. Additional interesting information in connection with this question is furnished in the tables attached to the report of the District Officer, Christmas Island (Appendix XXVIII).

21. The heaviest smoker consumes an average of 3 chees (175 grains) a day and there are 47, or 7½ per cent of the total number of smokers, who consume daily an average of more than 1 chee (58 1/3 grains). The average consumption, however, of the 216 smokers at the South Camp, who represent more than one-third of the total smoking population of the Island, is only 2¾ hoons (15¾ grains) a day.

22. The average daily consumption of the 612 smokers in Christmas Island works out at 3·8 hoons (21¾ grains) and implies an average monthly expenditure on opium by a smoker of $6.50.

23. We consider that having regard to all the circumstances of Christmas Island, this average consumption of and expenditure on opium is surprisingly low.

24. The jinrikisha pullers in Singapore, who were examined by our sub-Committee (Appendix XXVI), gave 6-hoons a day (35 grains) most frequently as their consumption, while the consumption given to our smoking room sub-Committee (Appendix XLII) varies from 1½ hoons (8¾ grains) to 2 chees (116·6 grains) with the most common daily consumption of 3 hoons (17½ grains).

25. Information as regards the consumption of prepared opium by Chinese coolies engaged on Railway Construction work is given in Appendix XXVII. The range of consumption is shown to be considerable but 3 to 4 hoons (17½ grains to 23⅓ grains) daily appears to be the most common amount.

26. We have considered it desirable to collect together such information in this connection as has been available to us. We do not suggest that any inferences should be drawn from the figures given above, as we feel the truth of Sir DAVID GALLOWAY's remark in his paper (Appendix LXXI) that "it is a practical impossibility to ascertain with certitude or even with probability the average consumption of the mass."

V.

CONSUMPTION OF PREPARED OPIUM.

Reliable statistics in regard to sales of prepared opium in the various administrations in British Malaya have been supplied to us by the various Governments for the years in which the Government Monopoly System has been operative in their territories.

2. We have evidence from the Government Monopoly Officers that the stocks in the hands of retailers may be taken as about constant and that, therefore, the sales by the Government Monopolies during a year may properly be taken to represent the consumption of that year.

3. The statistics of sales have been compiled in a variety of forms and weights in Appendices VII to XIII printed at pages B 7 to B 13 as representing yearly consumption.

4. We feel that a study of these Appendices reveals clearly a genuine decrease in consumption of prepared opium in the various territories in British Malaya, a fact which appears to have been called into question in the proceedings of the 1923 Conference of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium (cf. paper C. 418, M. 184, pages 43 and 44).

5. We proceed to an analysis of the Appendices dealing with consumption in regard to each of the administrations.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

6. In the Straits Settlements the index numbers of yearly consumption of prepared opium with 1922 as the basic year are:—

Year.	*Index Number.*
1911	131
1912	125
1913	110
1914	104
1915	107
1916	107
1917	96
1918	116
1919	125
1920	134
1921	112
1922	100

which indicate a reduction in consumption from 1911 to 1922 of 24 per cent. The reduction is most marked in the Settlement of Malacca where the 1922 consumption was only 54 per cent of the 1911 consumption; the reduction in Penang in the same period amounts to 40 per cent but, in the most densely populated and most flourishing Settlement, that of Singapore, the decrease is the relatively slight one of 12 per cent.

7. We have, in an earlier section of this report, stated that it is almost impossible to make an estimate of the adult Chinese

male population in intercensal years, and we can only cite as indicating a decrease in per capita consumption the figures given in Appendix XII relative to 1911 and 1921 when a decennial census was taken.

8. The consumption per adult Chinese male per annum in the Straits Settlements shows a reduction in each Settlement in 1921 as compared with 1911. The following extract from Appendix XII illustrates the point.

Settlement.	Grammes of prepared opium per adult Chinese male per annum.	
	1911.	*1921.*
Singapore	314	250
Penang	318	210
Malacca	302	155
Colony of Straits Settlements ...	**314**	**231**

9. This comparison, taking into account as it does the increase in population, reduces the extent of the difference of the decrease in the various Settlements but leaves them in the same order as before.

10. Indulgence in the habit is undoubtedly affected by economic considerations and we were, therefore, surprised to find when the record of sales of prepared opium in 1923 were put before us that in 1923, which was undoubtedly more prosperous than 1922, the consumption had slightly fallen as compared with the previous year.

11. We give the following comparison for the years 1922 and 1923:—

Settlement.	Consumption in 1922.	Consumption in 1923.	1923 Consumption compared with 1922 as 100.
	Tahils.	Tahils.	
Singapore	932,440	874,815	94
Penang	309,227	319,218	103
Malacca	104,336	119,632	115
Labuan	7,242	8,384	116
Straits Settlements ...	**1,353,245**	**1,322,049**	**98**

12. We conclude our remarks on the Straits Settlements by stating that the continuance of reduced consumption in Singapore in 1923 is significant.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

13. We give the index numbers of yearly consumption of prepared opium in the Federated Malay States from Appendix VIII:—

Year.	*Index Number.*
1911	290
1912	288
1913	257
1914	202
1915	209
1916	212
1917	178
1918	210
1919	194
1920	186
1921	116
1922	100

14. We consider that, whatever may be the cause or causes of the reduction, this table indicates a very pronounced decrease in consumption, and, although the census of 1921 shows a lower Chinese male population than that of 1911, the decrease in population in the decade is small as compared with the decrease in consumption as indicated by the index numbers.

15. In the three Western States of the Federation the decrease is almost exactly identical, in Pahang the decrease though great is not quite so remarkable.

16. In view of the decrease in Chinese population in the period 1911 to 1921, the comparative table of consumption per head per adult Chinese male in those years becomes of more importance than in the Straits Settlements. The figures extracted from Appendix XII are:—

State.	Consumption of prepared opium per adult Chinese male per annum. Grammes.	
	1911.	*1921.*
Perak	288	131
Selangor	296	134
Negri Sembilan	350	100
Pahang	257	136
Federated Malay States ...	**295**	**128**

17. The decrease in the decade 1911 to 1921 of the average annual consumption per adult Chinese male of 57 per cent appears to us to be very remarkable.

18. Following on 1921 we have a further reduction in sales of prepared opium in 1922 but the figures for 1923 which have been supplied to us during the preparation of our report are not quite so satisfactory.

19. The sales of prepared opium in 1922 and 1923 in the Federated Malay States were :—

State.	Sales of prepared opium. Tahils.		1923 Sales compared with 1922 as 100.
	1922.	*1923.*	
Perak	409,701	492,727	120
Selangor	271,309	315,881	116
Negri Sembilan	102,850	121,532	118
Pahang	66,407	76,634	116
Federated Malay States ...	**850,267**	**1,006,774**	**118**

20. A reference to Appendix VIII shows that the consumption of prepared opium in the Federated Malay States in 1923 was approximately equal to that of 1921; though in all the States with the exception of Perak 1923 consumption was less than that of 1921.

21. Appendix LXXVIII printed at page B 122 shows that the average price of tin was in 1923 about twenty-five per cent higher than the corresponding averages of 1922 and 1921.

22. The importance of the tin industry to the Federated Malay States is great and we feel sure that the prosperity resulting from high prices of tin must have brought back to those States large numbers of Chinese who had left them in the slump years.

23. We consider, therefore, that it may safely be assumed that the mean adult Chinese male population in the Federated Malay States in 1923 was greater than in either of the two previous years and that the last column in the table in paragraph 19 above may be regarded without misgiving.

24. We think that some comparisons are desirable in the case of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States with years earlier than 1911, and accordingly we make references to the statistics furnished to the Opium Commission of 1907/1908.

25. The 1907 consumption of prepared opium in the Federated Malay States was accepted by the Opium Commission of 1907/1908 to be the product of 4,883 chests of raw opium. On a normal conversion basis of 1,000 tahils of prepared opium per chest of raw opium, this would shew a consumption in 1907 of 4,883,000 tahils as compared with 850,267 tahils in 1922, the very satisfactory decrease of 82 per cent in fifteen years.

26. The 1907 consumption in the Straits Settlements was officially given to the Opium Commission of 1907/1908 as 1,890,774 tahils. The 1922 consumption is given to us as 1,353,245 tahils, a decrease in the fifteen years of 28 per cent.

27. The officer in charge of the Government Monopolies, Federated Malay States, held that there was an appreciable amount of smuggling from the Federated Malay States to the Colony in the Farm days, but even if we accept that (and it must be remembered that opium Farmers were jealous of their profits and had good intelligence departments) the effect is merely to decrease the percentage of reduction in the past fifteen years in the Federated Malay States and to increase it in the Straits Settlements.

28. Allowing for the increase in consuming population between 1907 and 1922 we consider that what we have said above clearly proves that consumption of prepared opium has declined in considerable proportion.

UNFEDERATED MALAY STATES.

29. Johore is the only one of these States in respect of which census and consumption data in 1911 and 1921 are available.

30. The Johore figures of consumption per annum per adult Chinese male extracted from Appendix XII are 1911, 364 grammes; 1921, 170 grammes. This represents the satisfactory reduction of 53 per cent in the *per capita* consumption in the decade under consideration.

31. The Government Monopoly sales in 1923 in Johore rose to 350,178 tahils as compared with 300,836 tahils in 1922 giving an index number of 116 based on 1922 consumption. This is almost identical with the result in the Federated Malay States set out in paragraph 19 of this Section and compares very favourably with the index numbers in previous years set out in paragraph 34 below.

32. In the other Unfederated Malay States the only reliable data in regard to *per capita* consumption are those of 1921, and we set out from Appendix XII the grammes consumed per adult Chinese male in that year:—

Johore	170
Kedah	204
Perlis	273
Kelantan	253
Trengganu	314
Brunei	232

33. We accept the proposition that consumption by Siamese in Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu is quite appreciable, and the effect of this may even be adequate to account for the excess in the above table of figures in regard to those States as compared with Johore. It is necessary to remember in addition that the slump in tin prices in 1921 would have more effect in Johore than in States such as Kedah, Perlis and Kelantan, which depend for their prosperity mainly on agriculture. We have also been told that smoking by Malays is quite common in Kedah.

34. We extract from Appendix IX the index numbers of sales of prepared opium with 1922 as the basic year:—

Year.	Johore.	Kedah.	Perlis.	Kelantan.	Trengganu.	Brunei.
1911 ...	164	...	...	...	...	...
1912 ...	164	...	...	...	...	...
1913 ...	138	132	91	...	...	119
1914 ...	119	132	93	...	...	107
1915 ...	156	133	100	98	...	107
1916 ...	178	148	107	109	...	123
1917 ...	163	152	93	105	...	115
1918 ...	162	177	109	125	239	126
1919 ...	179	172	111	138	260	147
1920 ...	194	170	107	140	305	148
1921 ...	100	135	100	125	190	119
1922 ...	100	100	100	100	100	100

35. It is, course, difficult to draw any very definite inferences from the figures for States such as Kelantan, Trengganu and Brunei, which are in a relatively early stage of development. An influx of Chinese coolies for Railway Construction in the first named, an influx of Chinese tin prospectors in the case of the second and of oil prospectors in the third would, having regard to the smallness of their Chinese population at the last census, adversely affect the value of such inferences.

36. We have been informed that the 1923 sales of prepared opium in Trengganu amounted to 26,543 tahils which gives an index number of 116 with 1922 as the basic year. We may remark that this is far below any figure other than that of 1922 in the Trengganu column of the table in paragraph 34 above, and that the increase in 1923 in Trengganu, which depends greatly on tin for its prosperity, closely corresponds to the increases in 1923 in the Federated Malay States and Johore.

37. In regard to Brunei we have seen records indicating that the 1923 consumption gives an index number of 131 based on 1922 consumption, but concurrently with this increase there has been considerable activity in oil prospecting with a corresponding influx of Chinese labour into a State where the Chinese population is small.

38. We consider that the table in paragraph 34 above is quite satisfactory from the point of view of increase or decrease in indulgence in the opium habit. It appears to us to indicate that the habit is not increasing in its hold over the people of the Unfederated Malay States.

39. The combination of the influences operative in the last decade have had an appreciable effect on the extent of indulgence, and the sudden rises in index numbers throughout British Malaya in the highly prosperous years of 1918, 1919 and 1920 are pleasing rather than the reverse because they indicate that the economic element is an important governing factor in the habit.

VI.

EXISTING MEASURES OF CONTROL OF THE USE OF OPIUM.

In all the territories in British Malaya the "Farm" system has been abolished and replaced by the Government Monopoly System.

2. The Government Monopoly System came into operation on the dates set out below in the various administrations which are covered by our reference :—

In the Colony of the Straits Settlements and the States of Johore and Kedah	1st January, 1910.
In the State of Perlis	12th April, 1910.
In the Federated Malay States ...	1st January, 1911.
In the State of Brunei	1st January, 1913.
In the State of Trengganu ...	2nd March, 1917.

3. In the Settlement of Labuan the Monopoly System was only brought into force on the 1st January, 1913, while Christmas Island (an isolated part of the Settlement of Singapore) is not yet subject to the Government Monopoly System. The opium consuming population of Christmas Island consists almost entirely of employees of the Phosphate Company operating in that Island, and the Company practically holds the position of a licensed dealer in prepared opium.

4. The importation of raw opium into any territory other than the Straits Settlements is prohibited and the right of import in the Straits Settlements is vested in the Superintendent Government Monopolies. Transhipment traffic in raw opium through the Straits Settlements is governed by the import and export system which has been advocated by the League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Opium Traffic.

5. The raw opium from which all prepared opium consumed in British Malaya is produced is cooked in Singapore and put up into packets and receptacles for export to most of the administrations in British Malaya. Prepared opium is also exported in bulk from Singapore to Penang and Kuala Lumpur for packing in those places.

6. The principal feature of the Government Monopoly System is that the sale of prepared opium is vested in the officers in charge of the various Monopolies. In practice in most of the administrations the sale by the Monopolies Departments is confined to wholesale business. In the Federated Malay States and the States of Kedah and Trengganu the Monopolies Departments participate in varying degrees in the retail sale (*See* Appendices XXXV, XL and XLI).

7. It will thus be seen that the great majority of the retail purveying of prepared opium in the whole of British Malaya is

in the hands of licensed retailers who by law are allowed a certain margin of profit arising from the difference between wholesale purchase price and authorised retail sale price.

8. Stringent conditions are attached to both "on" and "off" retail licences in the various administrations and supervision and inspection of licensed premises is provided for. The extent of actual supervision and inspection naturally depends on the staff available and is inevitably more feasible and more rigorous in the more thickly populated towns and villages.

9. There is a considerable variation in the provisions of the laws of the various territories as regards restriction of purchasers as is shown in the following list:—

In the States of Trengganu and Kelantan prepared opium may not be sold to any woman or to any person under 18 years of age;

in the States of Kedah and Perlis sale is prohibited except to males not less than 20 years of age;

in the Colony of the Straits Settlements and the State of Brunei sale to others than adult males is prohibited; and

in the Federated Malay States and the State of Johore prepared opium may not be sold to persons other than male Chinese of not less than 21 years of age, unless such persons are holders of special permits officially issued.

10. For the sake of uniformity we consider that the sex and age provision should be, throughout all the territories in British Malaya, males of not less than 21 years of age.

11. Western exactitude in age is not properly applicable to the variety of native races resident in British Malaya. At least one race has a very hazy notion of its age, while the Chinese method of computation of age differs from that common in Western countries.

12. We, therefore, lay no particular stress on this suggestion except as a matter of uniform legal provision, for we doubt whether any European could state that, of two members of a native race on the margin of Western majority, this one is over 21 and may be permitted to purchase, while that one is under 21 and it is an offence to sell to him.

13. The racial differentiation shown as obtaining in the Federated Malay States and the State of Johore is a more difficult question.

14. We must confess to a little scepticism about the practical effects at present of restricting, except under permit, the purchase of prepared opium to male Chinese of not less than 21 years of age. The return Appendix XXV supplied by the Federated Malay States Government does not satisfy us that only 70 persons other than adult male Chinese in those States are at present smoking or otherwise consuming prepared opium.

15. The evidence of Mr. SWETTENHAM (question 2526 *et seq*, on page C 147) in this connection is interesting, and it will be observed that he does not consider that this provision is necessarily successful in preventing the spread of the opium-smoking habit amongst the natives of the country. We do not for a moment suggest that the habit is spreading amongst Malays to any noticeable extent; we merely point out that this provision of law in itself would not stop the habit amongst Malays if it attracted them.

16. In the State of Johore we are told (evidence of Mr. CATOR question 1148, *et seq*, on page C 70) that no permits have been issued to persons other than adult male Chinese to purchase prepared opium, and again we have considerable doubts as to whether this could be held to prove that no person in Johore except an adult male Chinese smokes or otherwise consumes opium.

17. We feel that the question is important, and we have weighed the merits of applying racial discrimination to other parts of British Malaya. We hesitate to recommend its extension to the States of Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu, because the British Advisers have represented to us with some cogency that the Siamese consumers in those States must not be overlooked.

18. We feel that, if the extension of the racial discrimination provision would ensure the registration of all users of prepared opium other than adult male Chinese, we should recommend it as a preliminary to measures that the future may necessitate in regard to the Chinese themselves.

19. But without the additional provisions of making the possession of prepared opium and of opium-smoking apparatus by others than adult male Chinese penal offences, we are convinced that racial restriction is useless in practice, and as we do not consider that the time is ripe for such penal provisions, we make no recommendation for the extension of this provision which is now peculiar to the Federated Malay States and Johore.

20. We observe that in the Federated Malay States and in the States of Johore, Kedah and Perlis the smoking of prepared opium in places of public resort is prohibited. We attach great importance to this provision, and hold that it should be extended to the other territories in British Malaya and rigidly enforced in all of them.

21. The principal features of the opium laws of the Straits Settlements are set out in Appendix LXVIII, and the variations from and additions to those provisions in other administrations are shown in Appendix LXIX. Apart from the racial discrimination referred to above, we think that such lack of uniformity as exists should, as far as local circumstances permit, be removed.

22. Other features of the Monopoly System are dealt with elsewhere in this report.

VII.

SHOPS FOR THE SALE OF PREPARED OPIUM.

The number of shops for the retail sale of prepared opium in each administration is set out in Appendices XXIX to XXXVI and shews a considerable variation of extent of facilities existing in the various administrations for the purchase of prepared opium.

2. We somewhat naturally applied the test of the number of potential customers per shop as affording an appropriate comparison of facilities provided in the various territories. We are aware that there is a considerable number of Siamese consumers in some of the territories, but we do not think that this will affect very materially the comparative results shown in the following table based on the 1921 adult Chinese male population as the potential consuming population :—

State or Settlement.	Number of Opium Shops 1923.	Adult Chinese male population, 1921.	Number of potential customers per shop.
Straits Settlements	**812**	**247,846**	**305**
Singapore	423	159,531	377
Penang	188	62,369	332
Malacca	194	25,314	130
Labuan	7	632	90
Federated Malay States ...	**314**	**292,491**	**931**
Perak	123	129,080	1,049
Selangor	98	93,114	950
Negri Sembilan	53	46,083	869
Pahang	40	24,214	605
Johore	**461**	**67,012**	**146**
Kedah	**49**	**40,017**	**816**
Perlis	**7**	**2,126**	**304**
Kelantan	**35**	**7,423**	**212**
Trengganu	**25**	**5,231**	**209**
Brunei	**17**	**884**	**52**

3. We have been unable to avoid comparison between the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States to the disadvantage of the former. It is true that there is a far larger percentage of Hokkiens and Tiechius in the Chinese population in the Straits Settlements than in the Federated Malay States and, therefore, the proportion of actual customers to potential customers would be higher in the Straits Settlements than in the Federated Malay States, but to compensate for this there is the fact that the area of the latter country is seventeen times as great as that of the former.

4. In view of the difficulty of estimating the Chinese adult male population in the years between 1911 and 1921 to which we have already referred, comparison with years earlier than 1921 on the lines of the above facilities formula is impossible. The change in the total number of shops in the decade 1914-1923 was :—Singapore 502 to 423, Penang 177 to 188 and Malacca 131 to 184. In Singapore some progress has been made by way of reduction but

we can see no justification for the slight increase in Penang or the considerable expansion in Malacca.

5. We feel that we are justified in suggesting that the Government of the Straits Settlements should follow the lead of the neighbouring Federation and make a drastic reduction in the number of opium shops.

6. The reduction in the facilities in the three Western States of the Federated Malay States since 1916 is very appreciable. From 1916 to 1923 Perak opium shops were reduced from 212 to 123; in Selangor, the reduction was from 173 to 98 and in Negri Sembilan, there were only 53 shops in 1923 as compared with 72 in 1916. In Pahang, the reduction effected in the past four years is from 53 to 40. The reduction has in some measure been rendered possible by the substitution of Government for licensed retail shops.

7. As is indicated in Appendix LX, considerable reduction was made in the number of opium shops in the State of Johore, commencing from the 1st January, 1924. The figures for 1923 are 461, and for 1924 356, bringing the facilities down to one per 188 potential customers. We feel, however, that a further drastic reduction is possible and should be undertaken by the Government of that State.

8. Kedah takes second place to the Federated Malay States, and in this connection we may point out that Kedah and the Federated Malay States, in that chronological order, opened Government retail shops for sale for consumption off the premises.

9. In Kelantan we think that some reduction in the number of shops is desirable and possible. In Trengganu we notice a considerable drop in the number of shops between 1920 and 1924, and further appreciable reduction may not be possible until communications have improved.

10. In Brunei and Labuan we are left wondering how the licensees manage to make enough profit to justify the existence of all the shops. Labuan has not the excuse of size which Brunei has, but even in Brunei we are satisfied that a considerable reduction could be effected without disturbing the shops provided on estates to which access is difficult.

11. We are aware of the existence in some quarters of a feeling of opposition to the continuance of public smoking rooms, and have consequently paid much attention to this question.

12. From the point of view of example, which may lead to those who smoke in their homes teaching others of their domestic circle, we feel that there is much to be said for public as opposed to "home" smoking.

13. There is also the view held by some that those with leisure who are non-smokers frequent public smoking-rooms and may be encouraged to experiment with the pipe. It is true that our sub-Committee found three "visitors" in the six smoking rooms they visited in Singapore, but we are inclined to the opinion that there is not much acquisition of the habit in this way by those who have not made up their minds otherwise to try the pipe. The practice of opium smoking scarcely tends to sociability; it is a more or less silent performance and we do not view this danger very seriously.

14. We are in favour of the continuance of public smoking rooms.

VIII.

THE RETAIL SALE OF PREPARED OPIUM BY GOVERNMENT.

The Government Monopoly System, with few exceptions, at present only goes as far as the sale of prepared opium wholesale, and the question of the advisability of extending the system to include retail sale and eliminate licensed shops is one of our references.

2. There is little doubt in our minds that the hostility of licensees to measures likely to interfere with their profit played an important part in the failure of the rationing scheme which was attempted in 1920, and we feel that this hostility will militate against the success of any future measures introduced with a view to gradual suppression of the smoking of opium.

3. We realise thoroughly the variation of circumstances in the various administrations, and are satisfied that the change from licensed shops to Government shops cannot be effected in all the territories in British Malaya in a short space of time.

4. In the Federated Malay States considerable progress has been made in this direction, as is shown by the table printed as Appendix XL. The Federated Malay States Government in 1922 through 42 shops controlled the retailing of 44 per cent of the total sales of prepared opium in those States in that year.

5. The Federated Malay States have only carried out this experiment in the more thickly populated parts of those States, and the more difficult part, that of dealing with depôts in outlying places, has still to be faced. That difficulty will be quite as pronounced in respect of staff as of premises.

6. As has already been stated, Kedah also has made considerable progress in this direction, and has now 25 shops out of a total of 49 shops in the State under Government management. These Government shops retailed 74 per cent of the total amount of prepared opium consumed in the State in 1923 (Appendix XLI).

7. The "vested interests" affected by this proposal are thoroughly articulate and, in Singapore, they deputed representatives to appear before the Committee and state the case for the licensees.

8. We recognise that a sense of property in an opium shop licence has grown up in the Colony, though, of course, there is no legal support for such an idea.

9. We consider that a study of the evidence given by these representative licensees supports the view that they overstated their case.

10. In the case of the licensees of public smoking rooms the legitimate profits disclosed would not justify the investment of the sums they claimed to have put into their businesses. We were not surprised, therefore, to hear from an official source that the "sly" profits from opium dross sold illegally were an important factor

in the attractiveness and profitableness of the business, and this fact more than anything else convinced us that the "vested interests" must go.

11. It is clear to us that illegalities can easily be practised under the cloak of a licence, and that, without far more effective European supervision than is possible in any administration in British Malaya, breaches of any new measures to stiffen up the control over the use of prepared opium will be connived at by licensees, whose sole idea is to make as much profit legitimately—or even illegitimately, provided the risk of discovery is not great—as they can.

12. We are equally clear on the point that immediate universal cancellation of opium-shop licences would involve considerable hardship to a number of people, a matter which it is difficult to contemplate with equanimity at a time when British Malaya is just beginning to recover from the worst slump in its history.

13. The suggestion has been made to us by two influential and representative Chinese bodies in Singapore, the Chinese Advisory Board and the Chamber of Commerce, that gradual reduction of the number of licences should be carried out, and that there should be a ballot amongst the existing licensees for the right to the reduced number of licences.

14. It is possible that a generation ago this settlement of the question by lot might have been an acceptable, as well as ideal, solution, but we think that in the present state of feeling it would merely rank as an ideal solution and would not settle the question of whether those to whom the fates were not kind should be compensated or not.

15. That the problem could be solved satisfactorily with a minimum of compensation if the change is effected gradually is clear, but as this change to Government shops is, in our opinion, a condition precedent to any suppressive measures, we feel that endeavours should be made to carry it into effect, in the Straits Settlements at any rate, with as little delay as possible.

16. The problem of compensation may have to be faced in the Straits Settlements unless the replacement of licensees by Government official managers is to drag on interminably, and judging from what was told us in evidence by the deputation, every licensee will claim that he bought his furniture fittings and good-will at the top of the market. We trust, however, that the strong and active support of the Chinese community will be given toward effecting this important preliminary measure as speedily and as economically as possible.

17. There is no magic wand which will create an adequate and suitable staff to manage the various depôts which would be necessary, even under a process of gradual elimination of opium-smoking, to replace the existing licensed shops.

18. This difficulty of finding the necessary staff of a proper quality varies considerably in intensity in the different administrations, and replacement of licensed shops by Government shops

must be a matter of varying periods in the different States and Settlements.

19. It would be idle to replace licensees, who are restrained to a considerable extent from malpractices by fear of losing their licences, with Government shop managers who were in any sense corrupt, and that consideration narrows the choice of suitable persons to be placed in charge of Government depôts. Moreover, there is the probability that many persons otherwise well qualified to manage Government shops would not care to be associated with the opium traffic unless they were very highly remunerated.

20. There is, further, the question of providing sufficient suitable premises, but we do not consider that this difficulty should be insurmountable. In the outlying areas the various Governments may even have to build suitable premises, and if they ceased to be required for the purpose they might have to be disposed of at a loss. This question of possible loss in connection with premises should not, however, be permitted to stand in the way of adoption of this measure.

21. We have weighed all the circumstances, and we hold that as a measure preliminary to the contemplation of any other steps taken towards the gradual suppression of opium-smoking, it is essential that the entire retailing of prepared opium should be undertaken by the various Governments of British Malaya and licensed shops abolished as soon as possible.

22. It is clear to us that the natural result of carrying out this substitution will be to reduce the facilities for purchase of prepared opium by those up country. The previous section of our report indicates that this has happened in Kedah and the Federated Malay States, as the result of partial replacement of licensed shops by Government shops.

23. This reduction of facilities would make a strong appeal to those who seek a solution of the problem of elimination of opium-smoking, but we feel that, as long as the use of prepared opium is permitted, it should not be made unreasonably difficult for those engaged in work in the undeveloped parts to obtain it. We feel that the man who is developing the resources of the country by going into the "back lands" is even more deserving of his opium, if he wants it and it is legal for him to have it, than the man who has the amenities of town life to fall back upon.

24. Legal provision for issue of licences to employers of labour to purchase the prepared opium required by their coolies in up country *kongsis* should go far to solve this part of the problem.

25. The State of Johore is taking the initial steps towards replacement of licensed shops by Government depôts, and we trust that the other States in British Malaya will be able to make a commencement at any rate in the towns and larger villages in the near future.

26. We do not wish to press our views on the question of a time limit for effecting this substitution, but we think it desirable to suggest to the various Governments an objective. We consider that if this proposal is accepted and instructions to adopt

it are given in the near future, it should be possible to carry it out by the end of the year 1925 in all States and Settlements except Kelantan, Trengganu, Brunei and possibly Pahang. In those States we should not hope for complete substitution until the middle of 1926.

27. In what we have said in this section we refer to the retail sale of prepared opium whether for consumption "off" or "on" the premises, and, as we have in the previous section advocated the continuance of public smoking rooms, our recommendation amounts to managers paid by Government being placed in charge of public smoking rooms.

28. On the sanitation side we think that Government ownership of public smoking rooms is desirable. The instructions of Health Officers can then be put into force far more easily and effectively than while those instructions involve a licensee in expenditure or loss of profit, and we suggest that gradually these smoking rooms should be placed in the direct charge of Government Health Departments.

29. We have no knowledge of the terms of the agreement between the Government of the Straits Settlements and the Chrismas Island Phosphate Company, but we think that the desire expressed in Appendix XXVIII that Government should undertake the retail sale of prepared opium in that Island should be acceded to if possible.

IX.

THE PRICE OF PREPARED OPIUM.

Advantage has been taken of the introduction of the Government Monopoly system to increase steadily the price of prepared opium with the primary intention of reducing consumption, and it is to our minds an important aspect of our inquiry to investigate the results and state whether any further steps in the direction of increase of price are desirable.

2. We have shown earlier in this report a clear and considerable diminution in consumption concurrent with past increases of price. We realise that the reduction in consumption has not been proportionate to the increase of price but in that connection the increase of the price of all articles since the outbreak of the recent war must be borne in mind.

3. The increase in price of articles has necessarily been accompanied by an increase in the wages of labour, and these factors must be remembered in drawing any inferences as to the effect of increase of price on extent of consumption.

4. A table showing the past and present prices of prepared opium is put up as Appendix XV printed at page B 15 *et seq* and we propose to offer a few observations on that table.

5. In the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated States of Johore, Kedah and Perlis the present wholesale price is (almost universally) $12 per tahil or twice the pre-war price of $6 per tahil.

6. It is impossible for us to lay down any formula of universal applicability for the comparison of pre-war with present day local wages of Chinese labour, but we can confidently assert that it would be wrong to infer that the proportionate cost of his pre-war prepared opium to the labourer was as low as one half of his post-war prepared opium.

7. It is interesting, at the expense of repetition, to contrast the 1914 consumption of $6 per tahil prepared opium with the 1922 consumption of $12 per tahil prepared opium by means of index numbers based on 1922 consumption :—

——	Index number 1914.	Index number 1922.
Straits Settlements	**104**	**100**
Singapore	93	100
Penang	127	100
Malacca	130	100
Federated Malay States	**202**	**100**
Perak	209	100
Selangor	206	100
Negri Sembilan	177	100
Pahang	183	100
Johore	**119**	**100**
Kedah	**132**	**100**
Perlis	**93**	**100**

8. In the Federated Malay States the decrease in consumption concurrent with the increase in price is most marked; in the Settlements of the Colony and the three Unfederated Malay States the decrease concurrent with increase in price is not remarkable. In dealing with *real* costs it would not be unfair to state that the Federated Malay States consumers spent far less in 1922 on their opium than they did in 1914, while the consumers in the other administrations were spending much the same (after allowing for the depreciation in purchasing value in the interval) in 1922 as they were in 1914.

9. As a set-off against the strength of any inference that may be drawn from the above, we invite attention to the fact that the Federated Malay States is the only administration in the above table in which a decrease in Chinese population occurred in the period 1911 to 1921. All the other administrations showed increased populations in that period.

10. In the States of Kelantan and Trengganu the rise in price of prepared opium has resulted in a present day wholesale price of $10 per tahil and in the State of Brunei the present price is only $9 per tahil.

11. We have examined the question of a uniform price for British Malaya because we think uniformity desirable unless there are paramount local circumstances which demand differential rates.

12. The two local circumstances which would weigh in this connection are the effect of a compensating increase in the wages of labour in a country in the early stages of development and the existence in a neighbouring country (not being part of British Malaya) of a different and lower price.

13. In connection with the latter proposition we are aware of price in Siam affecting Kelantan and prices in British North Borneo and Sarawak affecting Brunei. The price of prepared opium in Siam is, we are informed, not less than $12 per tahil. There is, therefore, nothing from this aspect of the case which would prevent the raising of the price in the States of Kelantan and Trengganu to $12 per tahil.

14. The present Brunei price is identical with the British North Borneo price and appreciably higher than the Sarawak price. It is clear to us that the Brunei price must not be raised from $9 to $12 per tahil unless the Governments of Sarawak and British North Borneo raise the prices of prepared opium to approximately the same figure.

15. In regard to the States of Kelantan and Trengganu we have weighed the disadvantages of the effect of an increase in the price of prepared opium on the wages of labour with the advantages of a uniform price in adjoining territories of British Malaya, and we hold that uniformity is desirable.

16. In the Colony of the Straits Settlements itself, differential lower prices obtain in Labuan and Christmas Island. What we have said concerning Brunei would equally apply to the neighbouring island of Labuan, although we cannot avoid calling attention to the high average consumption in Labuan with its low price as

compared with the average consumption in the Colony. The 1921 figures are given in Appendix XII are :—Straits Settlements 231 grammes per adult Chinese male per annum, Settlement of Labuan 491, or more than double.

17. In Christmas Island prepared opium is sold retail at $5.50 per tahil, and the average consumption per adult Chinese male is shewn in Appendix XXVIII to be above 10 tahils per annum. This is some 380 grammes, and also compares very unfavourably with the rest of the Colony, where the average annual consumption in 1921 was only 231 grammes.

18. The high average given in the previous paragraph is due to the very high percentage of smokers amongst the Chinese population and not to the average consumption per smoker, which, as we have had occasion to remark elsewhere, is surprisingly low.

19. It is clear that even with a price less than half that obtaining in the rest of the Colony nearly all the smokers in Christmas Island restrict themselves to a moderate dose, and the question of increase of price must be approached from the point of view of deterring economical non-smokers from taking to the habit and possibly reducing the moderate dose of the existing smokers.

20. We have heard the views of the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Straits Settlements (question 2254 *et seq* on page C 131); but we feel that there is no sufficient reason to withhold a recommendation as to increase of price.

21. We think that the price charged to the Phosphate Company should be gradually raised after due notice as provided in the agreement with the Company.

22. In this section we have so far dealt with details of prices. We now turn to the more general and more important question of whether the policy of increase of price of prepared opium has or has not reached its maximum effectiveness in diminishing consumption.

23. In our consideration of this question we have deliberately avoided the revenue aspect of the case, and we have not concerned ourselves with the problem of whether the consumption would on a further rise in price so diminish as to cause a loss of revenue.

24. We shall develop the proposition later that the swallowing of opium dross is the phase of the opium habit in British Malaya most to be discouraged, and, while we realise that an increase of price to a rich smoker has been merely a pocket inconvenience, we hold that with the great majority of smokers, who are in poor circumstances, the effects of progressive increases of price have been to encourage the dross habit.

25. We recommend the Governments of British Malaya to call a halt at the now almost universal price of $12 per tahil.

X.

THE PACKING OF PREPARED OPIUM.

Prepared opium is packed ready for retail sale in Singapore, Penang and Kuala Lumpur. The number of weight denominations of packets was reduced at a comparatively early stage in the history of the Government Monopolies Departments and prepared opium is now sold only in 3-hoon and 4-hoon packets and in earthenware pots containing 3 chees and 1 tahil respectively.

2. The following table shows the packing carried out in the Government Monopolies Department, Singapore, in the four years 1920 to 1923, and indicates that the sale is in the great majority of cases that of the 3-hoon packets:—

Year.	Record of packets and pots made up in the Government Monopolies Department, Singapore.			
	3-hoon Packets.	4-hoon Packets.	3 chi pots.	1 tahil pots.
1920	55,804,272	2,821,991	562,380	192,829
1921	42,738,304	2,052,500	361,820	127,315
1922	38,985,884	1,597,067	347,488	115,608
1923	39,339,996	1,481,000	382,011	114,783

3. The packets are very rough contrivances, and the contents must under human frailty vary considerably in spite of the wonderful accuracy attained by some of those employed in gauging them. The practice is to dip a thin metal rod, which forms one of the "scales" of a balance, into a large pot of chandu and then to transfer a quantity estimated at 3 hoons (or 4 hoons)—it is not in practice actually weighed—from the rod to a small square of bamboo leaf, which is then rolled up with a square piece of thin paper as an outer covering. On the paper in which the leaf is rolled is denoted the fact that the contents of the packet are 3 hoons, or 4 hoons as the case may be, of Government prepared opium for sale in a stated administration. Packets after being rolled, are passed through a stamping machine which perforates the folds with needle-holes in such a manner as to render it somewhat difficult to open and re-roll them without leaving signs of tampering.

4. Every effort is made to select only bamboo leaves which show no brittleness, but brittle ones pass muster and, especially after the stamping machine has been brought to bear on them, a certain number of "broken packets" with the contents oozing through the leaf result.

5. The contents of a 3-hoon packet weigh only 17½ grains, and it is clearly impossible without enormous labour to weigh out

so many millions of such small measures in a year. It is, therefore, necessary to rely on human estimation.

6. But it is not the actual failure to estimate so precisely the exact weight of the contents of a packet that is the main objection to the existing system. The fact that, even after perforation in the manner above described, tampering with the existing packets is still possible, to our mind lays the system open to criticism.

7. The packets are, when all is said in their favour that can be said, very rough-and-ready, and to open and re-close them without great risk of detection is not very difficult. This lends itself to the possibility of the following abuses:—

(*a*) the abstraction of a small portion of the contents so leaving an underweight packet, or

(*b*) the abstraction of a small portion of the Government prepared opium and replacement of an equivalent amount of smuggled prepared opium, opium dross, or other adulterant.

The former method of petty pilfering would be reduced in extent by competition amongst licensees, but the latter method of tampering with the packets enables illicit prepared opium (and even adulterants altogether devoid of morphine content) to be disposed of very profitably under the guise of the licit article.

8. In fact, we can conceive it possible to re-prepare a Government packet with the contents consisting solely of illicit prepared opium.

9. In considering the question of measures of suppression we have been faced throughout with the probable increase of smuggling and we hold that such steps as are possible should be taken to render increasingly difficult the disposal of prepared opium which has eluded the vigilance of the Preventive Service and has got into the country.

10. With this object in view we recommend the packing of prepared opium for retail sale in tubes which are hermetically sealed and can only be used once.

11. A system of this nature has been in operation in the Netherlands East Indies since the Government of that country introduced the Régie System there, and has, we believe, given satisfaction. We understand that in Siam also somewhat similar methods are in operation.

12. We are aware that this would involve packing only in one place, Singapore, but the packing would be done in such a manner that breakage and leakage in transit should be negligible.

13. In making this recommendation we can but realise that we are recommending the determination of the employment of a considerable number of hands. We deplore the fact, but it does not alter our view of the desirability of the change.

14. In this connection a recommendation was made to us by the Superintendent, Chandu Monopoly, Federated Malay States, that the three-hoon packet should be replaced by a two-hoon tube.

15. We have carefully considered this proposal from every aspect. We realise that it may be argued that the reduction in cost of the smallest current weight of prepared opium from the present 40 cents (in most administrations) to some 27 cents is putting more temptation in the way of the poorer classes to indulge.

16. On the other hand, we have in the evidence of Dr. R. M. CONNOLLY the references to existence of "splitting packet" brokers of prepared opium. We have also evidence that two or more go together to a public smoking room to divide a packet and, moreover, we have evidence that a patron of a public smoking room not infrequently smokes only a part of a packet in the smoking room and takes the balance of the prepared opium with him to smoke later elsewhere. In this connection it is interesting to observe that the number of packets sold in nine smoking rooms was less than the number of patrons (*see* Appendices XXXVII to XXXIX).

17. We are aware that there is force on both sides of this particular argument but we feel that every encouragement should be given to the moderate smoker of the poorer classes to reduce his consumption, and we hold that this encouragement exists in reducing the weight of the least quantity of prepared opium sold retail in a receptacle.

18. In fact we think that the chance that a number of moderate smokers of small means will reduce their daily consumption from one 3-hoon packet to one 2-hoon tube is greater than that the one 3-hoon packet smoker will become a two 2-hoon tube consumer and we, therefore, recommend that the contents of the smallest tube shall be two hoons and that no tube containing between two hoons and two chees shall be used.

19. We are given to understand that in the Netherlands East Indies the smallest tube only contains one half of one hoon (slightly less than 3 grains). The cost involved in preparing and filling such small tubes must be proportionately much higher than in the case of larger tubes. We think it not improbable that the motives of the Government of that country in undertaking this extra expense are those of endeavouring to induce economy in consumption, and we feel that the Governments of British Malaya would do well to take steps in the same direction.

20. We may remark that the normal (moderate) smoker in Singapore appears to make 4 to 5 pipes out of the existing 3-hoon packet, but it is clear that in the Netherlands East Indies some smokers must be content with one-half of one hoon for a pipe, and it is possible that when the smoker in British Malaya has become accustomed to the 2-hoon tube he will manage to make the contents do for as many smokes as he gets now out of the 3-hoon packet.

21. In connection with investigations into the question of packing prepared opium in hermetically sealed tubes, we think it possible that improvements and economies in regard to the cooking of prepared opium will be found to exist in neighbouring countries and will be possible in the up-to-date factory which will be necessitated if our recommendations are adopted.

XI.

OPIUM DROSS.

There is considerable weight of evidence to show that the smoking of re-prepared opium dross (the ash produced by smoking opium) is much more noxious than the smoking of pure prepared opium, and that the swallowing of opium dross is considerably more pernicious than the smoking of re-prepared dross.

2. Several witnesses have recorded their impression that swallowing of dross has become more common owing to steady increases in the price of prepared opium. Whatever the causes, we accept the view that the swallowing of dross is regrettably common in Malaya.

3. We find that there are no past records to show the normal product of dross resulting from smoking prepared opium, but we have heard from the Government Analyst, Straits Settlements, that the theoretical product of dross is almost as high as 60 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results. Smokers vary considerably in their methods, and we have no doubt that there is, in practice, a wide variation in the weight and quality of the dross produced by various smokers.

4. The officer in charge of the Government Monopolies in the Federated Malay States states that from his practical experience the average product of dross cannot be expected to be as high as 50 per cent and that 40 grammes may be taken to represent the normal product of dross resulting from the smoking of 100 grammes of prepared opium. We have accordingly adopted this percentage for the normal product of opium dross in our statistics.

5. It appears to us desirable to compare the opium smoking habit and the dross swallowing habit from the aspect of morphine content.

6. The Government Analyst, Straits Settlements, informs us that the morphine assimilated by smoking prepared opium is only one-tenth of one per cent of the weight of prepared opium smoked. A steady smoker of one 3-hoon (17½ grains) packet a day would, therefore, assimilate .0175 grains of morphine each day or approximately one-half of one grain of morphine a month.

7. The position is entirely changed if the smoker swallows the dross produced by the prepared opium which he has smoked. On our arbitrary basis of dross product, 17½ grains of prepared opium would give 7 grains of dross with a morphine content of 5·65 per cent (Appendix XIV). The swallowing of the dross produced from one 3-hoon (17½ grains) packet would, therefore, result in the assimilation of .3955 grains of morphine.

8. In the combined process of smoking and swallowing the resultant dross, a consumer of one 3-hoon packet a day would assimilate .4130 grains of morphine each day, or slightly more than would be assimilated by a person who was a steady consumer, by the process of smoking alone, of 7 chees a day.

9. We may remark that even allowing for variations of tolerance, a 7-chee a day smoker would be a heavy smoker, and we view with considerable gravity this question of swallowing opium dross.

10. We confess to much disappointment that the statistics set out in Appendices XLIV to LI show that so little of the opium dross, which is produced by opium smoking in British Malaya, is recovered by Government for destruction.

11. The Federated Malay States show in comparison with the other administrations in British Malaya excellent results, but even the results in the Federated Malay States fall short of what we should like to see, while the figures in some of the other administrations make melancholy reading.

12. Laws concerning opium dross are for practical purposes common to the various territories but they are of little effect in its recovery, a recovery we hold to be of the greatest importance.

13. We do not deny that the recovery of greater quantities of dross, if it has to be attained by offering more attractive prices, will probably result in increased consumption of prepared opium for smoking, but we consider that this would be by far the lesser evil.

14. All dross except that resulting from smoking in a public smoking room is the property of the smoker and is valuable either for swallowing by the smoker himself or for sale to a swallower.

15. It is true that the dross produced in a public smoking room is the recognised perquisite of the licensee of the smoking room and that it is from this perquisite that the Government recoveries arise either as a direct condition of the licence or by official pressure.

16. We have elsewhere recommended the continuance of public smoking rooms, and whether they are kept by licensees or Government officials it is highly desirable in our opinion to make legal provision that the dross produced by smoking in a public smoking room is the property of the keeper of the smoking room. This would, in our opinion, not only legalise the existing practice but it would strengthen the hands of Government, while licensees exist, in pressing for full return of dross by such licensees to be paid for at a price. It would, moreover, be a necessary provision when Government officials assume charge of the smoking rooms.

17. We have carefully considered the proposals put forward (Appendix LV) by the officer in charge of the Government Monopolies, Federated Malay States, concerning recovery of dross produced in public smoking rooms, and we commend them to that Government as worthy of trial during the stage of transition from licensees to Government officials in charge of public smoking rooms.

18. We think that they might also be tried in the other administrations in the transitional stage, although we feel sure that the application of these proposals will produce a considerable outcry from licensees.

19. In the Straits Settlements we observe that the issue of "on" and "off" licences to public smoking rooms is the law and the practice and, in considering this question of dross recovery from such licensed premises, it is quite clear to us that the Superintendent is much hampered by the existence of the double form of licence. A low return of dross by a licensee in the Straits Settlements could be excused by stating that, in the period during which the particular dross was alleged to be the total product, "off" selling had been more common than "on".

20. In each of the Settlements of the Colony of the Straits Settlements the purchases by smoking room licensees amount approximately to one-fifth of the total purchased by licensees, but only 7 per cent of the total normal product of dross is recovered by the Government, or about one-third of the dross produced by the prepared opium purchased by smoking room licensees. It is, however, quite easy for the licensees to say that they are returning all the dross produced on their licensed premises, and difficult to refute the statement. In this connection we invite attention to Appendix LIV showing the dross collected from ten public smoking rooms in Singapore chosen at random.

21. We hold that the "on" and "off" combined licence must be abolished in the Straits Settlements and in other administrations in which it exists if the dross question is to be treated as seriously and as promptly as we consider that it should be.

22. We feel that it is desirable to make an attempt to recover as much as possible of the dross produced elsewhere than on licensed premises, and to effect this it will be necessary to offer higher pecuniary inducements than are at present held out to dross owners.

23. The Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Straits Settlements, has informed us that dross sold in small pellets is believed to fetch as much as $12 per tahil. Such a sale is, of course, illegal but cannot be detected frequently. We feel that the number of illegal sales of dross is infinitely greater than the number of convictions set out in Appendix LIII and that more frequent detection is unlikely except with enormous increase of staff or increase in the number of public informers.

24. Thus we see the possibility of illegal sale at as much as $12 per tahil against the most common Government price of $4.50 per tahil.

25. We hold that the dross question is so important as to justify exploring the possibility of making the return of dross compulsory and of limiting sales of prepared opium to the prepared opium equivalent of the dross returned on each occasion.

26. The first simple step in this direction is the increase of price offered by the Government for dross and we feel that the Governments must, in cases where prepared opium is sold at $12 a tahil wholesale, be prepared to go as high as $10 a tahil for dross of the first quality. This would amount to offering the private smoker $4 for the complete product of dross resulting from smoking one tahil of prepared opium which had cost him $12, *i.e.*, a rebate of 33 1/3 per cent as against the present 15 per cent.

27. Complete recovery of the dross produced by smoking in a public smoking room is possible, and for this reason it appears to us that it would be advisable to make some slight reduction in the price at which prepared opium is retailed for consumption on the premises, concurrently with the increase in the price offered for dross.

28. A practical difficulty occurs to us in connection with prompt payment for dross, which is an essential feature of success in recovery of any appreciable portion of the dross resulting from private smoking.

29. The Monopolies Departments now buy dross of two qualities, the differentiation between the two qualities being based on morphine content. First quality dross must contain at least 5·5 per cent morphine and second quality at least 3·5 per cent. Dross giving a morphine content of less than 3·5 per cent is held to be worthless and is not paid for.

30. The differentiation by means of morphine content implies assaying, and assaying is work that can only be done by specialists and cannot be done in a moment anywhere.

31. If reasonably prompt payments are to be made for small quantities of dross tendered by ordinary members of the public, some simpler method of testing will have to be adopted, in order to make the scheme workable.

32. We think it quite possible that a simple practical method which could be carried out by a layman could be developed.

33. We also feel that if some practical test other than chemical analysis has to be applied in outstations or even in the towns it would be quite easy to keep a close check on the work of the testers by systematically carrying out at irregular intervals morphine assays of specimens accepted by them.

34. We have no desire to minimise the difficulties in the handling of the dross question, but we consider that this question is important enough to be worth every endeavour to surmount any practical difficulties which may be encountered.

35. We feel that, if the recovery of dross can be brought to a reasonably high percentage of the total product, the opium habit, in so far as British Malaya is concerned, will lose much of its reproach.

XII.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS.

In connection with a movement, whether initiated by a Government or by a part of a community, for the prohibition of an indulgence common to any considerable number of the people, it is inevitable that there should be exaggeration of the evil effects of the indulgence by those favouring suppression, and of the points in favour of the indulgence by those opposed to prohibition.

2. We have not escaped from this exaggeration in the evidence tendered to us, and it is desirable that we should attempt to weigh the evidence as a whole as fairly as is possible.

3. We believe that cases of those addicted to the opium habit could be found in British Malaya which would justify every condemnation which has been passed on opium smoking by those who press for prohibition. At the same time, we feel sure that such cases form an infinitesimal proportion of the total number of addicts and we are doubtful whether in most of such cases the condition is due to indulgence in opium by smoking alone.

4. We have seen no reason to doubt that it is as true now as it was in 1908 that moderate smoking is the rule and excessive smoking the exception, but we feel that the whole issue of moderation and excess is clouded by the prevalence of the dross habit. We have in the previous section set out at length our views on that habit.

5. We may without fear of contradiction postulate that the habit is an extravagant one and that it makes considerable inroads into the earnings of the poorer class. From this it is an easy step on the part of the prohibitionists to say that it must inevitably ruin the poor who indulge.

6. As a contrast to this view, it is interesting to note the result of the inquiries of our Smoking Room sub-Committee (Appendix XLII). They find that of the 63 smokers examined by them, whose earnings did not exceed $50 per mensem, 41 had been able to save sufficient to pay a visit to China; of these, 21 had managed to afford at least two trips to their native land; while 12 had visited China on three occasions, and 3 had even been able to afford four visits to their mother country. In the case of 11 of the 21 who claimed more than one trip to China the average period between trips was less than 5 years.

7. It is also worthy of notice (Appendix XXVI) that in answer to our sub-Committee's inquiries 40 per cent amongst the jinrikisha puller smokers examined by them stated that they had managed to put by sufficient to visit their homeland. This is supported by the statements of the 11 rickisha pullers dealt with in Appendix XLII, 6 of whom claimed to have been back to China at least once.

8. We have recently passed through a very trying and long continued period of trade depression in Malaya with a considerable amount of unemployment, and the natural idea, if the Anti-Opium Societies' tenets as a whole were accepted, would be that the opium smokers would all have lost their employment and filled our pauper and decrepit institutions and our prisons.

9. We have called attention elsewhere to the low percentage of smokers amongst the 402 Chinese decrepits in the decrepit asylum

at Port Swettenham. This percentage of 9.7 is less than has been suggested by any witness as the percentage of the adult Chinese male population who smoke opium. We were officially assured that this represented a haphazard collection of decrepits amongst whom inquiries were made by an experienced Chinese officer.

10. We must confess that we were astonished at this particular instance and we feel that it has an interesting bearing on the "financial ruin" aspect of the habit. Moreover, the proportion of opium smokers amongst Chinese prisoners is not by any means abnormal (Appendix XXIII).

11. Dr. CONNOLLY, the founder of the Perak Anti-Opium Society, claims that an opium smoker is physically only one-half as efficient as a non-smoker, but no other witness was prepared to accept this as a formula of general applicability to opium smokers. We ourselves are unable to accept the formula without qualification.

12. From the aspect of effect on labour, Chinese employers of labour and workshop foremen have almost without exception deprecated the prevalence of the habit and expressed a varying degree of preference for the non-smokers. We believe that in Western Countries teetotal employers of labour would express an equally strong preference for workmen who did not take alcohol.

13. We cannot avoid contrasting this view with that of European employers of labour who gave evidence before us or sent us communications through official channels.

14. In Appendix LXXIV, a manager of a tin mine with long experience of Chinese labour states that he prefers the smoker for work in wet mines and in mines where the air is bad. In Appendix LXII, one estate manager expresses the view that opium smoking does not affect the capacity for heavy work, and another, who objects to the adverse effect of opium smoking on wages, thinks further control of the habit unnecessary.

15. The opinions expressed by the various Railway Construction officers who have contributed to Appendix XXVII may be summed up as indicating that smoking in moderation does not affect capacity for labour.

16. One European witness, who is himself a medical man and has had control of considerable labour forces, holds that moderate smokers are as good at hard work as non-smokers.

17. A Chinese labour contractor, who has handled large labour forces for many years, though himself opposed to the opium habit, expresses the view that the smoking majority amongst the coal coolies could not do their heavy work so well if deprived of opium. That deprivation of opium would lead to inefficiency amongst the smokers whom he employs is the opinion of a European employer of a large Chinese labour force (Appendix LXII).

18. The District Officer, Christmas Island, communicates to us (Appendix XXVIII) the view that "so long as the smoker can obtain the amount of opium to which he has become accustomed he seems in no way an inferior worker to the non-smoker. Deprived of his opium, however, he seems (unless he has been a very light smoker) to be physically incapable of any work."

19. Some employers of labour complain that there is loss of time due to indulgence in opium. This is by no means unknown in Western Countries where the use of alcohol is common.

20. There is also the general claim by Chinese employers of labour that opium smokers are lazy, but we have been reminded by other witnesses that smokers, owing to the expense of their habit, are unwilling to risk losing their employment.

21. The evidence of our medical witnesses naturally carries considerable weight, and we feel that it is desirable to set out an abstract of their views:—

Dr. Hoops.—Not morally or physically harmful if used in moderation. No distinguishing facial characteristics.

Dr. Connolly.—Reduces physical efficiency by 50 per cent. Results in loss of memory and of power of concentration and causes inaptitude for prolonged mental strain. Non-smokers work better than smokers.

Dr. Ho Shiu Khan.—Makes a man lazy and negligent. Does not cause any serious physical incapacity or mental disease. Can tell the smoker by physical appearance. Smoker of one or two packets a day differs little in capacity from non-smoker.

Dr. Ah Chit Jap.—It destroys the body and brings moral ruin and mental instability. Makes men thin and apathetic.

Dr. Samuels.—As a cause of insanity it is negligible. Not noticed any ill effects in his particular line (mental cases).

Dr. Edgar.—Never seen any mental or moral degradation result. Never known a case of insanity due to it. Moderate smokers work as well and as hard as non-smokers. Keeps off malaria. No loss of efficiency mental, moral or physical.

Dr. Macaskill.—Smoker cannot be distinguished by appearance. Has never seen any mental or moral degradation result. No physical degeneration other than a little emaciation. Never heard of a case of insanity due to it. Smokers apt to be lazy. Not a reason for refusing to pass a man for life insurance. Gives freedom from worry and may thus lengthen life.

Dr. Stanton.—From point of view of public health not a serious menace. Much less serious than alcohol.

Dr. Kam Tak Khong.—Considers opium smoking results in about 15 per cent loss of efficiency. No mental or moral degradation results. Good for diabetes, phthisis and malaria. Moderate smoker and moderate drinker about same value, but excessive smoker preferable to excessive drinker.

22. It will be observed that there is considerable disagreement amongst the doctors. Seven of the nine medical witnesses have little or nothing to say against the moderate smoker, while two assert that mental, moral and physical ruin must result from the habit. Not one of them claims to be able to distinguish the moderate smoker by his appearance, and only two consider that it affects capacity for labour, their estimates of loss of efficiency being as wide apart as 50 per cent and 15 per cent.

23. We also have the views expressed by medical officers who supervised the censuses of Chinese opium smokers in hospitals. This view was recorded in respect of 699 of the smokers enumerated in hospitals and in no case was the disease of the patient said to be wholly attributable to opium smoking. In respect of 295 of these

opium smoking patients a more detailed expression of opinion was given :—in 10 cases indulgence in opium smoking was put down as the principal cause of the patient's condition; in 50 cases the incapacity due to the disease was increased and chances of recovery lessened by the habit, while in the other 235 cases the use of opium was stated to have produced no evident physical ill effects.

24. On the medical side we have also the exhaustive and interesting paper by our medical member, Sir DAVID GALLOWAY. This paper (Appendix LXXI) embodying the results of a long professional experience of opium smoking patients appears to the lay members of the Committee to carry great weight in this connection.

25. In a memorandum printed as Appendix LXXIII it is stated that "the free sale of opium and the ease with which the drug may be obtained constitute temptations to suicide". The writer of this memorandum subsequently gave evidence before us, and in answer to questions on the point adhered to his view. The official records of suicides in Singapore and Penang in recent years do not, however, support this opinion. Appendix LXV shows that the use of opium as a means of suicide is rare; in the 465 cases covered by the return only 19, or 4 per cent, were due to opium.

26. We turn from medical testimony to the opinions of Government officers with long service in Malaya.

27. Not one of the three British Residents of Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, with service in various parts of British Malaya varying from 27 to 32 years, held that the opium habit as now practised in Malaya was such a danger to the welfare of the country as to justify immediate measures of a drastic nature.

28. The official witnesses to whom the question was put declined to admit any connection between the opium habit and crime.

29. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements, described the habit as not more harmful to Chinese than whisky to Europeans, while his colleague in the Federated Malay States held that the habit as indulged in locally is an unobjectionable relaxation and that as regards abuse of the habit it is not nearly as bad as the abuse of drink in the West.

30. We hold that it is not proved that the habit must result in a steadily increasing dosage, as is commonly accepted to be the case with drug habits practised in some countries. Indeed we consider that there is no justification for comparing the opium smoking habit amongst Chinese with the abuse of deleterious drugs obtaining in some countries out of Asia.

31. We feel that the weight of evidence indicates that an indulgence of a sedative nature, such as the opium habit is, has done relatively little harm to the welfare of the community as a whole, and we must confess to a fear that compulsory abandonment of that habit might well result in the substitution of more harmful relaxations.

32. We are glad to find that the disease is not so desperate as to demand desperate remedies.

33. Suppressive measures undertaken too precipitately would in our opinion not only afford no solution of the problem but would also introduce complications into the question of ultimate eradication of the opium habit in British Malaya.

XIII.

THE CHINESE COMMUNITY IN BRITISH MALAYA AND THE ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENT.

The evidence tendered to us on this subject is somewhat conflicting.

2. We consider it essential to offer a few observations on the Chinese community in British Malaya because their position is perhaps not thoroughly understood in Western Countries.

3. The Chinese population consists of many tribes and is still further differentiated in varying degrees by division into Straits-born and China-born sections, the former comprising 15 per cent and the latter 85 per cent of the Chinese male population. It is naturally difficult, therefore, to foster a common movement amongst them.

4. To a European, who has not been in China, a native of China is a Chinese, but to a Chinese himself or to a European with knowledge of China, a native of China is a Cantonese, a Hokkien (from the Amoy Prefecture of Fuhkien Province), a Hakka (or Kheh as Hakkas are called in the Straits Settlements by adoption of the Hokkien pronunciation of their name), a Tiechiu (from the Swatow Prefecture of the Fuhkien Province), or a Hailam (from Hainan Island), as the case may be. We neglect the very numerous other "tribes" of Chinese not represented at all or only in small numbers in the Malayan Chinese community.

5. The so-called "tribes" of Hokkiens, Tiechius, Cantonese, Khehs and Hailams are distinctly clannish amongst themselves, as would be expected of immigrants with a common language resident in a foreign country.

6. The Hokkiens and Tiechius are relatively closely allied, but there is a marked division between those two tribes and the other closely allied pair, Cantonese and Khehs. The comparison of two Latin races and two Celtic races is perhaps not far from the mark.

7. It is easy to conceive of a Hokkien movement soliciting Tiechiu sympathy and possibly its co-operation and the same is true if Cantonese and Kheh are substituted for Hokkien and Tiechiu. It is difficult, however, to conceive of a movement by one tribe developing into a joint movement supported by all tribes of China-born Chinese, quite apart from the question of whether the movement would receive the support of the Straits-born Chinese.

8. The difficulty of fostering a common movement in regard to opium smoking is enhanced by genuine difference of tribal opinion which views the habit with varying degrees of tolerance.

9. There are Anti-Opium Societies in Perak, Selangor and Singapore which date back to the first decade of this century. Its Secretary practically admits that the last named is moribund; in

Perak and Selangor the Societies are at the moment active. Even in their cases the official delegates of the Selangor Anti-Opium Society and the founder of the Perak Anti-Opium Society admit a somewhat fitful existence.

10. The recently elected Committee of the Perak Anti-Opium Society includes 15 Straits-born and 16 China-born Chinese. Its total membership consists of 46 Straits-born Chinese, 188 China-born Chinese and 2 Englishmen. The Selangor Anti-opium Society has on its Committee 12 Straits-born and 33 China-born Chinese while its total membership at present is 129 of whom 59 are Straits-born Chinese.

11. From what we have been told, we gather that the Straits-born Chinese are the real leaders in the local anti-opium movement and that they have tried hard to carry the far larger China-born section with them.

12. In our opinion the Straits-born form almost a separate community of their own, but, although it appears that the habit of opium smoking is dying out amongst them, we are not afraid that their active support will wane when their primary object of freeing themselves has been attained.

13. The position in so far as the China-born are concerned is, however, different.

14. We doubt whether the movement against opium smoking, apart from its use as political propaganda, obtains any considerable support from the China-born section of the community. Moreover, this section turns over in personnel so frequently as to render it difficult to speculate upon the continuance of any strong feeling amongst it.

15. At one stage of our inquiry we had occasion to observe the lack of response to our much advertised invitation to witnesses; it was so meagre as to leave a doubt whether any strength lay behind the anti-opium movement.

16. Our opinion has inevitably been modified by consideration of the peculiar circumstances which we have outlined above, and we feel that they have an important bearing on the amount of support or opposition which might be expected if measures of suppression were inaugurated, on the assumption that interference with the opium smoking habit would have the countenance of the Chinese community.

17. We feel impelled to utter a warning that Government cannot rely on the active and continuous support of the Chinese community in carrying out measures which will be distasteful to an appreciable portion of that community.

18. We consider it no overstatement to say that the most sincere opponents of opium smoking will stop short at advocating drastic measures and will leave the Government to find its own way out of any difficulties which might result from their premature inception.

XIV.

REGISTRATION AND LICENSING OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.

We are satisfied that any artificial shortage of supply of prepared opium in British Malaya must be accompanied by a system of rationing.

2. Registration and licensing of smokers is held by many to be the only road to eventual suppression of the opium habit and has accordingly exercised our most careful attention, and has been the subject of questions to most of our witnesses. It is worthy of note that there is not unanimous support even by prominent members of Anti-Opium Societies, and that the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce after careful consideration opposes the measure.

3. The supporters of this measure hold that it will operate in two ways. They suggest that many of the present opium-smokers will feel such a sense of shame at the compulsory public recognition of their indulgence that they will break off the habit and, moreover, that the public admission of acquisition of the habit will restrain non-smokers from taking to the pipe.

4. We consider that the benefit to be derived from a measure of this nature is in direct proportion to its effectiveness in practice, and we propose to deal with the practical aspects of the problem.

5. We assume that the primary features of a scheme of this nature are that only those who are themselves opium-smokers shall be permitted to register, and that the opium-smokers so registered shall each receive a licence entitling them to purchase a specified quantity of prepared opium.

EXPERIENCE IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

6. Several of the strongest supporters of this measure claimed that the success attending it in other countries was sufficient justification for introducing the system into British Malaya.

7. We regret that the information we have been able to obtain in this connection is somewhat meagre, but we are not satisfied that successful attempts elsewhere would be any guarantee of local success.

8. The Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements, (questions 238 *et seq* page C 18) speaking from personal official experience there, throws grave doubts on the effectiveness of the system in Burma where the population dealt with is "mainly stationary" in contrast to the migratory nature of the population in British Malaya.

9. In regard to Formosa, we have been supplied with certain details from official publications. In that country we gather that, although considerable numbers of the indigenous population have been dealt with, the system has never been applied to large numbers of immigrants from China.

10. The greatest number of immigrants from China dealt with at any time in Formosa between 1905 and 1921 is stated to be 4,521, a fractional portion of the number of immigrant Chinese opium-smokers temporarily residing in British Malaya.

11. We have been courteously supplied with a considerable amount of literature on the methods adopted in this connection in the Netherlands East Indies. Certain extracts from an official report are printed in Appendix LXX.

12. Excepting in some portions of the Outer Isles and the districts where total prohibition is enforced, some system of control of this nature is being exercised; in some parts it is described as the "incomplete licence", in others as the "complete licence" system.

13. We gather from the official literature that the attempt to impose these systems on the immigrant Chinese has not been an unqualified success. This is briefly alluded to in the contretemps at the Bukit Asam Coal Mines and at the Ombilin Mines, at both of which places the system had for the time being to be put in abeyance in regard to Chinese immigrants. In Banka the lesson is instructive. The Government admit the prevalence of smuggling in that island, and one of our witnesses, a native of Banka, stated that the system was honeycombed with corruption.

14. It is curious that in each of the countries which have adopted a system of registration and licensing, or of licensing, the principal difficulty encountered has always been the immigrant Chinese. In Formosa and in the Philippines this is being met by a process of exclusion or, to be exact, of selection of their immigrants. It may be that the Netherlands East Indies will have eventually to follow this lead.

15. In any of these countries this policy of exclusion would have little or no effect on economic conditions, the proportion of immigrant Chinese to the total population being negligible—in Netherlands East Indies, for example, it is only about one per cent, in the Philippines it is even less.

16. The direct contrary is the case in British Malaya, where immigrant Chinese males constitute a high percentage of the total male population, and where the supply of immigrant Chinese labour is a vital necessity.

17. We have not sufficient information to enable us to judge of the extent of the effectiveness in these various countries, but we have no hesitation in saying that the floating nature of the opium-smoking section of the community in British Malaya shows clearly that the cases are not parallel.

18. We do not know of any country where this system has been tried in which the circumstances would permit of a true comparison being drawn and we propose to consider the proposal from the local aspect only.

REGISTRATION AND LICENSING STAFF.

19. In order to make a scheme of this nature effective, there are not only the details of registration and licensing to attend to, but many new penal offences must necessarily be created, and the establishment of the organisation to deal with such a scheme is the first point which occurs to us.

20. We have admitted elsewhere in this report that it is impossible to estimate with any approximation to accuracy the number of opium-smokers in any of the territories of British Malaya; all that can be said is that they run to many tens of thousands, scattered over an area with varying difficulty of communication.

21. Our conception of the organisation required under this measure is that it involves the creation of a new department with many ramifications and a considerable staff.

22. Of the adult male population of British Malaya, only 6 per 1,000 are Europeans, including the Military and those engaged in various professional or commercial pursuits. The Europeans in Government employment are probably less than 2 for every thousand of the adult male population, and in connection with this measure work of the nature of supervision is all that is possible to be undertaken by Europeans. The vast majority of the staff required to carry out a scheme of this nature must, therefore, be members of one or other of the many native races.

23. The most optimistic of Government officers who have appeared before us or who have communicated with us are not sanguine as to the engagement of an adequate staff of incorruptibles.

24. Other experienced Government officers, with the lesson of corruption taught by the working of the rationing scheme for rubber export fresh in their minds, are decidedly of opinion that the introduction of an individual rationing scheme for opium-smokers would bring in its train an amount of corruption likely to damage the credit of the Government.

25. We hold that corruption amongst the lower orders of the staff detailed to deal with the licensing and registration of opium-smokers and engaged in the detection of the multitude of new offences would be of such magnitude as seriously to prejudice the effectiveness of the scheme.

26. In this connection it must be borne in mind that, at present, retailing of prepared opium is for the most part in the hands of licensees whose main idea is profit. The amount of high grade incorruptible supervision required to prevent breaches of the provisions of the scheme by the lower orders of the licensing staff and by licensees appears to us to be so great that we consider that it would be madness to embark on a scheme of this nature until the Governments have assumed complete charge of the retail trade.

27. Even with the disappearance of the licensed retailers of prepared opium, considerable corruption amongst the lower orders of the staff of the registration and licensing department must be anticipated.

SMUGGLING.

28. Interference with freedom of purchase of prepared opium would undoubtedly give an impetus to smuggling.

29. The preventive work done in the Colony of the Straits Settlements (*i.e.*, in the ports of Singapore and Penang) is practically the only safeguard against smuggling into Malaya. At present the seizures of smuggled opium (both raw and prepared) are relatively small, though the seizures of prepared opium in 1923 show a considerable increase over those of previous years.

30. Returns of seizures in recent years are set out in Appendix XVI. The amout of raw opium seized in 1923 was 260 Kilos and of prepared opium 1,115 Kilos, but it is admitted by the Government Monopolies Department that this only represents a small portion of the amount actually smuggled into the country.

31. Under freedom of purchase there is no incentive to smuggling from artificial prices for the illicit article; the smuggler must compete against the local price of licit opium. But under restricted purchase the illicit article must come more into demand, and thus give an additional incentive to evasions of the preventive laws.

32. The question of an adequate and efficient preventive service is, therefore, of paramount importance, as long as there are sources of supply of illicit opium from which the smuggler can draw without undue difficulty or expense.

33. We are informed by the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Straits Settlements, that the great majority of the seizures in 1923, were effected on ships arriving from China, and we cannot avoid a reference to that country as a source of illicit opium.

34. We do not question the sincerity of the best opinion in China on the intention to suppress the cultivation of the poppy, but it is an admitted fact that under the aegis of many *de facto* military Governments in that country the poppy fields in China now cover very considerable tracts of country.

35. China is now, in fact, a producer of enormous quantities of opium, and we have seen references to "hundreds of tons" in single consignments from place to place in that country. This makes us reflect that it would not be difficult for China to export smuggled opium to an extent sufficient to replace the 186 tons from which all the prepared opium consumed in Malaya in 1923 was produced. (Appendix XI).

36. The evidence of witnesses and the direct knowledge possessed by more than one of the Committee from residence in border and coast districts emphasise the remarkable facilities for smuggling which the extensive coast-line of Malaya, 1,230 miles in length, presents. Innumerable small creeks running far inland and connecting with little known rivers and country roads and so to the main trunk roads and railways: hundreds of sparsely inhabited jungle islands and scores of rivers navigable for timber-laden junks and native craft of all sizes and descriptions, in any of which contraband can be concealed with little fear or chance of

detection: the whole East coast of Malaya one long stretch of sandy beach from Kelantan in the North to Singapore island in the South easily approachable except in the monsoon season: the West coast, with frequent sandy stretches—all these are natural and unique features the existence of which is barely hinted at on a map but which is only too well-known to executive officers whose duty it is, week in and week out, to patrol the border and the coast.

37. So long, therefore, as China produces opium in any considerable quantity, she is from the aspect of smuggling a menace to British Malaya.

38. We consider that reasonably effective prevention against smuggled opium from other sources is within the competence of the authorities to maintain. We feel, however, that it is beyond their competence to prevent effectively the entry of opium smuggled from China, and we are led to this view by consideration of the size and incorruptible quality of the staff required for a satisfactory and efficient preventive service.

39. It is true that we have recommended that licit opium should only be sold in hermetically sealed tubes with a view to increasing the difficulty of internal distribution of illicit opium, but this will be far from sufficient if a premium is put on smuggled opium by a rationing system.

40. If, as we hold, complete exclusion of smuggled opium is necessary to render this measure effective, search of the person of those entering British Malaya will have to be more rigorously conducted. This increased vigilance will bring in its train more oppression from and corruption amongst the subordinates to whom search must be entrusted, and will unquestionably result in increasing unpopularity of the measure.

41. We feel that this unpopularity would cause the withdrawal of such support of the measure as there may be amongst the China-born Chinese. It might even go so far as to alienate their sympathy, if not to provoke their hostility.

42. A further result of increased importance of effective prevention of smuggling will be more general and more careful examination of articles of merchandise with unfavourable consequences to commerce in an entrepôt port like Singapore. Even if this more rigorous examination of articles of merchandise were applied only to articles coming from China, the China-born traders in Malaya might easily become exasperated and increasingly hostile to the measure.

MIGRATION.

43. The next important factor which occurs in dealing with the effectiveness of a system of registration and licensing of opium-smokers is the movement of the smoking population.

44. Allowing for what we have been told as to the amount of opium-smoking or eating amongst other nationalities, it seems to us no exaggeration to state that at least 90 per cent of the opium-smokers in British Malaya are adult Chinese born in China.

45. We proceed a step further and say that it is reasonable to assume that the great majority of smokers in Malaya are Chinese labourers who were born in China.

46. There is some conflict in the evidence on the point of internal movement of the Chinese labouring classes.

47. Weighing the statements made to us, we feel that the movement of Chinese labourers from place to place in British Malaya is sufficient to make it essential that a scheme of this nature, if introduced at all, should be universal in British Malaya.

48. This local movement has not, however, nearly the importance in this connection that migration to China has.

49. The adult male immigrants return set out in Appendix VI led us to make inquiries of several witnesses qualified to speak on the extent of migration between Malaya and China. A practically complete turnover of the China-born Chinese in Malaya every seven years is held by them and accepted by us as a reasonable assumption.

50. Trips to China with the intention of returning to Malaya are extremely common, but there is also the steady infusion of absolute newcomers to replace those who do not return from China.

51. Although a scheme of the nature under consideration might perhaps be easily workable and reasonably effective amongst a settled resident population, it might well be difficult to make operative and impossible to make effective amongst a purely floating population such as the opium-smoking people of British Malaya.

52. We have been told by some witnesses that periodic re-registration and re-licensing would eliminate the importance of the migration factor, but we have grave doubts as to whether they have given full weight to the practical difficulties of periodic re-registration and re-licensing.

53. It does not appear to us to be possible to use the port of Singapore as a centre for dealing with the details of registration of Chinese immigrants when disembarking at that port. We feel that the delays to which people bound for other parts of the Malay Peninsula would be put must tend to prejudice the success of such an attempt. The inclination of a through immigrant would always be to hope that the matter would be put right at the other end if he did not apply for registration when landing in Singapore.

54. Our own knowledge of the port of Singapore prevents us from recommending that any efforts in this direction be made in connection with immigrants on arrival there.

55. In any event, smokers resident in Malaya at the recurring registration periods would have to be dealt with and that means either great delay or incalculable inconvenience, unless registration centres are opened all over the country.

56. This opening of branch registration centres appears to us objectionable in that it must involve actual issue of registration cards and licences coming within the powers of subordinates of varying ranks.

57. The opinions of various District Officers in Perak and Negri Sembilan on this question are set out in Appendix LXI, and we sum them up on the point now under consideration as amounting to the impossibility of adding this work to the District Officer's duties. With the lower proportion of European personnel in the Unfederated Malay States, the difficulty would be even more pronounced there.

58. The opening of branch registration offices would thus imply a special staff in each of them and involve the increasing delegation of power in regard to licences to subordinates who might not be proof against temptation.

IDENTIFICATION OF SMOKERS.

59. The primary objective of a measure of this nature is to enter on the register only those who are at the time of registration smokers.

60. The question arises, therefore, whether any method of differentiating between opium-smokers and non-smokers is available. The evidence on this point clearly indicates that even to a medical man the identification of a moderate smoker would not generally be possible.

61. We think that laymen, who would form the majority of the staff, would never be able to distinguish between the moderate smoker amongst the labouring classes and the non-smoker.

62. A suggestion was made to us that Chinese guilds should recommend applicants for registration, but we cannot think that the witness had any conception of the work and responsibility thrown on the bodies to which he referred. His remarks might apply to a small area and to a few specific bodies. Generally, in British Malaya they would be inapplicable.

63. We come to the conclusion that the only thing to be done will be to accept the claim of the applicant that he is addicted to opium-smoking. We are satisfied also that the applicant's statement as to the amount to which he is accustomed must be accepted, provided it does not exceed the amount he appears to be able to afford to purchase.

IDENTIFICATION OF PURCHASERS.

64. We have carefully considered the question of attaching a smoker to a particular shop, and we feel that this would so hamper the free movement of the labouring classes as to be undesirable.

65. Purchase by a licensed smoker at any shop brings into prominence the question of identification of purchasers.

66. We made many inquiries on this subject and were assured that individual identification of licence holders would require to be done by means of the finger-print system and not by photographs alone.

67. This appeared to us to imply a knowledge of the finger-print system on the part of the staff of every Government opium-shop. We were told that a sufficiently good working knowledge of the system could be obtained in a short time, but we were not entirely satisfied that this was not too optimistic.

GENERAL.

68. We sum up our views on the various aspects of the question of registration and licensing of opium-smokers :—

We have written elsewhere on the social and economic aspect of the opium habit in British Malaya, and we feel that the position is not such as to demand an immediate attempt at a system which will inevitably bring many grave evils in its train.

We hold that corruption amongst the lower orders of the staff, (which must be organised), is bound to arise from the introduction of this measure, but we admit that lapse of time will not appreciably reduce the risk of this.

We feel certain that an impetus to smuggling will be given by the system, and we hold that smuggling cannot adequately be dealt with until the official prohitition of poppy cultivation in China becomes effective.

We anticipate with misgiving the malpractices of the army of informers who are certain to be brought into being by the creation of a multitude of new offences.

We cannot avoid reflecting upon possible disturbance of the free influx of Chinese labour which might result from restrictions of this nature, unless this system were applied universally wherever the Chinese can earn a livelihood. Any check on a free flow of labour from China would have disastrous effects on the economic position of British Malaya, and these territories would be faced with a steadily dwindling revenue and a steadily increasing expenditure, owing to costly preventive services and establishments required to make the system effective.

69. We repeat that we recommend the Governments of Malaya not to contemplate a scheme of registration and licensing combined until complete control over the retail distribution of prepared opium is in their hands.

70. Even with complete Government control of the retail sale of prepared opium, we consider that the success of the composite measure of registration and licensing would be highly problematical.

71. We shall, however, in the next section, explore the preliminary steps which should in our opinion be taken to give a reasonable chance of effectiveness to a system of registration, licensing and individual rationing when it is introduced.

XV.

REGISTRATION OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.

We have earlier in this report stated that any attempt to estimate the number of opium-smokers in Malaya at any given time is, under existing circumstances, a pure speculation.

2. We have also commented on the constant movement to and from China of the section of the community which includes the vast majority of smokers, and the brief value even of a speculation is clear.

3. We have, therefore, felt it desirable to investigate the question whether a system of registration of opium-smokers would give a constant solution of the problem of the number of opium addicts in British Malaya.

4. Our view of registration in this connection would involve the following penal offences only :—

(*a*) Sale to an unregistered person.

(*b*) Possession of prepared opium by an unregistered person.

(*c*) Possession of smoking apparatus by an unregistered person.

5. Registered smokers would under this system be allowed freedom as to amount purchased and possession of, say, 5 tahils of prepared opium and of smoking apparatus.

6. We have said elsewhere that the opium habit is prevalent amongst a race which contributes almost one-half of the adult male population in British Malaya, and it must be remembered that the race in question is the most virile of the native races included in the population.

7. We feel, therefore, that before any question of restriction of supply is considered, it is essential to have a knowledge of the numbers of these virile people affected by that restriction.

8. Our official witnesses were unwilling to dissociate registration from licensing (with a ration) but we still feel that it is necessary to consider the questions separately, because there is a lesser number of penal offences created in registration alone. Registration attempted as a preliminary measure might have some possibility of being effective, but we are quite clear that the simultaneous introduction of registration and licensing would be courting a disastrous failure.

9. Official witnesses, whose opinion is entitled to weight, hold that registration alone will fail in its object of being a perfect and continuous census of opium-smokers, owing in the main to the number of nominee purchasers who would come into being.

10. They hold that a well-to-do smoker would be unwilling to risk the possible stigma of publicity involved in registration if

he felt that he could safely rely on some registered person in his employment purchasing for him the amount he required. We recognise the force of this contention.

11. We realise, therefore, that as far as concerns the richer section of the Chinese community, the only safeguard would be in information as to possession of prepared opium or implements for opium-smoking, and that successful prosecutions would be unlikely if the smoker had servants on his premises who had registered as opium-smokers.

12. We are not optimistic of the success of registration alone as solving the primary problem of the number of better class smokers.

13 The labouring class of the Chinese is many times more numerous than the upper and middle classes, but no formula can be invented to determine the proportion to the adult Chinese male population of the smokers in the upper class and lower class respectively.

14. It may, however, confidently be asserted that a great numerical superiority lies with the lower class smokers, and we come to the question whether the labouring classes will register or will evade registration by employing nominees who are themselves registered.

15. There is inherent in the minds of the less educated Chinese a good deal of objection to anything in the nature of individual registration. It is natural, therefore, that there is conflict of opinion as to whether even simple registration, carrying with it the right to a registered person to purchase as much prepared opium as he requires and can pay for, would be objectionable to Chinese of the working classes.

16. In the attempt to eliminate such objection to registration as may obtain, it would be necessary for the Government to reduce the practical difficulties of registration to a minimum, and for Chinese employers to use their influence amongst their opium smoking employees to see that they did all register themselves. Should this influence prove to be of little practical value, it might be necessary to put a legal obligation on employers of Chinese labour forces of 50 or more to make to the Registrar periodic detailed returns of the opium-smokers employed by them.

17. We have been reminded by many witnesses of the difficulties of personal purchase by Chinese labourers who are working at a distance from the nearest Government retail shop. In such cases, appearance in person to purchase prepared opium might be so difficult as to cause a loss of working hours and a consequent loss of wages.

18. We feel that such Chinese labourers would naturally club together and remunerate a registered smoker to purchase for them.

19. It will probably be necessary to give official recognition to such nominees, and we think on the whole that the best way would

be, as we have suggested elsewhere, to recognise the employer as the purchaser on behalf of his employees, who are engaged in work far from the nearest town or village. It would be necessary to insist on the production by the employer of the registration cards of his employees at the time of each such purchase.

20. Considerations of the difficulties outlined above have brought prominently to our notice a suggestion made to us by the British Resident, Negri Sembilan, when giving evidence. We quote Mr. HOSE's proposal from his evidence printed at page C 240 :—

> "As a further means of getting down to the bed-rock of facts about the consumption of opium in this country, I think it would not be a bad thing to have a man appointed in each shop as an observer. You might call him a clerk, but his business would be to just quietly study the people who come to buy opium and gradually compile facts as to the number and the class of consumers with a view to seeing what our next step might be. You would be able to ascertain then whether consumption was increasing or decreasing and what the individual consumption was and what classes of the people were affected."

21. We consider this suggestion a very valuable one, and we recommend that all Governments adopt it as they take over the control of the retail sale of prepared opium.

22. Selection of the proper type of Chinese as observer in Government retail shops should result in an informal but complete system of registration of purchasers of prepared opium. The observer after experience of the position as regards the Government shop he is connected with should be able to make suggestions as to the most effective method of registration of up-country coolies. He should be able to advise on the prevalence or otherwise of nominee purchasers, and should in our opinion form a most valuable, if not even an essential, preliminary to a system of simple registration such as we propose.

23. We feel that the initial steps towards registration should not be taken in a haphazard but in a uniform manner and we, therefore, think that it will be advisable to create a Standing Committee for the whole of British Malaya to advise on measures to be taken in controlling the use of opium.

24. This Committee on which the Chinese community should eventually be represented would prescribe the duties of the opium shop observers in such a manner that the records compiled by them would give data of material assistance at the introduction of the simple registration measure.

25. We consider that the observer system should be in full working order everywhere for at least a year before the simple registration measure is introduced.

26. While the observer system is operative, consideration by the Standing Committee of the features of a simple registration

measure will be possible and the mistakes which are apt to arise from hasty and ill considered legislation should be avoided.

27. We feel that such a measure might act in some small measure as a deterrent to new smokers, because in the process of learning the habit they would have to be in possession of prepared opium and thus be committing an offence. But apart from this, we hold that it is essential to find out in the first place the number of persons whom gradual measures towards the suppression of the opium habit will affect.

28. We are not sanguine about the success even of a measure of registration pure and simple, but we feel that gradual progress such as we have indicated will give that measure a chance of a fair trial.

29. Success in that trial would not necessarily prove that the additional measure of individual rationing would also be a success, though it would justify embarking upon it. A proved failure to make simple registration effective might, on the other hand, indicate that measures of gradual suppression of the opium habit in British Malaya must proceed on other lines.

XVI.

MAXIMUM LIMIT OF PREPARED OPIUM ON A PER CAPITA BASIS.

We are asked to report whether the following measure is feasible and likely to be effective and beneficial:—

> "That a uniform maximum limit calculated according to the number of the adult Chinese male population should be fixed for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption."

2. In this connection the British Advisers of the States of Kedah and Kelantan have impressed on us (Appendices LVI and LVII) the inapplicability of a proposal which neglects the Siamese opium consumers in both those States and the Malay consumers in Kedah. In the Colony of the Straits Settlements and the other States, however, the opium habit is almost entirely confined to adult Chinese males.

3. We have reliable data only in respect of the year 1921 from which to calculate the *per capita* consumption of the adult Chinese males. We make the following extract of figures from Appendix XII.

State or Settlement.	Consumption per adult Chinese male per annum in 1921.
	Grammes.
Straits Settlements	**231**
Singapore	250
Penang	210
Malacca	155
Labuan	491
Federated Malay States	**128**
Perak	131
Selangor	134
Negri Sembilan	100
Pahang	136
Johore	**170**
Kedah	**204**
Perlis	**273**
Kelantan	**253**
Trengganu	**314**
Brunei	**232**

4. The wide range of average consumption shewn in this table indicated the necessity for a close inquiry into its causes.

5. We started on our inquiry with the following data:—

(*a*) the territories of British Malaya are almost all closely connected geographically;

(*b*) Chinese immigrant labourers in all the territories are almost entirely drawn from South China;

(*c*) wages of Chinese labour are not known to shew any remarkable variation throughout British Malaya;

(*d*) prices of prepared opium shew no great variation; and

(*e*) no restrictions on the opium habit in so far as adult Chinese males are concerned obtain in any particular territory in British Malaya.

6. We think that the explanation of the variation lies in the variation in the degree of indulgence obtaining in the various tribes of Southern Chinese which constitute the Chinese immigrant population of British Malaya.

7. This variation was admitted by many of our witnesses, but we were, perhaps naturally, not able to get them to commit themselves to more exact statements than that the Hokkiens are the heaviest smokers.

8. Whether this admission should be taken to imply that a greater percentage of Hokkiens than of other tribes smokes, or that a Hokkien smoker consumes more than a smoker of another tribe or both, was more than we could expect to derive from the personal observations of our witnesses.

9. We do not say that this is the only explanation of the difference between the *per capita* consumption of the adult Chinese male population in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, but we do say that it is a most important factor in the explanation.

10. Appendix IV shows that of 1,000 of the Chinese male population in the Straits Settlements, 589 are Hokkiens and Tiechius—the biggest smokers according to our evidence—and 278 are Cantonese and Khehs—claimed by our witnesses to be the smallest smokers amongst the China-born part of the community. This contrasts remarkably with the Federated Malay States where in 1921 the Cantonese and Khehs contributed 647 to every thousand of the Chinese male population, and the Hokkiens and Tiechius only 260.

11. We judge from the corresponding resolution of the Advisory Committee of the League of Nations on the Opium Traffic that the use of "uniform" implies a formula of general applicability to all territories coming within the scope of the League. We, therefore, feel it essential to note a difference between British Malaya and the neighbouring Colony of Hongkong.

12. We gather from the Hongkong Census Report 1921 that nearly all of the adult Chinese males in that Colony are Cantonese or Khehs, and we are not surprised to observe from the slight data before us that the *per capita* consumption in Hongkong is considerably less than in the Federated Malay States and remarkably lower than in the Straits Settlements.

13. We have referred in many parts of this report to this tribal variation of degree of indulgence, but we think its importance in relation to the point now under consideration cannot be overstated.

14. We feel it necessary to say that even if the number of adult Chinese male smokers in each territory were given to us and we were asked to find a formula of the nature under consideration universally applicable to British Malaya alone we should hold the tribal differentiation to be an insurmountable difficulty in solving the problem.

15. We say, for example, that given the average consumption per adult Chinese male smoker in Hongkong, to apply that to the given number of smokers in the Federated Malay States would be unfair, because of the inclusion of the 26 per cent Hokkiens and Tiechius in those States. We say that a formula so ascertained and applicable to Hongkong would be still more inapplicable to the Straits Settlements with its 59 per cent of Hokkiens and Tiechius.

16. We come nearer home and say that to give a fair ration to the smokers (when known) in the Straits Settlements and apply that to the neighbouring Federation would be giving an unnecessarily high ration in the Federated Malay States, while the Federated Malay States fair ration would be too low for the Colony.

17. We feel that, even neglecting the needs of opium users of nationalities other than Chinese, the proposal in its present form is inappropriate to the requirements of the various territories in British Malaya.

XVII.

EDUCATION AS THE MEANS OF ERADICATING THE HABIT.

It appears to us to be self-evident that the eradication of the opium smoking habit can only be achieved by stopping the supply of prepared opium or eliminating the demand for it.

2. While the poppy is being cultivated in any considerable quantity in other countries the stoppage in any particular country would be merely artificial and would lead to devices to evade it which would be attended with varying degrees of success.

3. Elimination and avoidance of the habit can, in our opinion, only be achieved by education, and in this several of our witnesses, who were pressing for drastic legal measures, agreed.

4. In educational work it is natural to direct principal attention to the young, and the institution of school lectures on the evils of the habit appeals to those desirous of stamping it out.

5. We think that such lectures might well be encouraged in Government Schools which have any considerable number of Chinese children on their books, but we hold that it is desirable that all such lectures, whether given by Government officers or by interested unofficial members of the community to whom permission has been accorded, should be approved by an officially recognised Committee.

6. We would point out in passing that the Chinese children to whom lectures of this nature would be delivered would include children of China-born as well as of Straits-born parents.

7. We must also observe, however, that immigrant Chinese labourers who first come here as adults provide the great majority of the opium smokers in British Malaya.

8. School education in Malaya will, therefore, not touch the vast majority of our smokers in their youth and, if education of youth is to be relied on as a main factor in elimination, that education must be given in China and not here.

9. Propaganda work in British Malaya, if it is to be in any way successful, must be carried on mainly outside of the schools, and we were interested to see the way in which this is to be taken up in the Federated Malay States.

10. The initial measures which are being taken in those States are set out in Appendix LXVII, and are in our opinion worthy of the consideration of other Governments in British Malaya.

11. In this anti-opium propaganda work lies the real scope of the local anti-opium movement. Provided that the methods adopted are subject to the approval of a recognised body on which the Government is properly represented, we think that the various Governments might well foster this propaganda.

12. We are in favour of free treatment at Government hospitals for all *bonâ fide* applicants for the cure of the habit.

XVIII.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

We have satisfied ourselves that the consumption of prepared opium in British Malaya has diminished very appreciably in recent years.

2. We have doubts, however, as to whether under existing measures of control a further steady reduction of consumption of prepared opium may be anticipated.

3. We feel that educational propaganda may be sufficient to eradicate the opium habit amongst the Straits-born Chinese, but its progress amongst the China-born, however sure, must necessarily be slow, owing to steady influx of adult Chinese immigrants.

4. We have accordingly been forced to the conclusion that eventual elimination of opium smoking in British Malaya can only be achieved, without causing unnecessary hardship, through control over smokers individually.

5. We have throughout our report insisted that local circumstances are such that immediate embarkation on an individual rationing system would be disastrous, but we cannot avoid the conclusion that all steps which are taken should have such a system as their eventual objective.

6. We think that the recommendations which we have made pave the way for an attempt at rationing individual smokers without dooming that attempt to failure.

7. We hold that the primary step is for the Governments to take charge of the entire retailing of prepared opium whether sold for consumption on or off the premises.

8. Concurrently with this abolition of licensed shops, we recommend a change in the system of packing prepared opium for retail sale.

9. We think that prepared opium should only be sold retail in hermetically sealed machine-filled tubes which cannot be used more than once.

10. We hold that the ease of recognition of receptacles containing licit prepared opium and the impossibility of tampering with those receptacles will be of assistance in detecting smuggled opium when more stringent measures are introduced. We also think that the difficulty and expense of counterfeiting these tubes will be a great advantage over the present system.

11. Incidentally, we recommend the replacement of the present 3-hoon (17½ grains) packet, which is the most commonly purchased, by a 2-hoon (11 2/3 grains) tube. We hope that this experiment will result in an appreciable diminution in consumption by smokers of the poorer class.

12. We think that further increases in the price of prepared opium, although they might cause some further reduction of consumption of prepared opium, would certainly cause an increase in the swallowing of dross, and we hold that such a result

should at all costs be avoided. We recommend, therefore, that no change be made in the price except in so far as is necessary to make it uniform throughout British Malaya.

13. We view the swallowing of dross as the most deplorable phase of the opium habit in British Malaya, and we recommend an exhaustive exploration of the ways in which dross swallowing can be reduced to a minimum. As a first, but not necessarily effective, step in this direction, we recommend a considerable increase in the price offered by the Governments for dross returned.

14. All of the measures and investigations which we have suggested in the previous paragraphs can and in our opinion should be put in train during the transitional stage from licensed retailers to retail sale by the Governments themselves.

15. We have not been able to avoid adverse comment on the number of licensed shops for the sale of prepared opium in some of the territories of British Malaya. We consider that in some administrations drastic reduction in the number is possible even before the assumption of control of retail sale by the Governments in question.

16. We have expressed a hope that Government management of retail sales will be universally in force in British Malaya by the middle of the year 1926, and the next step of attaching observers to each Government retail shop to take records of purchasers at such shops should then be universally in operation also.

17. We do not anticipate that it will be necessary to wait for the end of the transitional stage to Government control before commencing the observer system.

18. We have advocated the appointment of a permanent Advisory Committee on matters connected with opium in British Malaya. We think that this Committee should be appointed in the near future, and should guide experiments in connection with the observer system during the transitional stage.

19. With the knowledge gained during the transitional stage, this Committee should be in a position to prescribe the duties and records of the shop observers, in such manner that a year of this system in full and universal working order should give reliable data and such experience as would justify embarking on a measure of compulsory simple registration of smokers.

20. The Committee's experience during the period so far covered, which goes to the middle of the year 1927, should enable that measure of registration of smokers to be framed in such a manner as to cause a minimum of friction and result in a maximum of efficiency.

21. We recommend that the system of registration of smokers (without any rationing provisions) should be given an exhaustive trial before any further steps are taken.

22. This trial should be recognised by the Advisory Committee as intended to be the preliminary step towards an individual rationing system, and should enable the Committee to frame the provisions of the extended measure of individual rationing in such a manner as to give that measure a reasonable chance of success.

23. We have examined the proposal to fix a maximum limit to the amount of prepared opium placed on sale on the basis of X tahils per head of the adult Chinese male population, and we hold that the variation in degree of indulgence amongst the various tribes included in that population renders such a formula inappropriate to British Malaya.

24. In concluding our report, we record our appreciation of the assistance rendered to us by our Secretary. Mr. RICHARDS was otherwise so fully engaged on official duties that his work for the Committee was necessarily an encroachment on his leisure. We also desire to thank Mr. W. A. GUMMER of the Survey Department for checking our most important statistical tables.

We have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's obedient Servants,

A. M. POUNTNEY, (*Chairman*).

D. J. GALLOWAY.

S. J. CHAN.

A. S. JELF.

LIM NEE SOON.

L. McLEAN.

A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

SINGAPORE, 22*nd February*, 1924.

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

ATTENDANCES OF MEMBERS AT THE 23 SITTINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., *Chairman* ...	23	Meetings.
„ Sir DAVID GALLOWAY	22	„
Mr. S. J. CHAN	23	„
Mr. A. S. JELF	21	„
Mr. LIM NEE SOON	23	„
Mr. L. MCLEAN	22	„
Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, *Secretary*	22	„

SINGAPORE,
22nd February, 1924.

MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS

OF THE

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

First Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 28TH NOVEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

All the Members of the Committee, viz:—

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witness was examined:—

Mr. GEORGE GORDON WILSON, Superintendent of Government Monopolies, Singapore.

Second Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 30TH NOVEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

The Hon'ble Mr. D. BEATTY, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements.

The Hon'ble Dr. A. L. HOOPS, Principal Civil Medical Officer, Straits Settlements.

Mr. HO SIAK KUAN, Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements.

Third Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

LEUNG KEW, No. 1 Turner, Singapore Harbour Board.

WONG ON, Head Boiler-maker, Singapore Harbour Board.

HO AH KUM, Engineer's Fitter, Singapore Harbour Board.

SICK AH HIN, No. 1, Ship's Painter, Singapore Harbour Board.

Fong Ah Soo, Head Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board.
Ho Ah Lim, No. 1 Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board.
Than Ah Tong, Coppersmith, Singapore Harbour Board.
Leong Ah Mok, No. 1 Blacksmith, Singapore Harbour Board.
Wee Siong, 'Rikisha owner. (*Siong Thau*).
Lee Choon, Registered owner of 'Rikishas.

Fourth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 7TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Pountney, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. David Galloway.	Mr. Lim Nee Soon.
Mr. S. J. Chan.	Mr. L. McLean.
Mr. A. S. Jelf.	Mr. A. F. Richards, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. Lee Kong Chian, Attorney of Messrs. Tan Kah Kee and Company.
Wong Ah Chong, No. 1 Fitter, United Engineers.
Mr. Tan Boon Tye, owner of motor business in Johore.
Mr. Chhoa Hun Chho, Manager, Teo Eng Hock's Rubber goods manufactory.
Wong Tat, No. 1 Boiler-maker, United Engineers.
Cho Yok Hean, Manager, Seong Lim Saw Mills.
Mr. Ng Seng Phang, Timber merchant and tongkang builder in Singapore, with timber-cutting concessions in Johore.
Lim Kim Tian, Twako owner and stevedore.
Wang Mui Tsz, Twako owner.
Ho Sam, Pattern maker, United Engineers.

Fifth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, MONDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Pountney, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. David Galloway.	Mr. Lim Nee Soon.
Mr. S. J. Chan.	Mr. L. McLean.
Mr. A. S. Jelf.	Mr. A. F. Richards, (*Secretary*).

The following witness was examined:—

Mr. G. E. Cator, Commissioner of Trade and Customs and Sperintendent of the Chandu Monopolies, Johore.

Sixth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 12TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. Pountney, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. David Galloway.	Mr. Lim Nee Soon.
Mr. S. J. Chan.	Mr. L. McLean.
Mr. A. S. Jelf.	Mr. A. F. Richards, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. Loke Chow Thye, Tin miner and President of the Anti-opium Society in Selangor.
Colonel J. H. Tyte, Inspector of Prisons, Straits Settlements.

Mr. THAN CHIAN, Saw-mill owner and timber merchant.

Mr. TAY SECK TIN, Secretary, Singapore Anti-opium Society.

In view of the very slight response to their advertisements the Committee decides to make a direct request to the various Chinese Chambers of Commerce and other Chinese public coolies to nonminate witnesses.

Seventh Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 14TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. G. G. MUSSELL, Acting Head of the Preventive Service.

Mr. TAN POW TECK, Commission Agent and Petition Writer, (Klang).

TIONG CHU TENG, Timber-yard owner, Sedili, Johore.

Mr. TAN KHEAM KEAT, Labour Contractor, Singapore Harbour Board.

Eighth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 19TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

TAY HO LIAN, Licensed smoking shop-keeper, No. 3, Beach Lane.

BOEY IAM THOON, smoking shop-keeper, 15, North Canal Road.

TEO LYE HI, Retail chandu shop-keeper, No. 217, Rochore Road.

Mr. C. H. SANSOM, Commissioner of Police, Johore.

Ninth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 21ST DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

KOEH THENG, Retail chandu shop-keeper, No. 64, Queen Street.

LIM IONG PHUAN, Retail chandu shop-keeper, No, 112, Lavender Street.

KOEH POON SENG, smoking shop-keeper, No. 119, Victoria Street.

Mr. GEORGE GORDON WILSON, Superintendent of Government Monopolies, Singapore, (re-called).

Tenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 28TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. LOW TING TENG, Rubber planter at Johore and owner of Pineapple factories; also representative member of Hakkas on the Chinese Advisory Board.

Mr. TAN KYE KOK, President, Hailam *Kongsi*.

Eleventh Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 2ND JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

*The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witness was examined:—

Mr. R. F. R. SWETTENHAM, Superintendent, Chandu Monopolies, Kuala Lumpur.

*Knighted in the New Year Honours List.

Twefth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 4TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witness was examined:—

Dr. R. M. CONNOLLY, Private Medical Practitioner and Estate Owner.

Thirteenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, MONDAY, 7TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

ABSENT:

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

TUNKU KASSIM, Superintendent of Government Monopolies, Kedah.

Mr. W. E. SPEERS, Commissioner of Police, Kedah.

Mr. LEONG SIN NAM and Mr. LAU EK CHING, representing the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

Fourteenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Dr. HO SIU KHAN, Resident Physician, Koong Wai Shiu (Cantonese Free Hospital).

Mr. LAM LOOKING, Miner and Rubber Planter.

Mr. LAM KAM, Pawn-broker, Tapah, Bidor and Chenderiang.

Fifteenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 11TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Dr. AH CHIT JAP, Private Medical Practitioner.

Dr. W. F. SAMUELS, Medical Superintendent of the Central Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan.

Sixteenth Meeting.

KUALA LUMPUR, TUESDAY, 15TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. W. T. CHAPMAN, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Federated Malay States.

Mr. R. F. R. SWETTENHAM, Superintendent, Chandu Monopolies, Kuala Lumpur, (re-called).

Dr. P. G. EDGAR, Medical Practitioner, Miner and Planter.

Dr. D. C. MACASKILL, Private Medical Practitioner.

Seventeenth Meeting.

KUALA LUMPUR, WEDNESDAY, 16TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The following witnesses were examined:—

Mr. J. W. SIMMONS, Acting District Officer, Kinta.
The Hon'ble Mr. E. S. HOSE, C.M.G., British Resident, Negri Sembilan.
The Hon'ble Mr. H. W. THOMSON, British Resident, Pahang.
The Hon'ble Mr. R. SCOTT, Acting British Resident, Selangor.
Mr. F. E. TAYLOR, Acting District Officer, Klang.
Dr. A. T. STANTON, Director of Government Laboratories, Federated Malay States.
Dr. K. T. KHONG, Private Medical Practitioner.
Mr. FOO BAN SENG, Miner and Planter.
Mr. SHUM CHOOK SAM, Miner and Planter.
Mr. TAN BOON CHEANG, Miner.
Mr. KHONG SU KEE, Rubber planter.
Mr. LIM TEOW CHONG, Interpreter, Supreme Court, (Retired) now a petition writer.
Mr. TEH KE, at one time a miner, now a clerk.

Eighteenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, MONDAY, 21ST JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. A. S. JELF.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

ABSENT:

Mr. L. McLEAN.

The following witnesses were examined:—

Dr. FRANKLAND DENT, Government Analyst, Straits Settlements.
Mr. W. BARTLEY, Assistant Adviser, Kelantan, now Assistant Colonial Secretary.

The Committee decides that sufficient evidence has been taken to enable them to proceed to their report.

A few preliminary points are then discussed and agreed on.

Nineteenth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Discussion of draft Report.

Twentieth Meeting.

SINGAPORE, THURSDAY, 31ST JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Discussion of draft Report continued.

Twenty-first Meeting.

SINGAPORE, FRIDAY, 8TH FEBRUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

ABSENT:

Mr. A. S. JELF.

Discussion of draft Report continued.

Twenty-second Meeting.

SINGAPORE, WEDNESDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

ABSENT:

Mr. A. S. JELF.

Discussion of draft Report continued.

Twenty-third Meeting.

SINGAPORE, TUESDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*)

Report further discussed and agreed on.

B.

PART II.

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APPENDICES

TO THE

REPORT OF THE BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

APPENDIX I.

1921 Census of British Malaya.

AREA AND TOTAL POPULATION WITH URBAN AND RURAL PROPORTIONS.

State or Settlement.	Area sq. miles.	Total Population.	Urban Population per 1,000.	Rural Population per 1,000.
Straits Settlements ...	**1,599**	**883,769**	**595**	**405**
Singapore	308	425,912	826	174
Penang	571	304,335	464	536
Malacca	720	153,522	216	784
Federated Malay States ...	**27,648**	**1,324,890**	**224**	**776**
Perak	7,875	599,055	229	771
Selangor	3,195	401,009	310	690
Negri Sembilan ..	2,572	178,762	139	861
Pahang	14,006	146,064	70	930
Johore	**7,678**	**282,234**	**155**	**845**
Kedah	**3,648**	**338,558**	**66**	**934**
Perlis	**316**	**40,087**	**27**	**973**
Kelantan	**5,713**	**309,300**	**42**	**958**
Trengganu	**6,000**	**153,765**	**109**	**891**
Brunei	**4,000**	**25,451**	**420**	**580**
British Malaya ...	**56,602**	**3,358,054**	**277**	**723**

APPENDIX II.

1921 Census of British Malaya.

CHINESE MALE POPULATION.

SHOWING URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN NUMBERS AND PROPORTIONS AND DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION.

State or Settlement.	Total Chinese Males.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban Population per 1,000.	Rural Population per 1,000.	Rural Population per sq. mile (Approx.)
Straits Settlements ...	**337,006**	**257,440**	**79,566**	**764**	**236**	**53**
Singapore	215,918	186,332	29,586	863	137	106
Penang	87,609	56,743	30,866	648	352	56
Malacca	33,479	14,365	19,114	429	571	27
Federated Malay States ...	**366,002**	**130,095**	**235,907**	**355**	**645**	**9**
Perak	162,691	60,408	102,283	371	629	13
Selangor	121,962	52,462	69,500	430	570	22
Negri Sembilan ...	53,646	12,421	41,225	231	769	19
Pahang	27,703	4,804	22,899	173	827	1·5
Johore	**79,066**	**16,794**	**62,272**	**212**	**788**	**8**
Kedah	**47,419**	**8,229**	**39,190**	**174**	**826**	**11**
Perlis	**2,701**	**436**	**2,265**	**161**	**839**	**8**
Kelantan	**9,377**	**1,355**	**8,022**	**145**	**855**	**1·4**
Trengganu	**6,088**	**1,244**	**4,844**	**204**	**796**	**0·8**
Brunei	**1,117**	**419**	**698**	**375**	**625**	**0·2**
British Malaya ...	**848,776**	**416,012**	**432,764**	**490**	**510**	**8**

APPENDIX III.

ADULT CHINESE MALES (21 and over) AT THE 1911 AND 1921 CENSUSES.

State or Settlement.	Adult Chinese males 1911.	Adult Chinese males 1921.	Increase or decrease.	Percentage of Increase or decrease.
				%
Straits Settlements	**215,178**	**247,846**	+ **32,668**	+ **15·2**
Singapore	129,246	159,531	+ 30,285	+ 23·4
Penang	60,790	62,369	+ 1,579	+ 2·6
Malacca	24,192	25,314	+ 1,122	+ 4·6
Labuan	950	632	− 318	− 33·5
Federated Malay States	**316,190**	**292,491**	− **23,699**	− **7·5**
Perak	159,894	129,080	− 30,814	− 19·3
Selangor	102,718	93,114	− 9,604	− 9·3
Negri Sembilan	33,454	46,083	+ 12,629	+ 37·7
Pahang	20,124	24,214	+ 4,090	+ 20·3
Johore	**51,119**	**67,012**	+ **15,893**	+ **31·1**
Kedah	**25,461**	**40,017**	+ **14,556**	+ **57·2**
Perlis	**1,093**	**2,126**	+ **1,033**	+ **94·5**
Kelantan	**5,719** *a*	**7,423**	+ **1,704**	+ **29·8**
Trengganu	**2,800** *a*	**5,231**	+ **2,431**	+ **86·8**
Brunei	**503**	**884**	+ **381**	+ **75·7**
British Malaya ...	**618,063**	**663,030**	+ **44,967**	+ **7·3**

(a) The total number of Chinese males only is available from the records of the 1911 Census in Kelantan and Trengganu. These figures, entered for comparative purposes only, are based on the assumption that the adult Chinese males increased at the same rate as the Chinese males.

APPENDIX IV.

1921 CENSUS.

TRIBAL CONSTITUENTS OF 1,000 CHINESE MALES.

Country.	Hokkien.	Tiechiu.	Cantonese.	Kheh.	Hailam.	Other Tribes.
Straits Settlements ...	423	166	200	78	80	53
Federated Malay States ...	214	46	353	294	59	34
Johore	298	182	210	127	148	35
Kedah	238	296	185	207	57	17
Perlis	290	57	207	396	48	2
Kelantan	381	23	268	141	63	124
Trengganu	193	34	324	102	319	28
Brunei	433	84	201	205	73	4
British Malaya ...	**308**	**120**	**268**	**185**	**78**	**41**

APPENDIX V.

STRAITS-BORN SECTION OF CHINESE POPULATION.

MALES ONLY, 1921.

Country.	Born in British Malaya.	Born Elsewhere.	Non-Straits-born percentage of total male population.
			%
Straits Settlements ...	70,485	266,521	79
Federated Malay States	41,501	324,501	89
Johore	6,029	73,037	92
Kedah	5,627	41,792	88
Perlis	474	2,227	82
Kelantan	3,102	6,275	67
Trengganu	763	5,325	87
Brunei	178	939	84
British Malaya ...	**128,159**	**720,617**	**85**

STRAITS-BORN SECTION OF CHINESE POPULATION.

MALES ONLY, 1911.

Country.	Born in British Malaya.	Born Elsewhere.	Non-Straits-born percentage of total male population.
			%
Straits Settlements ...	40,405	231,805	85
Federated Malay States	18,517	346,319	95
Kedah	2,816	25,934	90
Perlis	233	1,086	82

APPENDIX VI.

Mr. Beatty's Evidence, Page C 16.

RETURN OF CHINESE IMMIGRANTS AND EMIGRANTS.

Year.	Immigrants arriving in Singapore from China.		Chinese Deck Passengers leaving Singapore for China.
	Total.	Adult Males.	Male and Female.
1911	269,854	226,126	No records kept.
1912	251,644	206,018	
1913	240,979	197,872	
1914	147,150	121,355	
1915	95,735	76,545	
1916	183,399	144,431	61,630
1917	155,167	122,206	41,282
1918	58,421	39,679	35,585
1919	70,912	44,276	37,590
1920	126,077	83,940	68,383
1921	191,043	138,785	101,360
1922	132,886	98,364	96,869
1923 to end of October	133,440	97,327	63,058

Notes.—Total Chinese immigrants arriving in the 7 years 1916–1922 917,905

Total non-Straits-born Chinese in British Malaya at 1921 Census 916,254

Total Chinese adult male immigrants in 7 years 1916–1922 is 671,681 or more than the total Chinese adult male population enumerated in British Malaya at the 1921 Census.

APPENDIX VII.

Evidence of Mr. Wilson, Page C 4.

* SALES OF PREPARED OPIUM IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS FROM 1911 TO 1922.

Year.	Singapore.		Penang.		Malacca.		Labuan.		Colony.	
	Tahils sold.	Index No.	Tahils sold.	Index No.	Tahils sold.	Index No.	Tahils sold.	Index No.	Tahils sold.	Index No.
1911	1,064,499	114	511,792	166	193,215	185	...	...	1,769,506	131
1912	1,037,375	111	477,532	154	176,810	169	...	...	1,691,717	125
1913	917,541	98	411,825	133	157,508	151	6,380	88	1,493,254	110
1914	866,947	93	392,534	127	135,436	130	7,140	99	1,402,057	104
1915	886,496	95	392,209	127	165,966	159	7,261	100	1,451,932	107
1916	889,311	95	371,927	120	182,794	175	7,983	110	1,452,015	107
1917	807,415	87	311,186	101	170,053	163	7,636	105	1,296,290	96
1918	1,018,960	109	366,694	119	176,586	169	8,621	119	1,570,861	116
1919	1,069,501	115	420,390	136	193,442	185	10,800	149	1,694,133	125
1920	1,173,772	126	443,217	143	182,815	175	10,360	143	1,810,164	134
1921	1,052,959	113	346,393	112	103,854	100	8,216	113	1,511,422	112
1922	932,440	100	309,227	100	104,336	100	7,242	100	1,353,245	100

* Taken to nearest tahil.

N.B.—The above figures do not include shipments to Christmas Island. Their inclusion would, however, have no appreciable effect on the Index numbers. Shipments to Christmas Island were as follows:—

Year.	Tahils.	Index No.	Year.	Tahils.	Index No.
1911	9,000	100	1917	6,000	67
1912	11,400	127	1918	4,200	47
1913	10,200	113	1919	6,600	73
1914	10,200	113	1920	5,700	63
1915	7,800	87	1921	6,900	77
1916	6,600	73	1922	9,000	100

APPENDIX VIII.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 146.

SALES OF PREPARED OPIUM FOR YEARS 1911 TO 1922 IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES AND PERAK, SELANGOR, NEGRI SEMBILAN AND PAHANG.

Year.	Perak.		Selangor.		Negri Sembilan.		Pahang.		Federated Malay States.	
	Tahils.	Index number of sales.	Tahils.	Index number of sales.	Tahils.	Index number of sales.	Tahils.	Index number of sales.	Tahils.	Index number of sales.
1911	1,216,129	297	804,807	297	310,093	301	137,011	206	2,468,040	290
1912	1,212,801	296	815,265	300	268,815	261	153,549	231	2,450,430	288
1913	1,093,227	267	722,490	266	241,936	235	130,949	197	2,188,602	257
1914	856,082	209	559,875	206	182,484	177	121,508	183	1,719,949	202
1915	880,494	215	565,203	208	215,311	209	112,536	169	1,773,544	209
1916	881,799	215	560,499	207	248,732	242	108,734	164	1,799,764	212
1917	714,356	174	466,640	172	230,772	224	98,097	148	1,509,865	178
1918	860,558	210	547,692	202	251,799	245	123,506	186	1,783,555	210
1919	777,512	190	499,385	184	257,945	251	116,096	175	1,650,938	194
1920	746,378	182	476,669	176	239,919	233	116,555	175	1,579,521	186
1921	448,625	109	331,312	122	122,221	119	87,010	131	989,168	116
1922	409,701	100	271,309	100	102,850	100	66,407	100	850,267	100

APPENDIX IX.

Sales of Prepared Opium in the Unfederated Malay States.

COMPILED FROM DATA SUPPLIED BY THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENTS.

Year.	Johore.		Kedah. (*a*)		Perlis. (*a*)		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.	
	Tahils.	Index number.	Tahils.	Index number.	Tahils.	Index number.	Tahils.	Index number.	Tahils.	Index number.	Tahils.	Index number.
1911	492,529	164	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...
1912	493,173	164	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...
1913	415,254	138	213,394	132	13,966	91	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	5,422	119
1914	358,183	119	213,159	132	14,229	93	(*b*)	...	(*b*)	...	4,850	107
1915	468,846	156	212,551	133	15,029	100	39,006	98	(*b*)	...	4,884	107
1916	534,837	178	236,581	148	16,339	107	43,328	109	(*b*)	...	5,569	123
1917	489,641	163	242,882	152	14,251	93	41,908	105	(*b*)	...	5,243	115
1918	486,172	162	283,505	177	16,819	109	49,715	125	54,567	239	5,741	126
1919	538,670	179	275,402	172	17,054	111	54,737	138	59,256	260	6,692	147
1920	583,285	194	273,051	170	16,371	107	55,705	140	69,567	305	6,743	148
1921	301,047	100	215,849	135	15,335	100	49,781	125	43,390	190	5,421	119
1922	300,836	100	160,052	100	15,327	100	39,676	100	22,829	100	4,537	100

(*a*) Compiled by proportionate conversion of sales for Mohammedan years in which accounts are kept.
(*b*) No records available.

APPENDIX X.

Sales of Prepared Opium in KILOGRAMMES.

(CONVERSION * OF FIGURES GIVEN IN TAHILS IN APPENDICES VII, VIII AND IX.)

Year.	Straits Settlements.	Federated Malay States.	Johore.	Kedah.	Perlis.	Kelantan.	Trengganu.	Brunei.
	Kilos.	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*	*Kilos.*
1911	66,886	93,290	18,617	...	...	...	...	...
1912	63,946	92,625	18,642	...	...	...	...	...
1913	56,444	82,728	15,696	8,066	528	...	...	205
1914	52,997	65,013	13,539	8,057	538	...	...	183
1915	54,882	67,039	17,722	8,034	568	1,474	...	185
1916	54,885	68,030	20,217	8,943	618	1,638	...	211
1917	48,999	57,072	18,508	9,181	539	1,584	...	198
1918	59,378	67,417	18,377	10,717	636	1,879	2,063	217
1919	64,037	62,405	20,362	10,410	645	2,069	2,240	253
1920	68,423	59,705	22,048	10,321	619	2,106	2,630	255
1921	57,131	37,390	11,380	8,159	580	1,882	1,640	205
1922	51,152	32,140	11,372	6,050	579	1,500	863	171

* Conversion figure 1 tahil = ·0377994 kilogrammes.

APPENDIX XI.

SALES* OF PREPARED OPIUM IN BRITISH MALAYA FOR PERIOD 1918—1922 INCLUSIVE.

Measure of Weight.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.
Tahils ...	4,255,135	4,303,482	4,400,107	3,138,313	2,755,769
Pounds Avoirdupois	354,595	358,623	366,676	261,526	229,647
Kilogrammes ...	160,842	162,669	166,321	118,626	104,166
Tons ...	158·3	160·1	163·7	116·8	102·5

* To make this return complete the shipments to Christmas Island given in Appendix VII are treated as sales and added to the appropriate figures in Appendices VII, VIII and IX.

EQUIVALENT† IN RAW OPIUM OF THE PREPARED OPIUM SOLD IN BRITISH MALAYA 1918—1922.

Measure of Weight.	1918.	1919.	1920.	1921.	1922.
Pounds Avoirdupois	644,717	652,043	666,683	475,502	417,541
Kilogrammes ...	292,439	295,762	302,403	215,684	189,394
Tons ...	287.8	291·1	297·6	212·3	186·4

† The average product of prepared opium is stated by the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Straits Settlements to be 55 per cent of the weight of the opium cooked.

Note.—1 tahil = $\frac{1}{33}$ lb. avoirdupois = ·0377994 kilogrammes.

APPENDIX XII.

COMPARATIVE TABLE SHOWING CONSUMPTION OF PREPARED OPIUM PER HEAD OF ADULT CHINESE MALE POPULATION IN 1911 AND 1921.

State or Settlement.	Adult Chinese Male Population (21 years and over.)		Consumption in Tahils.		Average consumption per annum per head of Adult Chinese Male Population.					
					Tahils.		Grains.		Grammes.	
	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.	1911.	1921.
Straits Settlements ...	**215,178**	**247,846**	(a) **1,769,506**	(b) **1,511,422**	**8·3**	**6·1**	**4,845**	**3,566**	**314**	**231**
Singapore ...	129,246	159,531	(b) 1,064,499	(b) 1,052,959	8·3	6·6	4,849	3,865	314	250
Penang ...	60,790	62,369	511,792	346,393	8·4	5·6	4,911	3,240	318	210
Malacca ...	24,192	25,314	193,215	103,854	8·0	4·1	4,659	2,393	302	155
Labuan ...	950	632	No figures.	8,216	No figures.	13·0	No figures.	7,583	No figures.	491
Federated Malay States ...	**316,190**	**292,491**	**2,468,040**	**989,168**	**7·8**	**3·4**	**4,553**	**1,973**	**295**	**128**
Perak ...	159,894	129,080	1,216,129	448,625	7·6	3·5	4,437	2,027	288	131
Selangor ...	102,718	93,114	804,807	331,312	7·8	3·6	4,570	2,076	296	134
Negri Sembilan ...	33,454	46,083	310,093	122,221	9·3	2·7	5,407	1,547	350	100
Pahang ...	20,124	24,214	137,011	87,010	6·8	3·6	3,972	2,096	257	136
Johore ...	**51,119**	**67,012**	**492,529**	**301,047**	**9·6**	**4·5**	**5,620**	**2,621**	**364**	**170**
Kedah ...	**25,461**	**40,017**	No figures.	**215,849**	No figures.	**5·4**	No figures.	**3,146**	No figures.	**204**
Perlis ...	**1,093**	**2,126**	No figures.	**15,335**	No figures.	**7·2**	No figures.	**4,208**	No figures.	**273**
Kelantan ...	No figures.	**7,423**	No figures.	**49,781**	No figures.	**6·7**	No figures.	**3,912**	No figures.	**253**
Trengganu ...	No figures.	**5,231**	No figures.	**43,390**	No figures.	**8·3**	No figures.	**4,839**	No figures.	**314**
Brunei ...	**503**	**884**	No figures.	**5,421**	No figures.	**6·1**	No figures.	**3,577**	No figures.	**232**
British Malaya ...	Incomplete.	**663,030**	Incomplete.	(b) **3,131,413**	(c) **8·2**	**4·7**	(c)**4,754**	**2,758**	(c)**308**	**179**

(a) Excludes Labuan & Christmas Island. (b) Excludes Christmas Island. (c) Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States & Johore only.

NOTE.—1 Tahil = 583·3 grains = 37·7994 grammes.

APPENDIX XIII.

CONSUMPTION OF PREPARED OPIUM PER HEAD OF ESTIMATED ADULT CHINESE MALE POPULATION PER ANNUM IN GRAMMES, 1912—1920 INCLUSIVE.

NOTE.—This table is published subject to the reservations set out in paragraph 29 on page 7 of the Report.

Year.	Straits Settlements.		Federated Malay States.		Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis.		Kelantan. (*b*)		Trengganu. (*b*)		Brunei.	
	Estimated Population.	Grammes (*a*) per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.	Estimated Population.	Grammes per head p.a.
1912 ...	218,445	295·5	313,820	295·1	52,708	353·7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1913 ...	221,712	254·7	311,450	265·6	54,297	289·1	28,372	284·3	1,299	406·5	...	...	...	...	579	354·1
1914 ...	224,979	236·6	309,080	210·3	55,587	243·6	29,827	270·1	1,403	383·5	...	...	...	...	617	296·6
1915 ...	228,245	241·5	306,710	218·6	57,476	308·3	31,283	256·8	1,506	377·2	6,401	230·3	...	...	655	282·4
1916 ...	231,512	238·0	304,340	223·5	59,065	342·3	32,738	273·2	1,609	384·1	6,571	249·3	...	...	693	304·5
1917 ...	234,779	209·5	301,970	189·0	60,655	305·1	34,194	268·5	1,713	314·7	6,742	234·9	...	...	731	270·9
1918 ...	238,046	250·3	299,600	225·0	62,244	295·2	35,649	300·6	1,816	350·2	6,913	271·8	4,502	458·2	769	282·2
1919 ...	241,313	266·2	297,230	209·9	63,833	319·0	37,105	280·6	1,919	336·1	7,083	292·1	4,745	472·1	807	313·5
1920 ...	244,580	280·5	294,860	202·5	65,422	337·0	38,560	267·7	2,022	306·1	7,253	290·4	4,988	527·3	845	301·8

(*a*) Consumption based on estimated population excluding Labuan and Christmas Island in 1912 and excluding Christmas Island in other years.

(*b*) *See* also footnote to Appendix III.

APPENDIX XIV.

Dr. F. Dent's Evidence, Page C 275.

Prepared Opium Assays.

Average results.

Description.	Samples.	Morphine in sample.	Moisture.	Morphine calculated on dry sample.
1920 Factory.		%	%	%
Indian mixed ...	33 samples 33 assays	8·85	...	...
Persian	28 „ 28 „	3·93	...	...
1923 Factory.				
Indian mixed ...	249 samples 49 assays	10·68	20·51	13·43
Persian	96 „ 16 „	3·85	23·33	5·02
Dutch.				
2-hoon tubes ...	37 tubes	9·75	22·01	12·50
Amoy, 2nd Quality.				
Cock, Chiap Joo Kongsi	1 tahil tin	8·23	19·94	10·28
Elephant and Cock Brand ...	Do.	8·32	21·19	10·56
Cock Brand (oval tin)	Do.	8·92	23·72	11·70

Opium Dross Assays. *

Dross purchased by Government ...	Sample representing average of large number of parcels	5·65	7·42	6·10

* Made in January, 1924.

APPENDIX XV.

Past and Present Prices of Prepared Opium.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Date.	Government Selling Price per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
Before 1910	*Farm price about $3 per Tahil.*		
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1910	3 00	3 30	3 83
1910 (April)	4 36	4 80	4 83
1912 (11th May) ...	5 00	5 50	5 50
1913 (22nd February) ...	6 00	6 50	6 66
(In Labuan from 1st Jan., 1913	4 36	4 80	4 75)
1916 (29th April) ...	8 00	8 50	8 50
(In Labuan ...	5 00	5 50	5 50)
1916 (23rd November) ...	10 00	10 50	11 00
(In Labuan ...	6 00	6 50	6 50)
1919 (28th October) ...	12 00	12 50	13 33
(In Labuan ...	8 00	8 50	8 50)
1921 (24th May) (In Labuan	9 00	9 50	9 66)

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

Date.	Government Selling Price.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1910	4 20 per tahil.	4 50	4 50
1912 (11th May) ...	5 00 „	5 50	5 50
1913 (22nd February) ...	6 00 „	6 50	6 66⅔
1916 (29th April) ...	8 00 „	8 50	8 66⅔
1916 (23rd November) ...	10 00 „	10 83⅓	11 00
1919 (28th October)	12 16⅔ per tahil for pots. 12 33⅓ per tahil for packets.	13 00	13 33⅓

JOHORE.

Date.	Government Selling Price per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
Before 1910	*Farm price about $3 per Tahil.*		
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1910	3 00	3 30	3 83
1910 (April)	4 36	4 80	4 83
1912 (11th May) ...	5 00	5 50	5 50
1913 (22nd February) ...	6 00	6 50	6 66
1916 (28th April) ...	8 00	8 50	8 50
1916 (23rd November) ...	10 00	10 50	11 00
1919 (28th October) ...	12 00	12 50	13 33

KEDAH.

Date.	Government Selling Price (to dealers) per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1913 (February) ...	6 00	6 35	6 67
1916 (April) ...	8 00	8 35	8 12
1916 (November) ...	10 00	10 35	10 33
1919 (October) ...	12 00	12 42	12 67

NOTE.—No records available before 1913 but from last farm contract which expired in 1910 it appears that the retail price was $3 to $3.50 a tahil.

PERLIS.

Date.	Government Selling Price (to dealers) per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
Province to October 1916	6 00	6 35	6 33⅓
1916 (October) ...	8 00	8 35	8 33⅓
1918 (October) ..	10 00	10 35	10 33⅓ (*a*)
1919 (October) ...	12 00	12 40	12 66⅔ (*b*)

(*a*) In 3 chee pots $10.50. (*b*) In 3 chee pots $12.50.

KELANTAN.

Date.	Government Selling Price per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil Packets.	Retail Price per Tahil Kelantan Bharu and Pulai. *
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1913 (1st May) ...	5 00	5 50	6 50
1916 (12th August) ...	6 00	6 50	7 50
1919 (29th October) ...	12 00	13 00	14 00
1920 (1st March) ...	8 50	9 25	10 00
1921 (9th October) ...	10 00	11 00	11 75

NOTE.—Retail price is in theory the same for one tahil and 3-chi pots and for 4-hoon packets but in practice no 1-tahil pots are sold and very few 3-chi pots.

No information of farm prices is available. The monopoly started on 1st May, 1913.

* "Kelantan Bharu" is the district on the Western boundary, near the junction of Perak, Siam and Kelantan. One retail licence at present, at Batu Melintang. Others may be necessary, if the mines prove successful. "Pulai" is at the extreme south of the State.

TRENGGANU.

Date.	Government Selling Price per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		In Tahil pots.	In Packets.
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
Prior to 15th July, 1912	(*a*)	2 75	2 75
1912 (15th July) ...	(*a*)	4 50	4 50
1915 (6th April) ...	(*a*)	5 50	5 50
1916 (3rd Sept.) ...	(*a*)	6 50	6 50
1917 (2nd March) ...	6 00	6 50	6 50
1919 (4th Nov.) ...	8 00	8 50	8 50
1921 (5th Oct.) ...	10 00	10 50	11 00

(*a*) Farm price, prior to Government Monopoly.

BRUNEI.

Date.	Government Selling Price per Tahil.	Retail Price per Tahil.	
		Tahil pots.	Packets.
Before 1913.	*Farm price $4.80 per Tahil.*		
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1913 (January) ...	4 30	4 80	4 83
1916 (5th May) ...	5 00	5 50	5 50
1916 (30th November)	6 00	6 50	6 66
1919 (28th October) ...	8 00	8 50	8 50
1921 (25th May) ...	9 00	9 50	9 66

APPENDIX XVI.

RETURN OF SEIZURES OF SMUGGLED RAW OPIUM AND SMUGGLED PREPARED OPIUM.

I.—Raw Opium.

Place of Seizure.	1920.		1921.		1922.		1923.	
	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.
Straits ettlements ...	**40**	**12,155**	**38**	**4,462**	**37**	**5,399**	**120**	**6,887**
Singapore	30	10,059	29	4,038	31	5,186	116	6,790
Penang	10	2,096	9	424	6	213	4	97

NOTE.—No seizures of raw opium in the other administrations are reported in the period covered by the above return.

II.—Prepared Opium.

Place of Seizure.	1920.		1921.		1922.		1923.	
	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.	No. of Seizures.	Amount in tahils.
Straits Settlements ...	**115**	**5,088**	**82**	**6,724**	**62**	**3,732**	**256**	**29,438**
Singapore	96	3,563	73	6,236	57	3,715	243	28,891
Penang	12	1,506	8	479	4	14	10	378
Malacca	7	19	1	9	1	3	3	169
Federated Malay States ...	**108**	**127**	**153**	**34**	**201**	**96**	**129**	**43**
Johore	**15**	**16**	**12**	**14**	**23**	**25**	**23**	**15**
Kedah	...	...	**10**	**6**	**8**	**6**	**4**	**3**
Brunei	...	**8**	...	...	...	...	...	...

NOTE.—Nil returns were received from Perlis, Kelantan and Trenggana

APPENDIX XVII.

REVENUE DERIVED FROM OPIUM SHOWING PROPORTION THIS BEARS TO TOTAL REVENUE 1918-1922.

Country.	1918.		1919.		1920.		1921.		1922.	
	Revenue derived from Opium.	Percentage of Total Revenue.	Revenue derived from Opium.	Percentage of Total Revenue.	Revenue derived from Opium.	Percentage of Total Revenue.	Revenue derived from Opium.	Percentage of Total Revenue.	Revenue derived from Opium.	Percentage of Total Revenue.
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
Straits Settlements	12,591,223	54·1	14,274,289	41·8	20,063,801	47·2	15,316,894	38·7	14,730,724	42·9
Federated Malay States... ...	15,084,057	22·0	14,394,617	19·9	14,063,806	19·4	9,955,478	18·2	8,840,168	16·8
Johore	4,267,557	46·8	4,823,060	43·8	5,045,414	42·6	3,012,065	39·0	3,451,541	40·0
Kedah	2,274,448	46·0	2,910,789	43·8	1,553,569	29·6	1,537,404	30·9	1,691,850	33·3
Perlis	147,475	50·2	171,554	38·7	125,461	36·7	163,988	44·4	155,543	39·2
Kelantan	234,472	24·5	266,150	23·3	333,929	25·1	276,640	23·8	309,697	23·6
Trengganu	265,085	42·3	337,944	44·3	464,513	47·9	195,107	35·6	252,550	37·4
Brunei	26,005	20·7	32,768	20·2	35,481	17·6	26,632	16·5	40,001	18·6
British Malaya ...	34,890,322*a*	32·4	37,211,171*b*	29·4	41,685,974*c*	30·9	30,484,208*d*	28·0	29,472,074*e*	28·6

(*a*) £4,070,537. (*b*) £4,341,303. (*c*) £4,863,364. (*d*) £3,556,491. (*e*) £3,438,409.

APPENDIX XVIII.

Evidence of Dr. Hoops, Page C 22.

REPORT ON AN INQUIRY INTO THE USE OF OPIUM BY CHINESE, NOW PATIENTS IN TAN TOCK SENG'S (FREE) HOSPITAL.
NOVEMBER, 1923

1. All the Chinese patients over 17 years of age, who were not too ill, were carefully questioned. They were made to understand that there would be no consequences, whatever their answers were, and I believe that the great majority of them spoke the truth.

2. The total number examined was 483: of these 175 were, or had been opium takers, *i.e.*, 36·2 per cent.

3. The numbers of cases from the different Chinese Provinces, with the numbers of opium takers from each are shown in the attached table. Approximately 70 per cent of the opium takers state that they started to use opium in Malaya. Only 30 per cent admit that they took it in China. Details are shown on the table.

4. Incapacity due to opium—

In no case was indulgence in opium the sole cause of the patient's incapacity; in 4 cases, *i.e.*, about 2 per cent, opium was probably the principal cause, and in 28 cases the incapacity due to disease was increased or the chances of recovery lessened, as a result of taking opium. In the remaining 143 cases, the use of opium had produced no evident ill effects. This does not take into account the effects of poverty due to excessive expenditure on opium.

5. Average daily consumption of opium:—

Under 1½ hoons	15
Over 1½ under 3 hoons	32
3 hoons	59
Over 3 under 6 hoons	17
6 hoons	24
Over 6 under 9 hoons	21
9 to 15 hoons	5
Over 15 hoons	2
	175

The most popular daily consumption was 3 hoons (one packet costing 40 cents) a day. Probably this limit is fixed by cost, rather than by the amount desired, because the older men who had started to smoke opium when it was cheap, said they usually took two packets (6 hoons) a day.

6. The reason given for starting to take opium were:—

For pleasure or relief of fatigue 71 cases = 40%

For illness or relief of pain 104 cases = 60%

7. Use of Alcohol in relation to opium:—

In 175 opium smokers, 45 also took alcohol = 26%

In 308 non-opium smokers, 98 took alcohol = 32%

—	Total number of cases.	Number of opium users.	Percentage of opium users to total.	Number who started in China.	Number who started in Malaya.	Number who started elsewhere.	Percentage of opium takers who started in Malaya.
			%				%
Canton	68	18	26	7	11	...	61
Hokien	147	61	41	20	39	2	63
Hylam	36	8	22	2	6	...	75
Kheh	46	15	32	4	10	1	66
Teochew	119	46	38	7	36	3	78
Hochia	42	21	50	2	19	...	90
Other Provinces ...	18	4	22	2	1	1	25
Straits Born	7	2	28	...	2	...	...
	483	175	...	44	124	7	...

Total—

Of 173 immigrant opium users
122 started in Malaya
=70.6%.

APPENDIX XIX.

SYNOPSIS OF CENSUSES* OF OPIUM SMOKING CHINESE PATIENTS IN VARIOUS HOSPITALS IN BRITISH MALAYA.

Hospital.	Hokkien.		Tiechiu.		Cantonese.		Kheh.		Hailam.		Other Tribes.		Straits-born.		Total.		Percentage of Opium Smokers.
	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	
																	%
Straits Settlements—																	
Singapore, Tan Tock Seng's	147	61	119	46	68	18	46	15	36	8	60	25	7	2	483	175	36·2
Penang, District ...	86	43	52	16	40	14	20	8	10	2	10	5	...	...	218	88	40·4
Malacca, Durian Daun ...	27	16	19	3	6	1	23	6	42	19	31	14	2	1	150	60	40·0
Federated Malay States—																	
Batu Gajah, District ...	9	6	7	6	18	6	28	18	...	...	15	3	...	...	77	39	50·6
Ipoh, District	14	9	7	2	55	26	79	28	...	...	11	2	...	...	166	67	40·4
Kampar, District ...	5	3	...	...	31	13	29	17	1	...	...	...	...	...	66	33	50·0
Klang, District ...	37	17	8	3	...	...	9	2	11	5	18	6	1	...	84	33	39·3
Kuala Lumpur, District ...	72	43	17	8	111	43	89	39	14	3	14	10	...	...	317	146	46·1
Kuala Lumpur, General ...	4	2	3	1	13	4	19	6	4	1	6	2	1	...	50	16	32·0
Kuala Kangsar, District ...	11	9	8	7	25	21	5	4	4	3	...	...	...	...	53	44	83·0
Seremban, General ...	13	5	...	...	30	8	23	9	10	3	6	3	...	...	82	28	34·1
Taiping, District ...	24	16	6	4	40	26	13	11	1	1	3	3	8	2	95	63	66·3
Smaller Hospitals (19) ...	91	46	44	23	92	25	78	29	26	10	20	5	1	...	352	138	39·2
Johore (3)	**76**	**21**	**93**	**25**	**130**	**36**	**81**	**26**	**54**	**29**	**35**	**9**	**3**	...	**472**	**146**	30·9
Kedah—																	
Alor Star, General ...	23	12	33	23	11	3	14	5	5	1	11	2	2	...	99	46	46·5
Other Hospitals (2) ...	8	2	38	9	15	4	15	1	5	1	1	...	...	...	82	17	20·7
Kelantan (2)	**9**	**3**	...	...	**34**	**21**	**4**	**2**	**7**	**2**	**4**	**3**	...	...	**58**	**31**	53·4
Total ...	**656**	**314**	**454**	**176**	**719**	**269**	**575**	**226**	**230**	**88**	**245**	**92**	**25**	**5**	**2,904**	**1,170**	40·3

Tribal percentages of Opium Smokers amongst the 2,904 Chinese patients:—Hokkiens, 47·9%; Khebs, 39·3%; Tiechius, 38·8%; Hailams, 38·3%; Cantonese, 37·4% and Straits-born 20%.

* Taken in December, 1923.

APPENDIX XX.

SYNOPSIS OF CENSUSES* OF OPIUM SMOKING INMATES OF DECREPIT WARDS IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

Decrepit Ward.	Hokkien.		Tiechiu.		Cantonese.		Kheh.		Hailam.		Other Tribes.		Straits-born.		Total.		Percentage of Opium Smokers.
	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Chinese Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	
																	%
Kuala Lumpur Tai Wah Ward	15	4	1	...	18	3	78	12	13	3	10	2	..	...	135	24	17·8
Port Swettenham Decrepit Asylum	43	10	28	2	146	17	175	9	10	1	...	...	...	...	402	39	9·7
Taiping Decrepit Ward ...	28	6	37	13	129	29	94	18	3	1	18	6	...	...	309	73	23·6
Total ...	86	20	66	15	293	49	347	39	26	5	28	8	...	...	846	136	16·1

Tribal percentages of the 136 Opium Smokers included :—Hokkiens, 23·3%; Tiechius, 22·7%; Hailams, 19·2%; Cantonese, 16·7% and Khehs, 11·2%.

* Taken in December, 1923.

APPENDIX XXI.

SYNOPSIS OF CENSUSES * OF OPIUM SMOKERS IN LEPER ASYLUMS IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

Leper Asylum.	Hokkien.		Tiechiu.		Cantonese.		Kheh.		Hailam.		Other Provinces.		Straits born.		Total.		Percentage of Opium Smokers.
	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	Chinese Inmates.	Opium Smokers.	
Straits Settlements—																	
Pulau Jerejak ...	63	59	43	42	197	189	83	81	3	30	15	2	21	21	456	424	93.0
Federated Malay States—																	
Kuala Lumpur ...	21	14	5	3	101	49	122	70	8	5	8	8	18	11	283	160	56.5
Total ...	84	73	48	45	298	238	205	151	42	35	23	10	39	32	739	584	79.0

Tribal percentages of the 584 opium smokers:—Tiechius 93.7%; Hokkiens 86.9%; Hailams 83.3%; Cantonese 79.9%; Khehs 73.7% and Straits born 82%.

* Censuses taken in January 1924 and December 1923 respectively.

APPENDIX XXII.

Evidence of Lt. Col. J. H. Tyte, Page C 85.

CENSUS FIGURES OF OPIUM SMOKERS IN THE CRIMINAL PRISON AND HOUSE OF DETENTION ON 1ST DECEMBER, 1923.

Grade.	Hokkien.		Tie Chiu.		Cantonese.		Kheh.		Hailam.		Malays.		Indians.		Eurasians & Europeans.		Others.		All Races.	
	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.	Total No.	O. S.		
Long Sentence ...	167	**56**	86	**18**	133	**42**	45	**5**	45	**7**	40	...	24	**2**	3	...	17	...	560	**130**
Short Sentence ...	128	**35**	40	**20**	43	**6**	12	**5**	17	**3**	15	...	21	...	2	...	1	...	279	**69**
Revenue Grade ...	36	**8**	12	**4**	12	**4**	4	...	7	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	77	**16**
Simple Imprisonment	5	...	4	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	12	...
Vagrants ...	17	**2**	5	**2**	31	**4**	5	**1**	8	**1**	1	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	72	**10**
	353	**101**	147	**44**	221	**56**	66	**11**	77	**11**	57	...	50	**2**	5	...	24	...	1,000	**225**

Percentage of opium smokers to inmates 22·5 %
Percentage of opium smokers amongst Chinese inmates 25·8 %
Tribal percentage of Chinese opium smokers :— Hokkien 28·6 %
Tie Chiu 29·9 %, Cantonese 25·3 %, Kheh 16·6 % and Hailam 14·3 %.

APPENDIX XXIII.

SYNOPSIS OF CENSUSES * OF OPIUM SMOKERS AMONGST CHINESE PRISONERS IN BRITISH MALAYA.

Prison.	Hokkien.		Tiechiu.		Cantonese.		Kheh.		Hailam.		Other Tribes.		Straits-born.		Total.		Percentage of Opium Smokers.
	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Number.	Opium Smokers.	Chinese prisoners.	Opium Smokers.	
																	%
Straits Settlements ...	**401**	**116**	**184**	**55**	**282**	**69**	**74**	**14**	**79**	**11**	...	...	...	...	**1,020**	**265**	**26·0**
Singapore	353	101	147	44	221	56	66	11	77	11	...	...	...	...	864	223	25·8
Penang	48	15	37	11	61	13	8	3	2	...	...	...	...	...	156	42	26·9
Federated Malay States ...	**197**	**44**	**56**	**16**	**361**	**44**	**254**	**51**	**49**	**8**	...	...	...	...	**917**	**163**	**17·8**
Batu Gajah ...	21	15	9	4	28	12	39	18	2	...	...	...	...	...	99	49	49·5
Kuala Lipis	2	...	...	...	26	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28	7	25·0
Kuala Lumpur	52	17	12	4	72	11	66	19	14	3	...	...	...	..	216	54	25·0
Papan	5	3	8	4	20	7	17	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	50	17	34·0
Seremban	32	5	2	...	41	5	40	6	18	5	...	...	...	...	133	21	15·8
Taiping	85	4	25	4	174	2	92	5	15	...	...	...	...	...	391	15	3·8
Johore	**81**	**9**	**35**	**13**	**63**	**15**	**38**	**10**	**50**	**21**	...	...	...	...	**267**	**68**	**25·5**
Johore Bharu	33	7	29	13	56	14	32	9	29	12	...	...	...	...	179	55	30·7
Muar	48	2	6	...	7	1	6	1	21	9	...	...	...	...	88	13	14·8
Kedah	**17**	**5**	**49**	**18**	**31**	**13**	**25**	**10**	**8**	**3**	...	...	...	...	**130**	**49**	**37·7**
Alor Star	14	4	39	13	24	11	22	8	7	3	...	...	...	...	106	39	36·8
Sungei Patani	3	1	10	5	7	2	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	24	10	41·7
Trengganu	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	**22**	...	...
Brunei	**2**	...	...	...	**4**	**1**	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	**6**	**1**	**16·7**
Total ...	**698**	**174**	**324**	**102**	**741**	**142**	**391**	**85**	**186**	**43**	...	...	...	...	**2,362**	**546**	**23·1**

* Tribal percentage of Smokers amongst the 2,340 prisoners (excluding Trengganu) :—

Kheh 21·7 per cent and Cantonese 19·2 per cent.

APPENDIX XXIV.

Mr. Beatty's Evidence, Page C 16.

OPIUM SMOKERS FOUND AMONG ADULT DECK PASSENGERS ON BOARD SHIPS FROM CHINA.

Date 1923.	Ship.	From	MEN.							WOMEN.						
			LAUKHEHS.			SINKHEHS.			Percentage among all men.	LAUKHEHS.			SINKHEHS.			Percentage among all women.
			No. on board.	Opium Smokers.	Percentage.	No. on board.	Opium Smokers.	Percentage.		No. on board.	Opium Smokers.	Percentage.	No. on board.	Opium Smokers.	Percentage.	
					%			%	%			%			%	%
13/11	Chenan ...	Swatow ...	159	78	49·0	85	22	25·9	41·0	28	3	10·7	50	...	...	3·8
17/11	Lorestan ...	Swatow and Hongkong	126	28	22·2	80	6	7·5	16·5	18	2	11·1	38	...	...	3·6
17/11	Van Cloon ...	Amoy, Swatow and Hongkong ...	366	40	10·9	192	5	2·6	8·1	32	2	6·2	64	...	...	2·1
18/11	Nam Sang ...	Hongkong ...	118	74	62·7	147	55	37·4	48·6	43	5	11·6	39	...	...	6·1
19/11	Kweiyang ...	Amoy and Swatow ...	359	150	41·8	235	25	10·6	29·5	66	3	4·5	112	1	·9	2·2
29/11	Van Overstraten	Amoy and Hongkong	213	52	24·4	347	32	9·2	15·0	6	1	16·7	64	1	1·6	2·9
			1,341	422	31·4	1,086	145	13·3	23·3	193	16	8·2	367	2	·5	3·2

NOTE.—"Laukheh" means one who has formerly been resident in Malaya. "Sinkheh" means a newcomer *i. e.* one who has never been in Malaya before.

APPENDIX XXV.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 147.

RETURN OF PERMITS TO PURCHASE CHANDU, ISSUED TO OTHERS THAN CHINESE, DURING 1923 IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

32 males 12 females	... ...	Malays	... All live in Perak.
22 males	...	Sikhs	... 11 live in Selangor. 7 „ „ Negri Sembilan. 3 „ „ Pahang. 1 „ „ Perak.
1 female	...	Siamese	... lives in Perak.
3 males	...	Indians	... 1 lives in Perak. 2 live in Pahang.

Total ... 70 permits.

APPENDIX XXVI.

Report on Inquiries as to Opium Smoking amongst Jinrikisha pullers.

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE BUREAU,

SINGAPORE, 31*st January*, 1924.

SIR,—We have the honour to submit the report which we were asked to prepare on the 'rikisha coolies.

2. Our first attempts to obtain facts made at the Rikisha Registration Office was a comparative failure as some opium smokers were still in bed at the time, while most of those who happened to be in the vicinity ran away directly they heard of the trend of our inquiries.

The second attempt, also made at the Registration Office, as the result of previous arrangement made with the 'rikisha owners, was more successful.

3. The greater proportion of the men whom we examined asserted that they did not smoke opium, but independent evidence, we take leave to doubt this assertion. An Inspector accompanied us who had considerable experience, and he assured us that practically all the 'rikisha coolies smoke opium in varying quantities, as they cannot really stand the strain of their work without it. A 'rikisha owner confirmed this.

4. All the pullers whom we examined were China-born and we understand that practically no Straits-born are to be found in this class.

5. The average age of those questioned, whether smokers or non-smokers, was 37, varying from 22 to 57. We feel bound to record our opinion that in only one or two cases were any visible physical signs of having smoked opium.

6. Enquiries as to the time over which they had been plying their trade disclosed the rather astonishing figure of 9½ years. This seems somewhat remarkable in view of the prevalent belief that a 'rikisha coolie's life is about 4 or 5 years. One hardy old man aged 55 claimed to have been a 'rikisha puller for 30 years; he was an opium smoker and had returned to China three or four times to recruit his health, was married, spent about half his earnings on opium and swallowed chandu or chandu dross. He had acquired the habit in China.

7. Turning to the professed opium smokers, 65 per cent of them were married, but this does not help us very much as most of the wives are undoubtedly in China. Their net earnings per diem were in the neighbourhood of $1, but some were as low as 40 cents and others as much as $2. Taking them all round, the earnings appear to be in the region of $1, and to this must be added the daily rent of the 'rikisha at 45 cents.

The amount spent on opium per diem varies with the amount earned, but may be stated in general terms as about 60 per cent of their daily wage, two packets a day (equivalent to 80 cents worth) being the most common figure given us. This figure may seem excessive as compared with the amount spent on food, but it must be remembered that the food supplies of this almost "animal" class cost remarkably little. We should imagine that they have no inducement to save, and after paying the minimum for food they spend the remainder on opium.

Fifty-three per cent admitted to swallowing chandu or chandu dross; only 6 per cent admitted having drunk liquor.

There was a general complaint that the packets were too small for the price charged, but there were few complaints as to the quality of the chandu sold. Some of the coolies, however, definitely stated that the quality was bad.

Thirty-five per cent stated that they had learned the habit in China long ago, the remainder claimed that they had acquired the habit in Malaya.

Fifty-nine per cent had not been back to China since they arrived in this country; the remaining 41 per cent had been once or twice, and one man, a resident here for 23 years, who had pulled a 'rikisha for 18 years, stated that he had been back to China on six occasions. These man had all returned to China on account of their health.

8. Turning to non-smokers, 36 per cent stated that they drank liquor; their earnings appeared to be on exactly the same scale as the smokers, *i.e.*, round about $1 per diem. They all professed to have few or no acquaintances who smoked chandu.

9. Generally speaking, we arrived at the conclusion that those 'rikisha pullers who smoke opium (and we believe that they constitute the majority) smoke it and regard it as an antidote to the many ills to which they are liable on account of their arduous calling, and that to prevent them obtaining it would constitute a little hardship.

We have the honour to be, etc.,

A. S. JELF.

LIM NEE SOON.

APPENDIX XXVII.

Opium Smokers Amongst Railway Construction Coolies.

OBSERVATIONS BY RAILWAY CONSTRUCTION OFFICERS.

DIVISIONAL ENGINEER, KLANG:—

My own experience with the Chinese labour in this country leads me to believe that there is only a small percentage of habitual smokers, but that probably 50 per cent of the coolies working are occasional users.

Among the coolies working on earth work contracts, the number of users always appeared to me to be proportionately higher than among Departmental coolies. This work is very heavy, but I am unable to say if that be the cause of the heavier smoking. Possibly it is due to the bigger wages that contract coolies make.

An old *kapala* of ours informs me that his experience is that Hokkiens are the heaviest smokers.

He estimates that about 20 per cent of our coolies are habitual smokers, another 40 per cent occasional smokers and about 40 per cent non-smokers. Habitual smokers, he informs me, are very good workers while they are able to get the drug, but suffer without it.

He also states that opium users do not usually indulge in alcohol.

The average daily consumption appears to be 3 hoons per day, but is limited only by the cost of the drug.

SECTION ENGINEER, SALAK SOUTH:—

From observation I consider smoking of opium by Chinese Construction coolies is prompted by their having always to work in the jungle in very exposed positions where the combination of heat overhead and dampness underfoot renders them particularly liable to fatigue and exhaustion, leading to further discomfort of fevers and colds.

Departmental coolies work in less exposed situations and they do not seem to require opium as often or in such large quantities as earthwork coolies. The proportions of smokers amongst Departmental coolies who are usually Khehs are approximately:—

Habitual smokers 1 packet per day	5%
Casual smokers 6 packets per month	25%
Non-smokers indulging in alcohol	10%
Non-smokers	60%

Amongst earthwork coolies representing nearly all Chinese nationalities, the proportions are approximately as follows:—

Habitual smokers 2 to 3 packets per day	...	30%
Habitual smokers 1 to 2 packets per day	...	30%
Habitual smokers 1 packet per day ...	...	30%
Casual smokers (new to the work) ...	...	10%

These coolies also indulge in alcohol to a certain extent.

During the heat of the day the coolies who are able to work hardest and for long hours are invariably the opium smokers, but when they break down, as they eventually do, they are usually physical wrecks, anaemic, consumptive, emaciated and impoverished.

DIVISIONAL ENGINEER, TANAH MERAH:—

I have in the workshop 44 Chinese:—

(*a*) 6 Hailams,
(*b*) 7 Khehs,
(*c*) 31 Cantonese. } Of these the following are the smokers:—

(*a*) 1 man smokes opium, been in this country for the last 8 years, has smoked 6 years about 1½ packets per day.

(*c*) 4 men smoke opium:—

1 carpenter 10 years in Siam, 2 years in Kelantan. Started smoking in Siam, 1 packet per day, due to sickness, works every day.

1 carpenter smoking for the last 10 years, 6 years in Malaya. Started in China. 1½ packets per day. Stops about 1 day in a month. Started for no reason.

1 carpenter smokes opium 2 years. In Malaya 7 years. 1 packet per day. Started due to sickness. Stops work 2 days in a month.

1 Tin-smith, 20 years in Malaya. Smoking for the last 20 years. 2 packets per day. Started for no reason. Stops work about 3 days in a month.

SECTION ENGINEER RAILHEAD, TANAH MERAH:—

So far as I can see, not more than 5 per cent of our Departmental coolies are opium smokers. Some gangs probably have many. *Kapalas* whom I have questioned regarding smokers in their gang and whose replies I believe to be genuine, say that smoking in moderation does not affect the coolies' working powers. One gang had 3 smokers, and another had 2, all moderate smokers using according to the amount of money they have to spend, from ½ to 1 packet (*i.e.*, 2 to 4 hoons). I know one of these coolies for the past four years myself and know him to be a good and intelligent worker.

A contractor who has 18 coolies constantly in his employ has 4 opium smokers amongst them. He gives each of these men (one a mason) a packet (4 hoons) of opium per day. One of the men has been with him 5 years and he is quite well satisfied with the work done by all of them.

I have never had or known of any trouble resulting from opium smoking among the Chinese on the Railway, and my opinion is that moderate smoking does not damage the working capacity of the coolies.

SECTION ENGINEER, TANAH MERAH:—

I have questioned all my Chinese *kapalas* and set out the figures given by them:—

	Number of men in gang.	Habitual Smokers.	Non-Smokers.	
Gang 1 ...	31	2	29	Bridge Gang.
„ 2 ...	29	2	27	„
„ 3 ...	33	6	27	„
„ 4 ...	29	3	26	„
„ 5 ...	28	1	27	„
„ 6 ...	30	2	28	„
„ 7 ...	25	2	23	Lifting and Packing Gang.
„ 8 ...	24	...	24	„ „
„ 9 ...	25	...	25	„ „
Total ...	254	18	236	

They all state that these men only smoke at night, and are fit for work next day. I am not prepared to say that the above figures are very accurate, as the *kapalas* seemed rather unwilling to give numbers.

I do not consider that opium smoking materially affects the work of the gangs, for, except in the cases of some of the old *kapalas* and coolies, there are no signs to indicate opium smokers.

I do not think bridge gangs could work continuously rivetting girders at a height, if they did smoke.

Absentees for more than a day, except in hospital cases, are few.

APPENDIX XXVIII.

Report* on Opium Smoking in Christmas Island furnished by the District Officer.

A record was kept by the labour contractors, Messrs. ONG BOON TAT AND COMPANY, who are the retailers of opium here, of the opium sales during December, 1923. I believe the figures thus obtained to be reasonably accurate, and to be a fair indication of the present state of affairs—that is to say, I have no reason to believe that December, 1923, was in any way an unusual month as regards opium. The record is perhaps inaccurate in one respect; certain coolies may be shown as having purchased more, and certain mandors as having purchased less, than they consumed themselves, for the reason that some of the mandors, on learning that a record of opium sales was being kept, became afraid, or ashamed, to buy in person, and persuaded others to go and buy for them.

2. I did not consider that any purpose would be served by sending you a complete copy of the original Sales' Record. I have, therefore, analysed the Record into several returns so as to show non-smokers, smokers, and consumption. I have not persisted with the division of non-smokers and smokers by tribe, as after making one such return I felt convinced that no information was to be gained in this direction, as the figures are in almost exactly the same ratio as the figures by tribe of the total population.

3. I have shown separate figures for the Old Settlement and for South Point, as I considered the returns would thus be more useful to your Committee. The camp at South point was only occupied in May, 1923, and the population consists largely of sinkhehs, whereas in the Old Settlement the population includes clerks, skilled workers and laukhehs, with sinkhehs in a pronounced minority.

Another point I might mention, though personally I do not think it has any bearing on the opium question, is that South Point camp, at a height of 700 feet above sea level, is extremely bracing—the Chinese living there complain constantly of the "cold". The Lines in the Old Settlement are almost at sea level.

4. The annual consumption per head of adult Chinese males, with the inclusion of Sikhs, works out at 10·8 tahils, which is the same figure as that given in your letter of the 21st November, 1923. The consumption per head per smoker works out at 14·2 tahils per annum, the average for the Old Settlement being no less than 16·3 tahils, while at South Point it is only 10·1 tahils.

5. It will be noticed that the consumption at South Point is very much less than at the Old Settlement, the consumption per head per smoker being even less than the average for the total adult population. In Return "B" I thought it instructive to give the South Point percentages of the total number of smokers for the different amounts of consumption, and it will be seen that, whereas the South Point smokers are 35·29 per cent of the total, in only one instance do they supply their full quota, and that is to "smokers of less than 1 tahil per mensem", of whom they constitute 44·44 per cent.

I ascribe this difference in consumption between the two camps to two reasons (*a*) money and (*b*) habit. As I have stated above, the workers at South Point are mostly sinkhehs, while at the Old Settlement they are mostly skilled men and laukhehs, earning more money than sinkhehs. If all the smokers at South Point were to be paid at laukheh rates, I have no doubt the consumption would approach very closely to that at the Old Settlement. By "habit" I mean that some of the sinkhehs at South Point are probably commencing to smoke opium for the first time, and their consumption would naturally be less than that of the habituated smokers.

* Dated 24th January, 1924.

6. No figures can be given as to non-smokers and smokers among the sinkhehs on arrival. From my own brief experience and from general inquiries, I would venture the opinion that 60 per cent or 70 per cent of new arrivals are smokers. Of the remainder, the majority begins to acquire the habit soon after arrival.

7. I maintain the opinion expressed in my previous letter* as to the physical aspect of the opium question. So long as the smoker can obtain the amount of opium to which he has become accustomed, he seems in no way an inferior worker to the non-smoker. Deprived of his opium, however, he seems (unless he has been a very light smoker) to be physically incapable of *any* work.

8. The returns shew that 7 Sikhs purchased opium in December; 6 of these are Police Constables, out of a total force of 22, and 1 is a watchman employed by the Christmas Island Phosphate Company. Altogether there are 36 Sikhs on the Island. Two Sikhs purchased more than 2 tahils each, one more than 1 tahil, and the other four purchased less than 1 tahil each.

The Sikhs swallow, and do not smoke, the opium. I understand this is a common habit in India, and is practised by many of the Sikhs in the Colony. It should not be attributed to the lack of amenities on Christmas Island.

9. The labour contractors have for some considerable time desired that Government should take over the retail sale of opium, and I am of opinion that this should be the first step in any attempt at restriction. It is practically impossible for the contractors to insist on cash sales, for the smoker can always hold up a pistol to them with his "No opium, no work".

At present credit sales are permitted; in the case of a sinkheh the limit is nominally 5 hoons every 4 working days, though in practice this limit is frequently exceeded. The contractors do their best to keep the smoker at least within the limit of his earnings, but cases frequently occur in which a labourer refuses to work without opium—in some cases there is no doubt the man is physically incapable of work without opium—and the contractors are then in the awkward position of having to allow a labourer either to spend more than he earns, or to exist in idleness at their expense.

There would be no question of credit at a Government shop, and with the Chinese hard up for cash as most of them seem usually to be, I am convinced that one of the first results of Government taking over the retail sale would be a decrease in consumption. The decrease would not, perhaps, be very considerable, but since any attempt to restrict or abolish opium-smoking must be a very gradual process, I consider that it would be a good beginning. Any contractor now who tried to restrict opium sales would be promptly faced with a large number of labourers refusing, or physically unable, to work.

10. The registration and licensing of opium smokers is, I think, feasible, and would be effective and beneficial if the retail sale of opium is in the hands of Government. The Chinese do not care for publicity, and registration might "frighten off" many would be smokers. There are too, I believe, many smokers who feel some sense of shame in the habit, as was evidenced last month by the mandors who would not go themselves to buy when they learnt that a list of smokers was being complied.

11. I personally should like to see the above measures—taking over by Government of retail sales, registration and licensing of smokers—put into practice here, for I feel sure they would of themselves lead to diminished consumption. The question of limiting the amount of opium placed on sale is one of peculiar difficulty for Christmas Island. Here, the amenities of life for the Chinese are much fewer than elsewhere; even were they fond of sport, or could be taught to become so, there is no ground available. Opium is the chief distraction of three quarters of the Chinese population, and any attempt at its curtailment or abolition must be preceded step-by-step by the substitution of distractions equally acceptable. The difficulty is to find such distractions.

* Vide Appendix LXIII.

A.

RETURN OF NON-SMOKERS AND SMOKERS WITH AMOUNT OF OPIUM CONSUMED IN THE MONTH OF DECEMBER, 1923.

TRIBE.	OLD SETTLEMENT.					SOUTH POINT.					TOTALS.					
	Non-Smoker.	Smokers.				Non-Smoker.	Smokers.				Non-Smoker.	Smokers.				Annual consumption per head of total adult male population. *b*
		Number.	Consumption.	Monthly average per head.	Yearly average per head.		Number.	Consumption.	Monthly average per head.	Yearly average per head.		Number.	Consumption.	Monthly average per head.	Yearly average per head.	
			Tls. c. h.	*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*			*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*			*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*	*Tls. c. h.*
Cantonese	...	230	322 6 4	1 4 0	16 8 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kheh	...	103	121 4 5	1 1 8	14 1 6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lowsung (Shanghai N. Chinese) ...	...	18	19 1 4	1 0 6	12 7 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hokkien	...	15	28 6 7	1 9 1	22 9 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hailam	...	13	21 2 6	1 6 4	19 6 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tiechiu	...	9	14 0 7	1 5 6	18 7 2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sikh	...	7	7 0 2	1 0 0	12 0 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tamil	...	1	4 7 3	4 7 3	56 7 6	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	107 *a*	396	538 9 8	1 3 6	16 3 2	39 *a*	216	181 3 8	0 8 4	10 0 8	146 *a*	612	720 3 6	1 1 8	14 1 6	10 8 5

(*a*) Chinese only. (*b*) Includes Sikhs and Eurasians, but excludes British and Malays.

B.

RETURN OF SMOKERS SHOWING MONTHLY CONSUMPTION.

Consumption.	Number of Smokers.			South Point percentage of Total Smokers.
	Old Settlement.	South Point.	Total.	
December, 1923.				%
5 Tahils and over	10	1	11	9·09
4 Tahils and under 5 Tahils ...	10	2	12	16·67
3 „ „ 4 „ ...	19	5	24	20·83
2 „ „ 3 „ ...	63	10	73	13·70
1 „ „ 2 „ ...	104	46	150	30·67
Under one Tahil	190	152	342	44·44
Total ...	396	216	612	35·29

C.

HEAVIEST SMOKERS.

—	Consumption.						Nationality.	Occupation.	Remarks.
	Monthly.			Annual.					
	Tls.	*c.*	*h.*	*Tls.*	*c.*	*h.*			
A	9	3	5	112	2	0	Straits-born Hokkien ...	Clerk	Drawing high salary.
B	7	3	3	87	9	6	Cantonese ...	Fitter	Skilled man, extra wages.
C	6	0	5	72	6	0	Kheh	Coolie	Specially employed, extra wages.
D	7	6	0	91	2	0		Mandor	
E	5	9	6	71	5	2	Cantonese	Coolie	Laukheh.
F	5	4	7	65	6	4	Do.	Coolie	Laukheh.
G	5	4	2	65	0	4	Do.	Engine man	Skilled man, extra wages.
H	5	2	7	63	2	4	Hokkien	Weighing Clerk ...	Do.
I	5	2	3	62	7	6	Cantonese	Carpenter	Do.
J	5	1	6	61	9	2	Kheh	Coolie	Laukheh.
K	5	0	0	60	0	0	Hokkien	Clerk.	

APPENDIX XXIX.

Shops for the Sale of Prepared Opium in the Straits Settlements.

I.—Retail Shops ("off" licences only).

Year.	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.	Labuan.	Straits Settlements.
1914	214	148	106	4	472
1915	212	145	103	5	465
1916	214	148	116	6	484
1917	212	149	146	6	513
1918	210	152	158	6	526
1919	216	159	157	6	538
1920	222	157	163	6	548
1921	220	158	155	6	539
1922	219	156	155	6	536
1923	222	157	153	6	538

II.—Public Smoking Rooms ("on and off" Licences.)

Year.	Singapore.	Penang.	Malacca.	Labuan.	Straits Settlements.
1914	288	29	25	3	345
1915	279	30	30	3	342
1916	268	29	31	3	331
1917	238	29	36	3	306
1918	225	29	36	2	292
1919	211	31	36	3	281
1520	212	31	40	3	286
1921	206	31	40	2	279
1922	205	31	40	2	278
1923	201 (*a*)	31 (*b*)	41 (*c*)	1 (*d*)	274 (*e*)

(*a*) Accommodation for 4,183 smokers. (*b*) Accommodation for 1,076 smokers. (*c*) Accommodation for 709 smokers. (*d*) Accommodation for 15 smokers.

Shops for the Sale of Prepared Opium in the Federated Malay States.

I.—Retail Shops ("off" Licences only.)

Year.	Perak.	Selangor.	Negri Sembilan.	Pahang.	Total Federated Malay States.
1916	124	92	42	26*	284
1917	126	85	41	28*	280
1918	124	84	42	29*	279
1919	130	85	46	30*	291
1920	134 (6)	82	45	38	299 (6)
1921	83 (19)	55 (8)	38 (4)	39	215 (31)
1922	58 (24)	53 (11)	28 (5)	28 (2)	167 (42)
1923	54 (25)	44 (12)	28 (5)	24 (4)	150 (46)

* Figures for Ulu Pahang only. *Note.*—The figures in brackets indicate the number of Government retail shops included.

II.—Public Smoking Rooms ("on" Licences only.)

Year.	Perak.	Selangor.	Negri Sembilan.	Pahang.	Total Federated Malay States.
1916	88	81	30	14	213
1917	95	73	29	14	211
1918	95	71	31	14	211
1919	96	71	36	13	215
1920	95	71	35	15	216
1921	93	64	32	16	205
1922	72	60	27	19	178
1923	69 (*a*)	54 (*b*)	25 (*c*)	16 (*d*)	164 (*e*)

(*a*) Licensed to accommodate 2,159 smokers. (*b*) Licensed to accommodate 2,037 smokers. (*c*) Licensed to accommodate 758 smokers.
(*d*) Licensed to accommodate 357 smokers. (*e*) Licensed to accommodate 5,311 smokers.

APPENDIX XXXI.

SHOPS FOR THE SALE OF PREPARED OPIUM IN JOHORE.

Year.	Retail Shops "Off" Licences only.	Public Smoking Rooms "On" and "Off" Licences.	Total number of Shops.
1914	235	56	291
1915	248	73	321
1916	296	111	407
1917	310	138	448
1918	319	181	500
1919	360	204	564
1920	450	237	687
1921	402	224	626
1922	336	184	520
1923	296	165*	461†

* The 165 Public Smoking Rooms were licensed to accommodate 2,884 Smokers.

† 80 "Off" and 85 "On and Off" Licences were in Urban Areas and 216 "Off" and 80 "On and Off" Licences were in Rural Areas.

APPENDIX XXXII.

Shops for the Sale of Prepared Opium in KEDAH.

Year Mohammedan.	Corresponding to English.	Licensed Shops.	Government Shops.	Total Retail Shops.	Public Smoking Rooms.*	Total Opium Shops.
1332 ...	30th November, 1913 to 18th November, 1914 ...	46	7	53	14	67
1333 ...	19th November, 1914 to 8th November, 1915 ...	43	7	50	13	63
1334 ...	9th November, 1915 to 27th October, 1916 ...	43	7	50	13	63
1335 ...	28th October, 1916 to 16th October, 1917 ...	42	7	49	13	62
1336 ...	17th October, 1917 to 6th October, 1918	40	7	47	14	61
1337 ...	7th October, 1918 to 25th September, 1919 ...	43	8	51	14	65
1338 ...	26th September, 1919 to 14th September, 1920 ...	43	8	51	13	64
1339 ...	15th September, 1920 to 3rd September, 1921 ...	35	16	51	11	62
1340 ...	4th September, 1921 to 23rd August, 1922 ...	10	25	35	7	42
1341 ...	24th August, 1922 to 13th August, 1923	11	25	36	3	39
1342 ...	As on 26th December, 1923	20	25	45	4	49

NOTE.—The records in Mohammedan years appear adequate for the purposes of this table.

*"On" licences only.

APPENDIX XXXIII.

SHOPS FOR THE SALE OF PREPARED OPIUM IN PERLIS.

Year (Mohammedan).	Retail Shops. (*a*)	Public Smoking Rooms. (*b*)	Total number of Shops.
1332	5 (1)	1	6
1333	5 (1)	1	6
1334	5 (1)	1	6
1335	5 (1)	1	6
1336	5 (1)	1	6
1337	5 (1)	1	6
1338	5 (1)	1	6
1339	6	1	7
1340	6	1	7
1341	6	1	7
1342 (present time) ...	6	1	7

Note.—Licences have always been allotted as the result of tenders.

(*a*) The figures in brackets represent Government Retail Shops included.

(*b*) "Off" Licences only.

APPENDIX XXXIV.

SHOPS FOR THE SALE OF PREPARED OPIUM IN KELANTAN.

Year.	Number of Retail "Off" Licences.	Number of Smoking Room Licences *b*.	Total Number of Licensed Shops.
1917	12	8	20
1918	18	11	29
1919	21	9	30
1920	25	8	33
1921	21	10	31
1922	23	9	32
1923	24	11	35
1924	24 (*a*)	11 (*a*)	35

(*a*) Of the existing Licences, 5 Retail "Off" Licences and 8 Smoking Room Licences are in principal Towns. The 11 Smoking Rooms are licensed to accommodate 199 Smokers.

(*b*) "On and off" licences.

APPENDIX XXXV.

Shops for the Sale of Prepared Opium in TRENGGANU.

Year.	Number of Retail "off" Licences.	Number of Smoking Room Licences.	Total number of Licensed Shops.
1917	8	12	20
1918	15	13	28
1919	16	17	33
1920	20	15	35
1921	22	12	34
1922	12	14	26
1923	13	9	22
1924	12 (*a*)	11 (*a*)	23

(*a*) Of the existing licences, 4 Retail off Licences and 10 Smoking Room Licences are in principal towns.

NOTE.—Prepared opium is also sold by retail, for consumption off the premises, by the Government Chandu Department, at Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman.

APPENDIX XXXVI.

Shops for the Sale of Prepared Opium in BRUNEI.

Year.	Retail Shops.	Public Smoking Rooms. *	Total number of Shops.
1913	10	...	10
1914	12	...	12
1915	13	...	13
1916	12	...	12
1917	11	...	11
1918	10	...	10
1919	10	...	10
1920	13	...	13
1921	13	...	13
1922	13	1	14
1923	16	1	17

* "On" Licence only.

APPENDIX XXXVII.

Mr. Wilson's Evidence, Page C 136.

Census of Patrons of Public Smoking Rooms in the Straits Settlements.

SINGAPORE.

Shop *A*.—Licensed for 44 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	105	Smokers
2nd day	...	...	140	„
3rd day	...	...	146	„
		Average	130	(111 Packets.)

Shop *B*.—Licensed for 28 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	102	Smokers.
2nd day	...	...	84	„
3rd day	...	...	75	„
		Average	87	(68 Packets.)

Shop *C*.—Licensed for 30 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	112	Smokers.
2nd day	...	...	104	„
3rd day	...	...	75	„
		Average	97	(76 Packets.)

PENANG.

Shop *A*.—Licensed for 45 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	62	Smokers.
2nd day	...	...	68	„
3rd day	...	...	110	„
		Average	80	

Shop *B*.—Licensed for 100 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	151	Smokers.
2nd day	...	...	146	„
3rd day	...	...	155	„
		Average	151	

Shop *C*.—Licensed for 40 Smokers:—

1st day	...	...	27	Smokers.
2nd day	...	...	28	„
3rd day	...	...	31	„
		Average	29	

MALACCA.

Shop *A.*—Licensed for 28 Smokers:—

1st day	... ...	71 Smokers.
2nd day	... ...	109 „
3rd day	... ...	91 „
	Average	90

Shop *B.*—Licensed for 55 Smokers:—

1st day	... ...	66 Smokers.
2nd day	... ...	72 „
3rd day	... ...	54 „
	Average	64

In respect of the Singapore Public Smoking Rooms a time analysis of the 943 smokers enumerated in them was also taken. This gave the following results:—

6 a.m. to 7 a.m. 28 or 3 per cent.	2 p.m. to 3 p.m. 47 or 5 per cent.
7 a.m. to 8 a.m. 28 or 3 „	3 p.m. to 4 p.m. 29 or 3 „
8 a.m. to 9 a.m. 53 or 5½ „	4 p.m. to 5 p.m. 38 or 4 „
9 a.m. to 10 a.m. 72 or 8 „	5 p.m. to 6 p.m. 69 or 7 „
10 a.m. to 11 a.m. 57 or 6 „	6 p.m. to 7 p.m. 105 or 11 „
11 a.m. to 12 noon 63 or 7 „	7 p.m. to 8 p.m. 102 or 11 „
Noon to 1 p.m. 75 or 8 „	8 p.m. to 9 p.m. 70 or 7 „
1 p.m. to 2 p.m. 53 or 5½ „	9 p.m. to 10 p.m. 54 or 6 „

APPENDIX XXXVIII.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 152.

CENSUS OF PATRONS OF PUBLIC SMOKING ROOMS IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

KUALA LUMPUR TOWN.

Shop *A*.—Licensed for 79 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	343 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	321 „	
3rd day ...	...	313 „	
	Average	326 „	(313 Packets.)

Shop *B*.—Licensed for 100 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	358 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	316 „	
3rd day ...	...	339 „	
	Average	338 „	(279 Packets.)

Shop *C*.—Licensed for 46 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	114 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	74 „	
3rd day ...	...	122 „	
	Average	103 „	(84 Packets.)

Shop *D*.—Licensed for 25 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	202 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	227 „	
3rd day ...	...	203 „	
	Average	211 „	

IPOH TOWN.

Shop *E*.—Licensed for 34 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	328 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	475 „	
3rd day ...	...	273 „	
	Average	359 „	

Shop *F*.—Licensed for 55 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	361 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	574 „	
3rd day ...	...	433 „	
	Average	456 „	

Shop *G*.—Licensed for 48 Smokers:—

1st day ...	...	338 Smokers.	
2nd day ...	...	429 „	
3rd day ...	...	311 „	
	Average	359 „	

A census of the tribes of patrons was also taken in the cases of Shops *E*, *F* and *G* in Ipoh and resulted as follows:—

Total daily average number of patrons in Shops *E*, *F*, *G*, combined, **1174** composed of Hokkiens 255, Tie Chius 133, Cantonese 423, Khehs 185, Hailam 103 and other tribes 75.

A similar tribal census was taken in Shop *D* and resulted as follows:—

Total daily average number of patrons **211** comprising 67 Hokkiens, 18 Tie Chius, 115 Cantonese and Kheh, and 11 Hailams.

APPENDIX XXXIX.

Census of Patrons of Public Smoking Rooms in JOHORE.

Shop *A*.—Licensed for 21 Smokers:—

1st day	... ...	60 Smokers.
2nd day	... ...	68 „
3rd day	... ...	46 „
	Average	58 (47 Packets.)

Shop *B*.—Licensed for 22 Smokers:—

1st day	... ...	78 Smokers.
2nd day	... ...	93 „
3rd day	... ...	56 „
	Average	76 (59 Packets)

Shop *C*.—Licensed for 25 Smokers:—

1st day	... ...	114 Smokers.
2nd day	... ...	69 „
3rd day	... ...	58 „
	Average	80 (63 Packets).

A time analysis of the 642 smokers enumerated as above was taken. This gave the following results:—

7 a.m. to 8 a.m. 33 or 5 per cent.	3 p.m. to 4 p.m. 24 or 4 per cent.
8 a.m. to 9 a.m. 42 or 6 „	4 p.m. to 5 p.m. 40 or 6 „
9 a.m. to 10 a.m. 50 or 8 „	5 p.m. to 6 p.m. 51 or 8 „
10 a.m. to 11 a.m. 52 or 8 „	6 p.m. to 7 p.m. 53 or 8 „
11 a.m. to noon 37 or 6 „	7 p.m. to 8 p.m. 45 or 7 „
Noon to 1 p.m. 61 or 10 „	8 p.m. to 9 p.m. 39 or 6 „
1 p.m. to 2 p.m. 50 or 8 „	9 p.m. to 10 p.m. 32 or 5 „
2 p.m. to 3 p.m. 33 or 5 „	

APPENDIX XL

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 150.

SALES OF PREPARED OPIUM BY GOVERNMENT SHOPS IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES 1920-1922.

State.	1920.			1921.			1922.		
	No. of shops.	Tahils sold.	Percentage of total sales.	No. of shops.	Tahils sold.	Percentage of total sales.	No. of shops.	Tahils sold.	Percentage of total sales.
			%			%			%
Perak	6	113,035	15	19	145,487	32	24	230,554	56
Selangor	...	...	...	8	43,072	26 (a)	11	94,247	35
Negri Sembilan ...	...	...	...	4	11,603	19 (a)	5	37,863	37
Pahang	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	15,207	23
Federated Malay States	...	...	...	...	...	...	42	377,871	44

(a) These Government shops were only opened on 1st July, 1921 and the percentage is based on half the total sales in the State for the year 1921.

APPENDIX XLI.

SALES OF PREPARED OPIUM BY GOVERNMENT SHOPS IN KEDAH 1920–1922.

State.	1920.			1921.			1922.		
	Number of Shops.	Tahils Sold.	Percentage of total Sales.	Number of Shops.	Tahils Sold.	Percentage of total Sales.	Number of Shops.	Tahils. Sold.	Percentage of total Sales.
			%			%			%
Kedah	16*	97,893	36	25†	118,606	55	25	117,876	74

* Includes 8 shops started in September. † Includes 9 shops started in September.

APPENDIX XLII.

REPORT ON ENQUIRIES OF SMOKERS IN PUBLIC SMOKING-ROOMS.

SINGAPORE, 18TH JANUARY, 1924.

SIR,—We have the honour to submit our report on the investigations into patrons of public smoking-rooms that we were asked by the Opium Committee to make.

2. On the 24th December, 1923 we visited 2 smoking-rooms, on the 27th December 1, on the 3rd January, 1924 1, on the 10th January 2, a total of 6 smoking-rooms.

3. Our visits were all paid between 11-45 and 1 P.M. In the case of 5 shops we had no difficulty whatever in getting answers to our exhaustive enquiries from all the smokers found in them. In the 6th shop there was a general exodus from the upstairs part while we were making our enquiries in the downstairs smoking-room.

4. We would observe generally that the shops visited which lie in different parts of Singapore Town are on the whole reasonably airy and reasonably clean. In one case limewashing is required, but in the others we considered that they would compare very favourably from the point of view of cleanliness with the homes of the smokers. We have, however, to admit that the smoking rooms we visited in Kuala Lumpur on the 16th January, 1924 have more air space and are cleaner than those we visited in Singapore.

5. We made exhaustive enquiries on the basis of a fixed questionnaire from 85 smokers in all. The 85 comprised 34 Hokkiens, 9 Tiechius, 24 Cantonese, 2 Hailams, 9 Hinhuas 2 Hokchias, 4 Hokchius and 1 Hokkien-Kheh. Two only of them were Straits-born.

6. *Civil Condition.*—In 74 out of the 85 cases the civil condition of the smokers was investigated, with the result that 39 stated they had wives and families, 11 were married without children, one was a widower without children and 23 were bachelors.

7. *Age.*—The ages of the smokers from whom the enquiries were made were as follows:—4 under 25, 18 over 25 and under 30, 15 over 30 and under 35, 24 over 35 and under 40, 14 over 40 and under 45, 3 over 45 and under 50, 4 over 50 and under 55, and 3 over 55.

8. *Place of Acquisition of Habit.*—Of the 85 smokers 67 or approximately 80 per cent, stated that they took to the habit in the Straits.

9. *Dose.*—Of the 85 smokers 4 stated that they were occasional smokers and had a pipe from time to time. 6 gave their dosage as half a packet *i.e.* 1½ hoons a day. 35 gave one 3-hoon packet a day. 6 gave 1½ packets or 4½ hoons per diem. 24 said that they smoked 2 packets or 6 hoons a day. 4 admitted smoking 3 packets *i.e.* 9 hoons a day; 3, 4 packets or 12 hoons a day; 2, 5 packets or 15 hoons a day and one took 7 or 8 packets a day or over 2 chees.

10. *Monthly Earnings.*—The classification of salaries in the case of wage earners and an estimate of the monthly profits in the case of those in business for themselves is as follows:—

Under $15 a month ...	8	$35 to $40 a month ...	6
$15 to $20 ,, ...	14	$40 to $45 ,, ...	8
$20 to $25 ,, ...	5	$45 to $50 ,, ...	2
$25 to $30 ,, ...	6	Over $50 ,, ...	10
$30 to $35 ,, ...	14	Over $100 , ...	10

One said that he had no resources and was dependent upon his relatives and in the remaining case no answer was given.

11. *Opium Dross.*—Of the 85 smokers 15 admitted that they regularly swallowed chandu dross; 4 said that they occasionally did so whilst 66 said they never touched it.

12. *Liquor.*—Of the 85 smokers 4 said that they regularly took liquor; 21 were occasional imbibers and 60 said they were teetotallers.

13. *Occupation.*—The occupations of the 85 smokers were:—

Barbers ...	2	Motor driver ...	1
Brickmaker ...	1	Motor mechanic ...	1
Coffee shopkeepers ...	6	Pork sellers ...	3
Clerk	1	Painters ...	4
Carrying coolies ...	4	Poultry rearer ...	1
Carpenters ...	4	Rickisha pullers ...	11
Chinese Doctors ...	2	Rickisha owners ...	3
Fitter	1	Rubber coolies ...	4
Gunny bag makers ...	2	Sampan coolies ...	2
Hawkers	5	Shopkeepers	2
House servants ...	7	Shop assistants ...	3
House builders ...	2	Shoemakers	2
Liquor shopkeepers ...	3	Tailors	2
Land broker ...	1	Timber dealers ...	2
Letter writer ...	1	Vegetable seller ...	1
No occupation ...	1		

14. *General.*—We only found in the 6 shops visited 3 persons who were merely visitors and were not in the shops for the purpose of smoking opium.

We have, etc.,

A. M. POUNTNEY.

S. J. CHAN.

THE SECRETARY,

OPIUM COMMITTEE,

SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX XLIII.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 221.

SCHEME FOR THE EXTENSION OF PRESENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT RETAIL CHANDU SHOPS.

1. The existing Government retail shops—45 in number—will become head retail shops under this scheme.

2. In *all* places where an "Off" license is considered necessary—a Government sub-retail shop will be established.

3. All private "Off" licenses will be abolished.

4. The sub-retail shops will be run by Chinese Clerks, or clerks of any other nationality, who have a sufficient knowledge of English to keep simple account books. They will be required to speak Malay.

5. For administration purposes, sub-retail shops will be under the nearest head retail shop. All vouchers, paysheets etc., will be compiled by the Clerk-in-charge of the head retail shop.

6. When a sub-retail shop is first opened, a certain quantity of chandu will be supplied direct by the head chandu office in each State. A supply sufficient to last about 7 days. This first supply will be treated as an advance and when nearly exhausted, the sub-retail shop Clerk will take the proceeds realised by the sales thereof to the head retail shop and purchase sufficient chandu to make up his original stock. In this way the sub-retail shop Clerk will never have cash and chandu to a greater value than his original advance supply.

7. The Clerk-in-charge of the head retail shop will supply whatever quantity of chandu the cash brought represents, and will enter the amount in a book to be kept for that purpose and obtain the signature of the sub-retail shop Clerk.

8. From the record referred to in 7 the Clerk-in-charge will compile a monthly return of chandu sold to sub-retail shops and forward to head office and Audit Department.

9. The sub-retail shop Clerk will also be required to furnish separate returns showing his purchases monthly.

10. The books kept by the sub-retail shop Clerk will be very simple and will show at a glance the amount of chandu in stock and cash in hand.

11. The check on sub-retail Clerks will be to see that the cash in hand, plus stock, equal in value, the original supply of chandu.

12. As the sub-retail Clerk will purchase from the head retail shop at 40 cents per packet, and $3.90 per 3 chi pot, there can be no variation in the value of his stock and cash.

13. All the profit earned by a sub-retail shop will appear in the head retail shop accounts. It will be quite a simple matter however to ascertain the profit or loss at each sub-retail shop. A monthly return showing this can be prepared by the head office in each State.

14. Shop houses to be rented by Government in each village for the purpose of a sub-retail shop.

15. To avoid the expense of building Strong Rooms to store chandu and the purchase of a safe for each shop for the cash—it is proposed to make very strong re-inforced concrete boxes, with a specially constructed iron door with double lock. A trial is being made with this idea at the new Rawang

shop to be opened on January 1st and I am confident of its success. The cost of the whole thing will not exceed $100.00—whereas the old design of strong room worked out at $300.00 and in my opinion they are not nearly so secure. The concrete box will be immovable.

16. All keys will be kept by the clerks, who will be held responsible for safe custody etc.,

17. When travelling with cash to purchase chandu and also when returning with the chandu—the clerk to be accompanied by a Police constable.

18. I estimate that the following number of sub-retail shops will be required in the different States to commence with:—

Perak	28
Selangor	17
Negri Sembilan	16
Pahang	15
Total ...	76

19. The estimated cost of opening a sub-retail shop is $300.00. Giving a total cost of opening for the Federated Malay States of $22,800.00.

20. The estimated surplus profit for 6 months is:—

	$
Perak	10,600 00
Selangor	11,900 00
Negri Sembilan	1,080 00
Pahang	Unascertained.
Total ...	23,580 00

The initial expenses of this scheme would therefore be recovered from profits in the first 6 months.

21. To arrive at surplus profits, the expenses of running a sub-retail shop have been estimated at $150.00 per mensem as follows:—

	$
Shop Rent	30 00
Salary of Clerk	60 00
Travelling Expenses, etc., ...	60 00
Total	150 00

22. All clerks will be required to find security in a sum exceeding, or equivalent to, the value of chandu held by them in the same manner as our Clerks-in-charge at present.

23. This scheme will of course mean the abolition of the tender system.

24. The great advantage of this scheme is that we should have complete and efficient control over all "Off" sales in the Federated Malay States which amount to approximately 85 per cent of the total sales.

APPENDIX XLIV.

RETURN * SHOWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

Year.	Singapore (including Labuan).		Penang.		Malacca.		Straits Settlements.		Amount paid for dross collected.
	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	
		%		%		%		%	
1917	12,422	4	10,641	8	3,643	5	26,706	5	78,324
1918	18,381	4	13,826	9	4,478	6	36,686	6	111,487
1919	18,320	4	15,982	9	4,379	6	38,681	6	125,597
1920	18,377	4	20,563	12	4,358	6	43,298	6	194,651
1921	19,969	5	15,878	11	3,048	7	38.895	6	170,992
1922	20,341	5	12,421	10	2,621	6	35,383	6	158,148
1923	21,087	6	13,270	10	3,326	7	37,683	7	161,169

* Taken to nearest tahil and dollar.

(*a*) The normal product of dross is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX XLV.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 148.

RETURN SHOWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

Year.	Perak.		Selangor.		Negri Sembilan.		Pahang.		Federated Malay States.		Amount paid for dross collected.
	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	Tahils.	Percentage of normal product. *a*	
		%		%		%		%		%	$
1914 ...	65,743	19	53,886	24	12,103	17	*b* 2,478	...	134,210	...	267,311
1915 ...	60,560	17	47,941	21	13,530	16	*b* 2,913	...	124,944	...	249,102
1916 ...	60,366	17	48,361	21	20,762	21	*b* 2,816	...	132,305	...	311,913
1917 ...	48,041	17	42,983	23	22,534	24	*b* 3,122	...	116,680	...	399,789
1918 ...	58,975	17	52,306	24	26,349	26	*b* 4,569	...	142,199	...	491,853
1919 ...	56,139	18	50,793	25	29,570	29	*b* 4,696	...	141,198	...	497,105
1920 ...	65,832	22	60,564	32	28,735	30	6,009	13	161,140	25	724,017
1921 ...	41,033	23	41,240	31	17,791	36	5,176	15	105,240	26	468,770
1922 ...	35,698	22	28,671	27	11,847	29	4,655	17	80,871	24	354,504

(*a*) The normal product of dross is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.
(*b*) The dross collected is that collected in Ulu Pahang only, figures for the East Coast of Pahang not available.

APPENDIX XLVI.

Return Showing Amount and Cost of Opium dross Collected in Johore.

(Return furnished by Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Johore).

—	Sales of Prepared Opium.	Normal Product (*a*) of Dross.	Dross Collected.	Percentage of Normal Product.	Price paid.
	Tahils.	*Tahils.*	*Tahils.*	%	$
1914	358,183	143,273	1,003	·7	1,487
1915	468,846	187,538	696	·3	1,020
1916	534,837	213,934	2,301	1·0	3,440
1917	489,641	195,856	1,006	·5	2,115
1918	486,172	194,468	1,251	·6	2,971
1919	538,670	215,468	1,354	·6	2,979
1920	583,285	233,314	1,368	·6	4,642
1921	301,047	120,418	1,569	1·3	4,497
1922	300,836	120,334	1,151	·9	2,368

(*a*) Normal product is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX XLVII.

RETURN SHEWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN KEDAH.

Year. (Mohammedan).	Sales of Prepared Opium.	Normal Product * of Dross.	Dross Purchased.	Percentage of Normal Product.
	Tahils.	*Tahils.*	*Tahils.*	%
1332	207,350	82,940	3,332	4
1333	202,699	81,080	4,204	5
1334	229,795	91,918	5,875	6
1335	224,329	89,732	6,010	6
1336	279,062	111,625	10,967	10
1337	264,209	105,683	15,304	14
1338	275,872	110,349	7,646	7
1339	237,829	95,131	3,782	4
1340	150,458	60,183	3,221	5
1341	164,315	65,726	1,489	2

* The normal product is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

NOTE.—As this table is merely compiled to show percentages it is considered to be unnecessary to convert from Mohammedan year records to English years. The Mohammedan years 1332 to 1341 inclusive cover the period 30th November, 1913 to 13th August, 1923.

APPENDIX XLVIII.

RETURN SHEWING AMOUNT OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN PERLIS.

Year (*a*) (Mohammedan.)	Sales of Prepared Opium.	Normal Product of Dross. (*b*)	Dross Purchased.	Percentage of Normal Product.
	Tahils.	*Tahils.*	*Tahils.*	%
1332	13,737	5,495	107	1·9
1333	14,312	5,725	75	1·3
1334	16,367	6,547	121	1·8
1335	13,193	5,277	115	2·2
1336	16,259	6,504	114	1·8
1337	16,634	6,654	194	2·9
1338	16,328	6,531	195	3·0
1339	14,766	5,906	132	2·2
1340	15,094	6,038	40	0·7
1341	14,493	5,797	50	0·9

(*a*) The period covered by this return is from 30th November, 1913 to 13th August, 1923.

(*b*) The normal product of dross is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX XLIX.

RETURN SHEWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN KELANTAN.

Year.	Dross Purchased.	Percentage of Normal Product. (*a*)	Cost.
	Tahils.	%	$
1913	298	2·5	402
1914	562	3·5	844
1915	656	4·1	984
1916	644	3·1	1,081
1917	1,024	6·1	2,048
1918	1,329	6·6	2,657
1919	1,446	6·6	2,928
1920	723	3·2	2,361
1921	937	4·6	2,812
1922	1,122	7·1	4,110
1923	1,130	6·0	4,225

(*a*) The normal product is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX L.

RETURN SHEWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN TRENGGANU.

Year.	Dross Purchased.	Percentage of Normal Product. (*a*)	Amount paid (nearest dollar).
	Tahils.	%	$
1917	36	·22	25
1918	55	·25	36
1919	34	·15	24
1920	31	·10	44
1921	106	·61	173
1922	167	1·83	282
1923	90	·85	180

(*a*) The normal product is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX LI.

RETURN SHEWING AMOUNT AND COST OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED IN BRUNEI.

Year. *a*	Sales of prepared Opium.	Normal product of dross. *b*	Dross collected.	Percentage of normal product.	Price paid.
	Tahils.	*Tahils.*	*Tahils.*	%	$
1922 ...	4,537	1,815	4	0·2	9
1923 ...	No figures.	...	9	No figures.	20

(*a*) No dross was purchased by the Government previous to 1922.

(*b*) Normal product is taken as 40 per cent of prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX LII.

SCHEDULE OF PAST AND PRESENT GOVERNMENT PRICES PER TAHIL OF OPIUM DROSS.

Year.	Straits Settlements.		Federated Malay States.		Johore.		Kedah.		Perlis. *		Kelantan.		Trengganu.		Brunei.
	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.	2nd Quality.	1st Quality.
	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	c.	c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.	$ c.
1911 ...	...	...	95	60	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1912 ...	...	...	1 20	80	...	...	2 00	1 00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1913 ...	2 00	70	2 00	1 20	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1916 ...	2 75	1 00	2 75	1 00	...	...	2 75	1 00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1917 ...	3 50	1 25	3 50	1 25	...	...	3 50	1 25	1 00	...	...	...	...	...	...
1919 ...	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	...	...	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	...	...	...	...	...
1924 ...	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	4 50	1 50	3 75	1 50	2 50	2 00	2 25

* For a short period is 1919 the price was $3.50 per tahil, 1st quality, and $1.25, 2nd quality.

APPENDIX LIII.

RETURN OF PROSECUTIONS IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND FEDERATED MALAY STATES FOR OFFENCES IN REGARD TO OPIUM DROSS.

Offence.	Straits Settlements Number of prosecutions 1923.	Federated Malay States Number of Convictions.	
		1922.	1923.
Selling except to Superintendent	32	42	39
Possession of more than 1 tahil	42	35	30
Re-preparing by applying artificial heat	6	133	106
Possession of re-prepared dross	10	106	92
Possession of dross derived from illicit opium ...	1	...	...
Importing dross	1	...	...
Total ...	92 (*a*)	316 (*b*)	267 (*c*)

(*a*) Number of convictions 74. (*b*) Number of prosecutions 356. (*c*) Number of prosecutions 296.

APPENDIX LIV.

RETURN OF OPIUM DROSS COLLECTED FROM TEN * PUBLIC SMOKING ROOMS DURING 1923.

Furnished by the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Straits Settlements.

Smoking Room Number.	Prepared Opium purchased.	Opium Dross Collected.	
	Tahils.	Tahils.	Percentage of Normal Product. (*a*)
			%
1	1,308	160·0	31
2	486	85·0	44
3	1,434	150·5	26
4	1,056	152·0	36
5	612	70·5	29
6	1,320	198·5	38
7	606	90·0	37
8	627	71·0	28
9	1,170	142·5	30
10	891	103·5	29

* Singapore Smoking Rooms chosen at random.

(*a*) Normal product of Dross is taken as 40 per cent of the prepared opium from which it results.

APPENDIX LV.

Mr. R. F. R. Swettenham's Evidence, Page C 221.

PROPOSALS REGARDING THE PURCHASE OF CHANDU* DROSS.

PROPOSED SCHEME FOR THE BETTER CONTROL AND DISTRIBUTION OF CHANDU TO THE PUBLIC.

How the scheme affects "On" licensees in places where there are Government Retail Shops.

1. "On" licensees will purchase chandu from the Monopoly Office of the State. They will pay the full retail price and will retail it at the same price. They will make no profit on the chandu.

2. For every tahil of dross of No. 1 quality produced in their smoking shops "On" licensees will be paid $6.50 per tahil, as against $4.50 at present.

3. This figure gives the licensee exactly the same profit per tahil of chandu as at present thus:—

On one tahil of chandu the profit is 3 cents per packet		$1 00 per tahil.
From 1 tahil of chandu ½ tahil of dross is produced and sold to Government for ...	$2 25	
Profit		$2 25
Total profit per tahil of chandu		$3 25

That is to say if the licensee were paid $3.25 for ½ tahil of dross and received no profit on the sale of his chandu, his total profit would be the same as before.

Therefore the Government purchase price of dross must be $6.50 per tahil.

4. On licensees will pay the usual licence fee of $30 for 6 months.

5. The net result is that these "On" licensees will make exactly the same profit as at present, if they sell the same amount of chandu.

6. However as the books of "On" licensees are invariably faked, it may be expected that rather more dross than usual will be purchased by Government.

7. The price of Grade 2 dross should be left at $1.50 per tahil this means that licensees who produce bad dross lose their usual profit of 3 cents per packet. The advantage of this is that it should prevent licensees from purchasing dross from private smokers in order to increase their own quantity. With the limited means of testing at their disposal licensees would be unwilling to risk the heavy loss which they would incur if the dross were of inferior quality.

This should also prevent the importing of Straits Settlements dross for it is unlikely that Federated Malay States licensees would be prepared to pay a fairly high price for dross and risk its being of inferior quality.

8. The testing of dross by the Government Chemist should effectively detect any dross which had been derived from foreign chandu other than Straits Settlements chandu.

* "Chandu" is the local name for prepared Opium.

APPENDIX LVI.

Note by the Acting British Adviser, Kedah on the references to the Opium Committee.

5th January, 1924.

SIR,—In preparing the following note on the use of prepared opium in Kedah and the measures existing to control it I am handicapped by the fact that my personal experience of conditions in this State extends to less than a month. I have, therefore, been dependent on written records and the advice of those whose acquaintance with the country is longer than my own in forming my opinions on this subject. The figures which are being supplied to the Committee furnish the latest and most complete statistics that it is possible to obtain.

2. The internal trade in and use of prepared opium in Kedah are governed by the provisions of Enactment No. 12 of 1337 and rules thereunder. Copies of these have already been supplied to the Committee. Up to the end of 1909 the revenue from opium was farmed out; since then the trade has been under direct Government control and in 1920 a Department of Customs and Monopolies was established which has exercised similar control to that of the corresponding Departments in the Colony and the Federated Malay States. The manufacture of opium and its derivatives, in Kedah, is forbidden. The opium which is smoked in Kedah is obtained by the Kedah Government Monopolies Department from the Government of the Straits Settlements. The price at present paid by the Kedah Government is $2.11 per tahil (=1⅓ oz. avoirdupois).

3. This prepared opium (chandu) is sold in three ways:—

(*a*) in Government retail shops which sell for consumption off the premises;

(*b*) in licensed retail shops which sell for consumption off the premises;

(*c*) in licensed smoking shops which sell for consumption on the premises.

The price at which chandu is sold in these shops is $12.42 a tahil, and the licensed retailer buys from the Department at $12.00 a tahil, which allows a fair margin of profit.

4. The Government has a system by which the "chandu dross", *i.e.* the residue left after smoking the chandu, is bought back by the Department. This dross is supposed to be more harmful than chandu to the consumer, and all that is bought back is destroyed. $4.50 a tahil is paid for 1st class dross and $1.50 a tahil for 2nd class dross.

5. The localities of the retail and smoking shops are indicated on the maps which are being supplied to the Committee. There are in Kedah—

25 Government retail shops

20 licensed retail shops

4 licensed smoking shops.

The system of opening Government retail shops was started in 1910 in Kedah, on the cessation of the opium farm. It has since been steadily developed, and has proved a success. These shops are opened only in places where it is known that there is a great demand for chandu, and by opening them the number of licensed shops is reduced. These Government shops are clean and decent places, generally a room in a Customs Office, Police Station or Harbour Office; they are under complete Government management and control, and the persons employed in them are Government servants, on fixed salaries, who have no interest in the sales or incentive to press the consumption of the drug. In my opinion it would be feasible in Kedah to have all the retail shops directly managed by the Government, and it might be feasible also to arrange for the smoking shops to be similarly treated.

6. The 1921 census in Kedah showed—

Malay males, 20 years and over	...	...	... 64,024
Chinese do. do. do.	...	...	... 40,748
Siamese, all ages and both sexes	...	...	... 8,399

There are no data to show how many of each of these nationalities are opium smokers, but after taking the opinions of various persons whose advice is likely to be of value I hazard the estimate that 10,000 Malays, 20,000 Chinese and 1,000 Siamese are consumers. I confess that these figures are little more than guess-work, but after allowance is made for even a wide inaccuracy, it will be at once apparent that the problem in Kedah presents a different aspect from that in the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States. There the opium smoking habit is almost entirely confined to the Chinese; here it is shared by a considerable number of Malays and Siamese. In 1921 an attempt was made to take a census of the Malay opium smokers in Kedah, and the total number was returned at 7,468. This is certainly much below the true figure, for the fear of public opinion and the suspicion of possible registration to follow must have combined to deter many who were not confirmed smokers from admitting their addiction to the habit. Legislation was contemplated to make opium smoking by Malays illegal, but it was felt that without registration and licensing of smokers it would have little effect, and in view of the difficulties attending such a system the proposal was abandoned.

7. The registration and licensing of smokers is a vexed question. In theory it is attractive but in practice its success would be more than doubtful. I understand that it was tried in Burma, with a view to checking the opium habit among Burmans, and that it did not prove an unqualified success there. Such a system would entail an intrusive domestic espionage which would be deeply resented, and it would bring into being an army of informers who would readily succumb to bribery or descend to blackmail. At the present time only adult Chinese males are allowed in licensed smoking shops, and it is questionable whether the adoption of a system of registration and licensing of smokers would result in any advantage which would outweigh the evils which it would, in this country, inevitably bring in its train.

8. It would be quite possible to fix an annual maximum limit of opium to be consumed in the State, but it would, for the reasons I have stated, be impossible to base such a maximum on the number of the adult Chinese population. Even if there were no Malay or Siamese opium smokers, the Chinese population is so variable and so dependent on the condition of the industries in which the Chinese are locally engaged that the population figure might very easily become widely fallacious almost as soon as it had been adopted. Individual rationing in this country would present difficulties analogous to those of rationing whisky in Scotland: there would always be people ready to pay highly for the rations of others.

9. I can see no objection to having a uniform price fixed for prepared opium in neighbouring territories; indeed such a procedure seems to have every argument in its favour. But a "uniform price" could not be fixed without full account being taken of the purchasing value of local currency; it could not be equitably fixed, for instance, in sterling, for the whole of the Far East, although in Siam and Malaya it might possibly be identical.

10. These brief remarks are, as already stated, offered after a very brief experience of local conditions in this State, but they contain, for what they may be worth, the opinions which I have so far been able to form on this admittedly difficult question.

I have, etc.,

E. C. H. WOLFF,
Acting British Adviser
to the Kedah Government.

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX LVII.

Note by the British Adviser, Kelantan, on the references to the Opium Committee.

THE RESIDENCY,
KELANTAN,
16th December, 1923.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. (2) in H. C. O. 950/23, dated December 3rd, 1923.

2. I have consulted His Highness the SULTAN, who is of opinion that the proposals are unacceptable, and that there should be no change in the present arrangements. He wishes some one to appear before the Commission and state the objections to the proposals.

3. There are in my opinion very strong objections to the particular proposals mentioned in the reference, as far as Kelantan is concerned.

4. As regards Proposal *A*—sale from Government shops only—it must be remembered that in Kelantan there are no towns or villages in which Chinese have congregated in the way they have in the Colony or in the Federated Malay States. The largest centre is Kota Bahru, which in 1921 had 1,531 Chinese out of a total population of 10,883. No other centre had as many as 500. The 12,000 or so Chinese are scattered all over the State, which has less than 50 miles of open railway line, and about the same of metalled roads. Communication is largely by river, and even under the most favourable circumstances is slow and difficult. It would be quite impracticable to supervise Government shops in a great many places where chandu is required, while to close the existing shops would involve considerable hardship on the agriculturists and others who use chandu in the "semi-medicinal" way, which has been recognised as legitimate under the convention for the people of India. Of the total number of existing licences, half have been given to European-owned estates, where the managers are interested in preventing excess, and can exercise daily supervision. No manager takes an opium smoker by preference.

5. As regards Proposal *B*—to estimate the amount of chandu required by the number of the adult male Chinese would be to adopt an entirely wrong basis. Chinese are not the only smokers. The Siamese delegate on the Advisory Committee said that in Siam there were fewer opium addicts among the Chinese than among the nationals of the country, and there are a number of Siamese smokers in Kelantan. The Siamese population at the 1921 Census was returned at over 6,000, which, if anything, is an underestimate, as many of those born in the country call themselves "Anak Kelantan" simply, and possibly got registered as Malays, to avoid any difficulties over land transactions, though retaining their own religion and customs.

As to fixing a maximum, I note that the Netherlands delegate states tersely that "where a monopoly was in the hands of a Government which was honestly carrying out the stipulations of the Convention, it was useless to fix the maximum consumption", and gives reasons against it.

6. Proposal *C*—for registration and licensing of smokers is also impracticable. The boundary with Siam is a river which can be forded almost anywhere in dry weather, and there is constant movement of both Chinese and Siamese across it. The area now being opened for gold mining is right on the border and adjoins the Siamese mining camp of Tomo. It is a full three days journey to get there from Kota Bahru under the most favourable conditions, and the difficulties are not likely to be lessened for years. Registration is not practicable in Siam at present according to the Siamese delegate, so the only result of attempting it here would be that smokers near

the boundary would buy in Siam, while Kelantan would be obliged either to ignore that fact or put on an expensive system of guards to prevent smuggling. Even if registration were in force in Siam, the cost of supervision in this State would be enormous.

7. I wish to emphasise the fact, that the conditions in Kelantan are entirely different from those in the Colony or Federated Malay States, as regards the distribution of Chinese, and the number of Siamese. The tables of the 1921 Census Report offer conclusive proof. There is, however, another reason for refusing to adopt these proposals in Kelantan, which is that Kelantan is in great need of Chinese immigrants for development purposes. Mining is in its infancy, but over 3,000 acres have been selected, while there are Prospecting Licences in force over more than 100,000* acres. These areas are being prospected now, and more applications are coming in. For agriculture, apart from padi planting, there will also be great need of the Chinese labour as soon as trade revives. The plantations in the south of Kelantan were comparatively young when the war broke out and arrested development, with the result that in the district of Ulu Kelantan only 17,425 acres are planted out of 92,895 alienated (including the Duff Company's land). It is difficult to get Malay labour for opening up land in the southern part of the State where the European-owned estates lie, as the bulk of the Malay population is concentrated in the northern plain, and is only available in the short interval between the harvest and the ploughing. Southern India labour is out of the question; until an estate has reached a moderate state of development, it cannot get a licence to recruit.

8. Chinese labour, therefore, is indispensable for the development of the country. We can keep a record of those who come by steamer from Singapore, but cannot check those who come from Siam, perhaps on foot, so it will be difficult either to register smokers, or to fix a maximum amount of chandu required for consumption. If they cannot get the amount they require in Kelantan, they will either leave or smuggle.

9. I suggest, therefore, that emphasis be laid on Article 24 of the Convention, which lays down that "it is for each State to decide, according to individual circumstances, as to the precise manner in which its suppression may be brought about". No comparison is possible between this State at its present stage of development and one of the States on the Western side of the Peninsula.

10. Mr. W. BARTLEY, M.B.E., at present Assistant Adviser, who has been in charge of the Chandu Department here is being transferred to Singapore about the end of this year, and His Highness is prepared to authorise him to state the Kelantan case before the Commission. There is no unofficial member of the community who employs any very large number of Chinese, but if required I daresay one witness could be obtained.

I have, etc.,

A. F. WORTHINGTON,
British Adviser to the
Government of Kelantan.

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

* Mr. W. BARTLEY, the official representative of Kelantan, informed the Committee, when giving evidence, that this figure should be 130,000.

APPENDIX LVIII.

Note by the British Adviser, Trengganu, on the points referred to the Committee.

THE RESIDENCY,
TRENGGANU,
7th January, 1924.

My views on the three administrative measures referred to the Committee are as follows:—

If "feasible" means capable of being introduced by Government, regardless of the injustice, hardship and expense involved, all three measures are, of course, "feasible" in the general sense.

AS TO DETAIL:

I. *Sale by Government shops only.*—

This measure could be made effective in Trengganu, though the supply of suitable shop-keepers would present difficulties. It would be inconvenient and undesirable to establish Government shops on well-conducted mines and estates under European management.

II. *Maximum supply.*—

If the total supply allowed fell short of the total demand this measure would cause the greatest hardship and be quite unworkable without the rationing of individual smokers. A rule of "first come first served" would entail disorder and corruption of every kind.

III. *Licensing of smokers.*—

If no distinction is to be made between moderate and excessive smokers a gross injustice will be done by attaching to the former class a stigma that belongs only to the latter. If a distinction is made the question arises—what is to be taken as a moderate allowance? Restriction of the supply of opium will without doubt increase the consumption of spirits, and the registration of drinkers (or drunkards?) will be the necessary sequel.

In practice it is certain that respectable persons will not submit to licensing. The results will be evasion, corruption of whole classes of the Civil Service, and extortion of every kind.

On these grounds alone the licensing of smokers in Trengganu would, in my opinion, be ineffectual and actively pernicious. The practical difficulties presented by bad communications and lack of suitable officials would also be great.

J. L. HUMPHREYS,
British Adviser, Trengganu.

APPENDIX LIX.

Note by the British Resident, Brunei, on the references to the Opium Committee.

OFFICE OF THE BRITISH RESIDENT,

BRUNEI,

14th December, 1923.

SIR,—With reference to your Confidential letter dated 23rd November, 1923, forwarding a copy of the proposed terms of reference to the Opium Committee in Malaya, I have the honour to submit the following observations thereon as regards Brunei's official attitude in the matter.

1. The present consumption of Chandu per head of the adult male Chinese population is roughly 6 tahils per annum.

So far as can be traced, there are no consumers of Chandu of any other nationality in Brunei.

2. The present method of control is simple, but no measures are taken to restrict consumption.

The prepared opium is received in Brunei Town by the Superintendent of Monopolies direct from the Monopolies Department, Singapore, and is issued from the Government Office to the various retailers, who sell at a price fixed by Government allowing them a small margin of profit, about 50 cents per tahil.

The supplies indented for from the outstations at Tutong and Belait are forwarded thither by Government mail-runner weekly. (The consumption at Belait is increasing largely owing to commencement of oil drilling operations in that locality by the British Malayan Petroleum Company with Chinese labour imported from Miri, Sarawak.)

3. With reference to the suggested methods of more effective and beneficial control:—

(*a*) *That the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops.*

The only objections to this would be the expense entailed by the creation of a staff for this special purpose and the obtaining of suitable premises, and (above all) the undesirability on aesthetic grounds of Government becoming a merchant retailing goods for profit.

There would be no obvious corresponding advantage in control here.

(*b*) *That a uniform maximum limit calculated according to the number of the adult Chinese male population should be fixed for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption.*

This might lead to many abuses, such as the hoarding of large quantities of chandu by individuals in the hope of creating a shortage and being thus able to reap an illicit harvest. Convictions for such an offence would not provide a great deterrent.

(*c*) *That Opium Smokers should be registered and licensed.*

Apart from the question of interference with the liberty of the subject—a point which can be safely ignored in the case of the majority of the Chinese population—this appeals to me as a very sound measure. The registration question would be easy here, as every alien has to be registered at a Police Office under Enactment V of 1920.

It would be simple to add an extra column "whether the alien was an opium smoker or not".

4. I am afraid all this will not be very helpful to the case, but I have already written explaining how difficult it is to express any views on the matter from here.

I have, etc.,

E. E. F. PRETTY,
British Resident, Brunei.

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX LX.

Memorandum on tender* system in Johore for retail chandu shops ("off" licenses.)

Attention was called in the middle of 1923 to the very large number of retail licenses ("off") in Johore, compared with the number in other States.

One reason for this is the very scattered nature of the population, but it was felt that an attempt to reduce the number was necessary and that it should be started first in the three large towns:—

In Johore Bahru there were 19 licenses ("off").

Bandar Maharani (Muar) there were 20 licences ("off").

Bandar Penggaram (Batu Pahat) there were 16 licenses ("off").

As Government was not at the time prepared to manage the retail business itself it was decided to reduce the number in each case to two.

In order to select the licensees the only fair way was to call for tenders. The immediate effect is no doubt to increase the revenue but as stated above this was not the main object. It should be remembered that the increase of revenue is at the expense of retailers not at the expense of the consumers who obtain their chandu at a fixed price. In fact as the successful tenderers only receive "off" licenses and the smoking-shops in the towns will only receive "on" licenses, there will in future be a better control of "dross", and through this, there will be a greater check against adulteration.

H. MARRIOTT,
General Adviser to the Government of Johore.

24th December, 1923.

* Referred to in Mr. CATOR'S evidence, Page C 67.

APPENDIX LXI.

Views of District Officers in the Federated Malay States on the Licensing, Rationing and Registration of Opium Smokers.

DISTRICT OFFICER, LARUT.

The possibility of success in an attempt to restrict the consumption of opium depends almost entirely on the source of supply in this country being in the hands of Government and under absolute control. If it is possible to issue to chandu (*a*) shops only the amount authorised under permits plus a small percentage to meet the needs of travellers and persons who move about following local demands for labour, and, if the introduction of other chandu can be stopped, then the question of registration is merely one of administration with the object of simplicity and obviating hardship.

MR. C. C. LIM'S PROPOSALS (*b*).

(i) Permits will certainly be forged and a simple printed form will be useless. Any person, who can get extra supplies, will make so much profit that a term of imprisonment will be no deterrent and normally it will be the agent who will be convicted and not the principal.

It follows that the proposal (*c*) of the 1919 Committee that coupons shall also be issued is preferable. They will have to be changed at least four times a year though a system of payment to the managers of chandu shops for every forged coupon detected before issue of chandu might give him sufficient inducement to work with Government.

(ii) Coupons should be stamped with a permit number and replenishment of a dealer's supply of chandu should only be on production of coupons handed to him. As the number allotted to each district will be known, any considerable excess can be the subject of enquiry and meantime a partial replenishment only be approved.

(iii) A photograph is essential and also thumb print on the original licence.

(iv) The issue of licences and coupons must be done in a considerable number of places or hardship will result. Coupons should be issued quarterly—and the coupons should only be valid within each quarter. There should be no restriction as to the amount bought at one time up to the limit of the number of coupons.

(v) Paragraphs 15 and 17 of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM's proposals are unfair and unworkable.

(vi) There is great risk of adulteration, *e.g.*, if any smoker cannot get his supply he will probably share another man's and each of them will adulterate his share so as to eke it out: some adulterants have a more deleterious effect than opium.

(vii) The work must be done by a specialised Chinese-speaking staff composed of persons having prospects of promotion if the work is well done. It would be fatal to employ Europeans having no prospects above, say, $500 p.m., or Asiatics without prospects of getting above $200 p.m.

Preventive methods should be confined to the Customs Department doing its best to exclude smuggled opium. There should be no system of inquisition in the case of smokers, and the Department should have no staff of detectives nor secret service vote.

(*a*) Chandu is the local name for prepared opium. (*b*) *Vide* Appendix LXXII. (*c*) *Vide* Appendix LXVI.

(viii) If the public generally is opposed to registration and restriction any scheme will be evaded and those, who consider opium smoking a vice, should look to education plus a simple scheme to effect their views. The Rubber Dealers Enactment proves how impossible it is really to control transactions where personal interest is supreme, and the less a Government interferes with habits, which do not result in crime, the better for the country.

(ix) The Gambling Laws are based on a principle essentially different from interference in a private indulgence. Really *private* gaming is not illegal even though it may be harmful.

DISTRICT OFFICER, KRIAN.

The District Officer's views are:—

(*a*) Government should sell the opium from Government shops.

(*b*) All opium smokers should be registered within say six months and public notice given to that effect.

(*c*) Those registered to be issued a permit to purchase a fixed quantity weekly and failing purchase for a month their names should be struck off the register.

(*d*) Permit to bear photograph of smoker who must purchase personally and on every occasion that a purchase is made the quantity purchased to be endorsed on the back of the permit and the endorsement to be initialled by the seller. Permit to be non-transferable.

(*e*) Malays should also be allowed to purchase opium.

(*f*) If the intention is to stop opium-smoking entirely there should be a gradual reduction in the quantity allowed to be purchased.

(*g*) To make control effective the whole of British Malaya must enforce the regulations and opium producing countries must assist or there will be much smuggling.

DISTRICT OFFICER, KUALA KANGSAR.

The District Officer thinks the Registration of Opium Smokers is a perfectly simple matter on the lines indicated in the enclosures to the Secretary, Opium Committee's, letter dated 21st December, 1923, that the retail sale of prepared opium should be and can easily be made only from Government shops, and that the placing on sale for consumption of a uniform maximum limit calculated according to the number of the registered smokers seems a corollary to registration.

2. The weighty objections that at once occur to the mind against the—in the D. O's opinion—intolerable hypocrisy of those who are trying to suppress opium smoking in the Federated Malay States are *inter alia* the following:—

(i) The fixing of a maximum for each smoker, which is necessarily involved in registration, means that each smoker will smoke the maximum or dispose of his surplus at a high price to non-registered persons. Thus illegality or maximum smoking will be encouraged.

(ii) There cannot be the slightest doubt in his opinion that Chinese deprived of opium will take to drink. He has known several Chinese domestic servants addicted to excessive drinking who admitted that they had only taken to it since the rise in price prevented their smoking opium. He has never known any apparent ill results from opium smoking amongst domestic servants. This experience extends over 23 years and he thinks it is worth something.

(iii) The smuggling of opium will be enormously encouraged and the cost of preventive work will increase.

(iv) The great source of revenue to this country—tin mining—may be ruined for want of labour.

(v) All progress will be stopped for want of funds when the sale of chandu eventually stops.

(vi) Chinese of the coolie class will cease to be comparatively peaceful, contented and law-abiding, and without the sedative that suits their constitutions, will become turbulent, discontented, law breakers, and probably drunkards and will certainly work less well.

(vii) Two of the fundamental rules of good government will be broken by (i) the creation of unnecessary penal offences; (ii) gross class legislation.

(viii) Taxation will have to be increased.

(ix) It is not proved that chandu consumption in moderation does any harm. The 'rikisha class appear to find it necessary to their health: Consumption of alcohol on the other hand would undoubtedly be bad for them.

(x) Registration would not effect the purpose for which it is intended, viz. the eventful abolition of opium smoking. Owing to our immense sea-board and the portability of opium, the drug will always find its way here without difficulty.

DISTRICT OFFICER, UPPER PERAK.

The District Officer has read them carefully and does not approve of them. They interfere with the liberty of the people who are already too much over-governed. He sincerely trusts they are not adopted. Had two Chinese moderate chandu smokers, with experience of a mining kongsee in the mountains, thirty miles from a town, been appointed to the Committee, it would have been more efficient and the proposals would have been more acceptable.

DISTRICT OFFICER, LOWER PERAK.

The District Officer says that in his opinion if either of the suggested systems is adopted it should be that of the 1919 Committee as paragraphs 15 and 17 of Mr. C. CHEANG LIM's scheme appear to him so drastic as to put it out of court.

His own views on the general situation are:—

(*a*) that there is no evidence of the spread of the opium habit in the Federated Malay States—the evidence is rather the other way;

(*b*) that the habit is not acquired here at all and that the consumers here are practically all confirmed opium smokers from other countries;

(*c*) that further suppression of the opium habit will induce a corresponding increase in over-indulgence in alcohol;

(*d*) that any attempt at registration or suppression in the Federated Malay States is absurd unless other countries, and especially China itself, fall into line by adopting similar restrictive measures and *enforcing them.*

DISTRICT OFFICER, BATANG PADANG.

He is afraid that his knowledge of the question is extremely limited and he, therefore, feels that any views that he could express would be of little value.

DISTRICT OFFICER, KINTA.

A fortnight before the receipt of the Secretary, Opium Committee's letter and enclosures, the D O. took the opportunity of discussing with Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM the details of his scheme. There is little doubt

in his mind that with a few minor variations it would be perfectly feasible to introduce it in the Federated Malay States. There is nothing particularly difficult in it and the time suggested—one year's notice to prepare for registration (*i.e.* he (D. O.) supposes, to allow the idea to sink in) and one year more in which to effect registration—is ample. It is in fact, far too long.

It would give people too full an opportunity for organising ways and means for evading the objects of registration.

2. Whether or not registration would effect the objects aimed at however is quite another matter. He (D. O.) may say here that he considers Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme the better of the two and confines his remarks to criticisms of his scheme. According to that scheme any opium smoker (perhaps even any applicant, so long as he is an adult male Chinese) would be given a licence to purchase up to a very generous weekly maximum. If he, being registered for such a maximum, at any time falls below that amount, his licence will be endorsed for a lower figure. This provision is of course intended to prevent an illicit retail trade in opium. Opium buying in any quantity is not a poor man's trade. The average consumer may get through from 3 to 6 huns a day. He cannot afford to get registered for a tahil a day, and purchase that amount on the off chance of it becoming later so valuable as to be worth while laying in a stock. Opium does not keep indefinitely. He will accordingly, it is to be presumed, register only for the amount he is likely to smoke: and by the scheme he will never get that figure raised. As the registered opium smokers die, therefore, so will the consumption of opium gradually diminish.

3. At first, since no difficulty will be placed in the way of applicants for registration, it may be presumed that very little trouble will ensue. But all opium smokers were once non-smokers; and it is certain that new arrivals, or sons of registered opium smokers, themselves not registered, will, some day or other, learn the delights of the drug. They will find it difficult to obtain their supplies. Mr. C. C. LIM informed him (D. O.) that it was his opinion that no one, aware of the extreme difficulty of obtaining a regular supply of opium, would be such a fool as ever to contract the habit. He (D. O.) is not able to agree with him, for such things are not subject to the ordinary logical processes of the mind. It may be taken as certain that an illicit demand will grow up, and that this amount will be satisfied to a certain extent by an illicit supply. The demand will come from—

(*a*) Registered Licensees, who want more than their allotted quantity. The poor man is content with a small quantity; he is commencing the habit and cannot afford much. With increasing years and fuller pockets he wants more opium.

(*b*) Unregistered Licensees, either the sons, etc., of registered licensees learning the habit as we learn to smoke tobacco, generally furtively; or newcomers, who may have been smokers in China, but have arrived here too late for registration.

The supply will be met by—

(*c*) Smuggling. It pays even now to smuggle, though any one can buy opium. It will pay vastly more, when non-registered consumers are unable to purchase it openly.

(*d*) Attempts to evade the Registration Scheme, *e.g.*—

(i) a dealer will sell to a non-registered consumer and make fictitious entry in his book;

(ii) a consumer will forge a licence;

(iii) a consumer will alter the entries in his licence;

(iv) a consumer will (though this will not happen except in rare cases, the D. O. imagines) register for more than he can consume and trade off the difference at a great profit.

4. With regard to (*c*) the Customs Department can best estimate what extra staff will be needed to cope with the great increase in smuggling that is bound to occur. It will be enormous. As to (*d*) (i) fictitious entries made

by a dealer in his books will be extremely difficult in practice to detect. It means that the licence must be obtained from the licensee for comparison with the dealer's book. When the purchaser need not even live in the same estate, let alone the same district or town as the dealer, the difficulty experienced in getting hold of his licence may be imagined. Moreover, the dealer when cornered will always have the excuse that the licence was produced to him, and that if it was not the real licence it must have been a forged one. ((*d*) (ii) and (iii)), there will be great incentives to manufacture, or alter, licences, and, in view of the gain to be expected, and of the ease with which rubber coupons can be forged, it is not to be imagined that excellent forgeries most difficult to detect will not be forthcoming. The staff to detect these forgeries, moreover, will have to be almost entirely Chinese.

(*d*) (iv). At first no one will register for more than he can consume, for if he does, his licence will be amended to correspond to the lower figure of his consumption, or he will have to buy and store—for there will be little opportunity of selling—a quantity of opium for which he has no immediate use. But towards the end of the year in which licences are issued it is probable that many people will become awake to the advantages of having extra opium to sell, and will accordingly ask for licences for more than they can consume. They will naturally attempt to stimulate a demand.

DISTRICT OFFICER, PORT DICKSON.

Thinks the use of coupons can and should be avoided. Suggests every licensed smoker be given a small license book quarterly bearing his photograph and thumb-print. This license book to be endorsed by the retail shop with the amount purchased on each occasion. Thinks that not more than two weeks allowance should be given at any one time. Considers that a separate Department would have to be maintained for any such system of control.

DISTRICT OFFICER, JELEBU.

Favours Mr. CHEANG LIM's scheme with the following alterations:—

(*a*) clause 14—substitute "registered Medical Practitioner" for "respectable person";

(*b*) permit to bear photograph and thumb-print of holder.

Opposes use of coupons.

Considers that if permit scheme is adopted some system of enquiry and registration will have to be adopted to prevent non-smokers obtaining permits and handing over the opium to actual consumers.

DISTRICT OFFICER, TAMPIN.

ANENT THE 1919, FEDERATED MALAY STATES SCHEME.

Considers a large special department and a central finger-print Bureau would be essential, besides a European officer and two Clerk-Interpreters in each district, involving colossal expenditure. Use of coupons would involve great risk of forgery. This or any other system would import hardship and wholesale corruption. Is convinced the scheme would be foredoomed to failure, one chief reason being the problem of the non-smoker obtaining supplies for the use of actual consumers.

ANENT MR. CHEANG LIM'S SCHEME.

Practically impossible to prevent a man registering in more than one district and drawing a double allowance.

The system would open the door to unlimited "squeezing", and even without that poor consumers would be forced to invoke the services of petition-writers, etc.

Gives the following detailed criticisms on Mr. CHEANG LIM's Memorandum:—

Paragraphs 1 and 2.—Does he seriously rely on the Chinese Krani in a Chandu Shop to do this faithfully?

Paragraph 4.—Is the Chinese cooly on a distant mine or estate perhaps 20 miles from a chandu shop to come in once a week in person? This is surely unreasonable.

Paragraph 14.—What is a "respectable person"? What are "medical purposes"? If all the shop-keepers and contractors in the town asked for some chandu for the "benefit of their health" they would presumably get it being "respectable persons" and for "medical purposes". Having got it they would then sell it.

Paragraph 15.—Supposing the wretched man had been ill or had a job miles from the shop this rule would be very unfair.

Paragraph 17.—This is bad luck on the man who was hard up and couldn't afford to buy his full ration.

Paragraph 20.—"Qualified Doctor" of what nationality and what qualifications? Or does it include the Chinese medicine man?

Paragraphs 23 and 24.—Publication amongst a floating population of people 90 per cent of whom are illiterate is useless. The first they will hear of it is when they find themselves in the dock.

COLLECTOR OF LAND REVENUE, SEREMBAN.

Opposes use of any coupon system. Considers refusal to register future immigrants impracticable. Thinks the restriction of consumption by means of a permit and registration system must be as gradual as possible in order to avoid the complete dislocation of Federated Malay States and Colony finances.

DISTRICT OFFICER, KUALA PILAH.

Considers either scheme would prove very difficult in practice. Points out that both seem to overlook the fact that most of the smokers are of the labouring class and have no facilities for preservation of documents such as permits. Thinks such permits as Mr. CHEANG LIM proposes would soon become unrecognisable if carried on the person of the owner, and if handed to employers or others would involve undue influence. The coupons contemplated by the other scheme would be equally liable to become unrecognisable or be misappropriated. Suggests an alternative system as follows:—

"I suggest it might be better to provide each registered smoker merely with a small identification card (about the size of the Protection Tickets now in use). This card would have to be produced for every purchase, but the record of the purchase would be endorsed on the corresponding card in a card index to be kept in each retail shop.

"The card index kept in each retail shop would be of all the opium-smokers registered for the particular shop. The card index envelope system used by Medical Practitioners at home for patients who come under the Health Insurance scheme might be adopted with advantage. On the envelope would be recorded all the necessary information regarding the registered smoker, *e.g.*, Register number, Nane and Address, Photo, Thumb-print and weekly allowance of opium. This envelope would last for many years. The record of purchases would be on a card placed inside the envelope and when that is filled up a second could be inserted. Subsequent alteration in the ration would be endorsed on the envelope.

"In event of a customer wishing to transfer his custom to another shop the envelope, together with the cards inside it, would be transmitted to that shop, if necessary through a Central Registry."

APPENDIX LXII.

Notes by the Protector of Chinese, Kedah, on inquiries made by him of employers of labour.

VISITED SUNGEI ULAR ESTATE,
7th January, 1924.

B. BURR, Esqr., Manager, Sungei Ular Estate.

I came to this country in 1907 and have had to deal with Chinese labour from the start first in Penang, afterwards Simpang Valley Mine, Pahang, Kramat Pulai Mine, Kinta, etc.

My present labour force of Chinese numbers about 240 Kwongsai, Kheh and Cantonese. About 100 on tapping and light work. Daily wage earned 60 cents. Others on contract doing heavy work, clearing, etc. They earn more and are not a settled labour force, while the tappers are, more or less, in permanent employ. The tappers, besides, are largely Cantonese. I prefer the Cantonese: they seem to be a better type, cleaner in their habits, etc.

My experience is that those who do heavy work invariably are opium-smokers. I do not regard opium-smoking as interfering with their capacity to work. I cannot say whether opium-smoking causes injury or no. The Medical Officer here, Dr. CLARKE, tells me opium-smoking does them no harm.

[I learnt from Major KIDD who discussed this with Dr. CLARKE in my absence that Dr. CLARKE regards the opium as having a useful sedative action on the heart in such cases.]

In practice the contractor gives these men advances to start with. After spending their advances on opium, etc., they settle down to work till they get another advance, and so on.

I have seen a coolie lying prostrate in the lines and shortly afterwards I have found him trudging with heavy load to the town. On enquiry I was told that he had been reinvigorated by smoking opium.

The opium is fetched from Kulim. I understand the contractors charge the coolies with the expense of fetching it. (Questioned). No comment to offer on the suggestion that an opium-smoking saloon be opened on the Estate.

Coolies who cannot afford opium-smoking, the tappers for example, buy opium ash* and swallow it. Some of the tappers are non-smokers.

I cannot see that opium has ill effects on Chinese. I have known Malays to be rendered useless by it.

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* *i. e.*—Opium dross.

INQUIRIES AT KULIM,

on 8th January, 1924.

LOH AH LIP, by descent a Kheh from Swatow neighbourhood states:—

I was born at Balik Pulau, Penang, Roman Catholic Christian. I have resided here for 24 years. I also lived for a while in Kinta.

Owing to Rubber Restriction my local labour force has been reduced practically to nil, but I have now 100 coolies employed on quarrying and estate work at Senggora, Siam.

I am opposed to opium-smoking. Also the habit can be cured in a short time. I remember the case of a Chinese towkay, CHHAN AH HEIA, from Kampong Kepayang, Kinta, an inveterate opium-smoker, who managed to get rid of the habit and improved in health wonderfully and became quite stout.

I cured my cousin, YEUNG CHHIU SAN, of the habit. He is now employed on Gula Estate, Krian. That was 6 years ago. There was a tree—pokok biak (?)—growing near my shop at Junjong. I boiled some of the leaves, added opium ash and gave him a few cups of this to drink. That cured him. The effect of this is to make the patient vomit the next time he smokes opium. I know of some pokok biak (?) which are growing at Baling but these trees are rare. I believe these leaves are much used by the Siamese for the same purpose. The Siamese are much addicted to opium-smoking, but chandu is dear and rather difficult to obtain.

In Siam it is an offence to smoke in a house which has no licence. There is a charge for the licence—I do not know how much. I discourage opium-smoking amongst my coolies there. I should be involved if they were caught smoking in the lines.

In Siam chandu is sold in tinfoil covers which cannot be tampered with like the paper packets here. A cover seems to contain about as much as our packet and it costs 53 "satangs", *i.e.*, about 40 cents.

Very few local-born Chinese smoke I should say, perhaps 2 per cent of adults but of China-born perhaps 15 per cent smoke. I should put a rikisha-man's daily average at 2 packets, a jungle-worker say one packet* he cannot afford more—but a rich man may smoke as much as 4 or 5 packets a day.

After chandu has been smoked the ash can be cooked and a strong product results, but after a second smoke a third cooking gives poor results. It is usual to swallow the ash instead. It is very difficult to cure a man of the swallowing habit. We consider that continual swallowing leaves many particles of dross clinging to his inside. Sikhs swallow the strongest chandu. We Chinese hardly dare. But, then, Sikhs eat greasy stuffs. That makes a difference.

I admit that Chinese attribute a curative effect to opium-smoking, and I have known cases where a sick man has obtained relief from opium-smoking after medicines had been tried in vain.

Note.—This towkay, an ex "Capitan China", lives amongst a community of Roman Catholic Christian Chinese, many of them Khehs. Probably opium-smokers are subjected to social pressure not found elsewhere.

* Packet of 3 hoons or 17½ grains.

VISITED DUBLIN ESTATE,
on *8th January*, 1924.

C. A. H. HEATHCOTE, Esqr., Manager, Dublin Estate, South Kedah, states:—

I shall send you particulars* in a few days' time. My Chinese labour force is from 2,000 to 3,000 strong. It is not permanent and I employ through contractors. The force was greatly reduced during the rainy season. The Chinese are used for the heavy clearing work.

I am opposed to opium-smoking. It makes the labour too expensive. When the coolie-gangs were cut down recently, the opium-smokers were the first to go.

I should put the proportion of opium-smokers at 60 per cent. I know because I have had to take over a gang on some occasions when a contractor absconded.

I consider that the opium habit is decreasing, but alcoholism is on the increase.

Opium-smokers are less troublesome than non-opium smoking labour. They are quiet.

I applied for permission to fetch the opium from Karangan for my labour but permission was not granted. As my man now has the Karangan licence and the shop is less than 4 miles away I have not pressed the point.

If a Smoking Saloon were started on the Estate some of the coolies would have to walk 4 miles to get to it. I do not see that I should gain anything from the control of smoking and the Chinese would think me a fool for troubling.

I think that if smokers were licensed and made to bring back their dross that would be a good thing.

Any sudden restriction of the opium supply would lead to serious trouble.

T. W. H. KINSTON,
Protector of Chinese, Kedah.

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

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*The particulars given in a letter addressed by the Manager to the Protector of Chinese on the 16th January, 1924, were:—Of 1,462 Chinese labourers, 627 or 43 per cent are opium-smokers. The maximum consumption of any smoker is 2 packets or 6 hoons *per diem*, the great majority only smoke 1 packet (3 hoons) or ½ packet (1½ hoons) *per diem*.

In his letter of January 16, 1924, the Manager of Dublin Estates remarks. "It will be gathered that opium-smoking in general is not abused, but taken in a regular manner as the ordinary labourer at home has his ½ oz. of tobacco and bottle or two of beer. This is a result obtained without control and seems to be sufficiently normal to make control unnecessary. From my contractors I gather that any curtailment of these rations to those used to it would cause much inconvenience and inefficiency.

APPENDIX LXIII.

Copy of letter from the District Officer, Christmas Island to the Chairman, Opium Committee.

DISTRICT OFFICE,
CHRISTMAS ISLAND,
27th December, 1923.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Confidential letter of the 21st November, 1923, which arrived here on the 19th instant.

2. I regret that the short time at my disposal does not enable me to send a full report by this mail. It will be my duty to collect all the information available on Christmas Island with regard to the opium question, and to forward same to you by the next steamer, probably about the end of January. I trust this date will not be too late for the purposes of your Committee.

3. It may perhaps be of some assistance if I state briefly the result of my enquiries up to the present:—

(*a*) Indulgence in opium does not appear to affect the capacity for labour. It is noteworthy that nearly all the skilled workmen on the Island are smokers, and as regards output of work the balance would seem to be slightly in favour of the smokers. Only when the smoker is deprived of, or to any extent restricted in, his regular consumption is there a marked deterioration in his labour.

(*b*) It is almost impossible to make a general statement as to whether the sinkheh* imported here is or is not a smoker on arrival. I am informed by the Manager of the Phosphate Company that for many years a very high percentage of the sinkhehs was non-smoking, and that attempts were made to dissuade them from beginning the habit, without much success however. My own experience is small, but it goes to shew that many of the sinkhehs arriving recently have already formed the opium habit in China, some of them in very early youth.

4. A record was begun here on the 1st December by the labour contractors which gives the name of every smoker and the amount of opium purchased by him from day to day. I hope to forward a copy of this record† by the next mail.

I have the honour, etc.,

W. E. RIGBY,
District Officer,
Christmas Island.

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* "Sinkheh" is a new arrival from China who has not been in Malaya before.

† *Vide* Appendix XXVIII.

APPENDIX LXIV.

Extract from the Minutes of a meeting of the Chinese Advisory Board

HELD AT THE

Chinese Protectorate, Singapore

ON

THURSDAY, 13TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Secretary for Chinese Affairs (Hon'ble Mr. D. BEATTY) *Chairman.*

Mr. TAN SIAN CHENG.	Mr. YOW NGAN PAN.
Mr. SEE TIONG WAH.	Mr. NG SENG PHANG.
Mr. TAN KAH KEE.	Mr. LI SENG YU.
Mr. CHIONG TZUI PHUAN.	Mr. THONG SIONG LIM.
Mr. LIAU CHIA HENG.	Mr. LOW TING TENG.
Mr. SEAH ENG TONG.	Mr. TAN KHYE KOK.

Mr. HO SIAK KUAN (*Honorary Secretary*).

ABSENT:

Mr. LIM PENG SIANG.	Mr. SEE BOO EE.
Mr. TAN THUAN HIAN.	Mr. HENG PANG KIAT.

Mr. CHU CHUK SHAN.

OPIUM COMMITTEE.

The Chairman reports that the meeting has been called at the request of Messrs. SEE TIONG WAH, J. P., TAN THUAN HIAN and TAN SIAN CHENG for an expression of opinion on the References to the Opium Committee and as to whether representatives of the Board should not have been invited to sit on the Committee. The Chairman explained why no member had been invited to sit on the Committee and Mr. SEE TIONG WAH thereupon withdrew this question. He then informed the Board that the Opium Committee had been appointed on the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to enquire whether it would be well—

(1) to sell chandu from Government shops instead of from licensed retail shops as at present;

(2) to limit the quantity of chandu to be prepared for sale; and

(3) to register and license chandu smokers.

The Chairman then called upon Mr. SEE TIONG WAH who addressed the meeting and he was followed by Messrs. TAN KHYE KOK, and again by Mr. SEE TIONG WAH. Thereafter Messrs. TAN SIAN CHENG and THONG SIONG LIM addressed the meeting. At this stage the Chairman replied to certain questions by Mr. TAN KAH KEE, J. P., who then addressed the meeting; he was followed by Mr. NG SENG PHANG and the Chairman closed the discussion with certain remarks.

The Chairman then put the 3 questions referred to the Opium Committee separately with the following result, the Chairman not voting:—

Reference 1.—In favour 10 against 3.

Reference 2.—In favour—all.

Reference 3.—In favour—all. Mr. TAN SIAN CHENG emphasised the need for photographs on smokers' licences.

The Chairman then conveyed the special invitation of the Chairman, Opium Committee, to members of the Board to attend and give evidence and asked each member individually to do so; only Messrs LOW TING TENG and TAN KHYE KOK accepted the invitation.

APPENDIX LXV.

Return of Suicides in Singapore and Penang 1919 to 1923.

Furnished by the Coroners.

Year.	Singapore.		Penang.		Total.	
	Number of Suicides.	Suicides due to Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Suicides due to Opium.	Number of Suicides.	Suicides due to Opium.
1919	32	1	48	4	80	5
1920	35	2	32	1	67	3
1921	72	2	36	...	108	2
1922	63	3	44	2	107	5
1923	57	3	46	1	103	4
Total for 5 years 1919 to 1923 ...					465	19

APPENDIX LXVI.

Detailed proposals of a Scheme* in connection with Registration and Rationing of Opium Smokers emanating from official sources.

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1. We suggest that a certain period, say six months, should be fixed during which all opium users must register. In such period registration should be free for the first three months. After this a nominal fee of $1 should be charged for two months and in the sixth month a much higher fee, say $10 should be charged.

2. After the expiration of six months, registration should only be allowed where the person concerned has been prevented by some great hardship from registering previously, and even in these cases a high fee should be charged, which should not be less than $10 and go up to at least $1,000. Such registration should require the sanction of the officer in charge of the whole Department.

3. Due notice must be given in China that opium users will not be registered in this country after the period of six months has expired. This will have a tremendously deterrent effect on immigration, but it cannot be helped.

4. All registered opium users must be given a licence with a copy of their photograph attached, and bearing a copy of their right thumb print. The licence will also state the amount of chandu allowed the licensee, and the shop from which he is permitted to purchase it. If he wishes to transfer his custom elsewhere, the licensee will have to get his licence endorsed to that effect.

5. Possession of opium and its use by non-licensees must be made a penal offence. We do not think that much can be expected from action in this direction for some years, but are of opinion that strict limitation of the supply of opium will be far more effective. The necessary check can be established by means of the issue of coupons to licensed users. The number of coupons allowed to each licensed user will be limited. Opium will only be purchasable on the production of these coupons.

6. Whenever a licensed user purchases opium his licence must be endorsed by the seller with the amount purchased and the numbers of coupons handed over.

7. A corresponding entry will have to be made in the books of the opium seller and purchase authenticated by the thumb print of the purchaser.

8. It may not be necessary to enforce this provision in the early days of registration but later it will become necessary.

9. If any man loses opium which he has purchased or coupons he will have to pay double price for such further supply as will enable him to carry on until his next instalment would in the ordinary course of events have fallen due.

10. By the adoption of some such system, we think that the employment of an enormous staff of *Chintengs* and informers, with the inevitable

*This is the alternative to Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S Scheme (Appendix LXXII) referred to passim in Appendix LXI.

corruption involved, may be avoided. We suggest instead the employment of a number of highly paid men who will be less subject to temptation. They should be specially selected whole-time officers, and, if possible skilled statisticians, to whom figures would reveal more than they do to the ordinary person. The Registration Department should be quite distinct from the existing Monopolies Department.

11. We wish to lay stress on the following points that might be observed in order to make success possible:—

(i) The production of opium in all countries must be closely supervised and its distribution must be strictly controlled everywhere.

(ii) The same system must be enforced throughout the Colony, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States, and its administration must be in the hands of a single Department.

(iii) The work of registration and supervision must be confined to the officers of the Department, and cannot be entrusted to such persons as District or Police Officers who are not specialists, and have their own work to do.

(iv) This or some other similar effective system must be applied in all countries concerned.

(v) The coupons used will have to be specially printed on special paper, frequently changed in order to avoid forgery.

APPENDIX LXVII.*

[*Extract from the Malay Mail, Friday, November 30, 1923.*]

THE ANTI-OPIUM CRUSADE.

DELEGATION TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY.

Mr. MAXWELL'S SUGGESTIONS.

In response to an invitation from the Chief Secretary to Government, Federated Malay States, a deputation of the Anti-Opium Society was received at Carcosa on Tuesday morning by the Chief Secretary (the Hon'ble Mr. W. GEORGE MAXWELL, C.M.G.). After thanking the deputation for responding to his invitation, Mr. MAXWELL explained that his object in inviting them to meet him was to put before them three practical suggestions, which he thought might be of some value to the Society.

The first suggestion related to the Public Health Education Committee, which had been started in the Federated Malay States last year. The object of this committee was to educate the public, not only in such matters as malaria, tuberculosis, infant welfare and venereal disease, but also in regard to the abuse both of alcohol and opium. He suggested that, so far as the activities of the Anti-Opium Society related to the abuse of opium, much good might be achieved by co-operation with the Public Health Education Committee. He explained that the Public Health Education Committee confined its attention only to the abuse of alcohol and opium, and did so because in regard to that there could be no doubt in the mind of any right-thinking man, whereas in regard to the use both of alcohol and opium in moderation, very honest differences of opinion existed in the minds of people who were competent to form a judgment. The Public Health Education Committee carefully avoided controversial issues, and therefore confined itself merely to the abuse of alcohol and opium. He invited the Society to nominate one of its members to serve on the Public Health Education Committee, with a view to assisting it in its activities relative to the abuse of opium.

Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE was nominated by the deputation; and Mr. MAXWELL said that he had great pleasure in appointing Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE to be a member of the Public Health Education Committee.

The second suggestion made by Mr. MAXWELL related to the herb, of which some mention has recently been made in the local press, as being a cure for the opium habit. He invited the Society to send some of these herbs to Dr. STANTON, at the Institute of Medical Research, for analysis, investigation, and report. He said that he was sure that the Institute would do all that they could to investigate, not only this herb, but all other remedies.

Mr. MAXWELL'S third suggestion was that the Society should co-operate with the Principal Medical Officer, Federated Malay States with a view to having special wards provided in the Government hospitals for the treatment of patients who wished to be cured of the opium habit. He suggested that if the Society advertised in the vernacular press that people who wished to cure themselves of the opium habit would find special wards and special attention at certain Government hospitals, some good might be attained.

It was arranged that Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE should confer with the Principal Medical Officer upon the subject.

After general discussion of the problems connected with opium, the deputation thanked Mr. MAXWELL and withdrew.

* Handed in by Dr. STANTON, Acting Principal Medical Officer, F. M. S., *vide* Evidence page C 256.

[*Extract from Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee for Public Health Education held in the Council Chamber, Government Offices, on Friday the 11th January, 1924, at 2* P.M.]

Opium.—In extending a welcome to the new members, Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE of Selangor and Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM of Perak, the Chairman hoped that the Committee could count on their advice and assistance, not only in the education of the public in the dangers of the opium habit, but also in regard to other important matters affecting the welfare of the Chinese in Malaya.

Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE and Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM outline their proposals for propaganda in connection with the opium habit, by means of posters, advertisements, pamphlets, lectures and plays at the Chinese public theatres. After discussion these proposals are adopted in principle and a sub-committee consisting of Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE, Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM and Mr. W. T. CHAPMAN is appointed to deal with details.

Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE raises the question of separate wards in hospitals for the treatment of persons desiring to undergo treatment for the opium habit. This is discussed. It is thought that a special ward is not desirable but that an opium smoker who goes into hospital for treatment for the opium habit should be admitted into a general ward. It is considered that the provision of special wards for opium smokers would act as a deterrent to persons who desired treatment. Special treatment would of course be given.

Treatment.—Several methods of treatment are discussed and it is agreed that various methods of treatment should be tried with a view to finding a good and sure method.

The Anti-Opium Society will advertise the fact in the Chinese Press that treatment for the cure of the opium habit is given in Government Hospitals.

APPENDIX LXVIII.

Supplied by Mr. Wilson in amplification of his answer to question 53, page C 4.

SUMMARY OF THE EXISTING MEASURES FOR CONTROL OF THE USE OF OPIUM IN THE COLONY.

1. Raw opium is not produced in the Straits Settlements.

2. Importation of raw opium is controlled by prohibition of import by others than the Superintendent except under permit to store in unbroken chests in a bonded or licensed warehouse.

3. Raw opium may be removed from one place to another in the Colony only under permit.

4. Possession of raw opium under any other circumstances than as described in 2 and 3 above is an offence.

5. Export of raw opium is prohibited except to a port or destination in the United Kingdom, in any British Possession, Protectorate or Protected State or in Siam or in French Indo-China. Export to these destinations is allowed only under permit, which can be obtained only on production of a certificate from the Government of the importing country that the import is required for legitimate use in that country.

6. Raw opium is used solely for the manufacture of prepared opium for smoking.

7. The manufacture of prepared opium by anyone other than the Superintendent is an offence. The manufacture of all supplies of prepared opium for Malaya is carried out by the Government Monopolies Department at the Factory in Singapore.

8. The import of prepared opium is prohibited.

9. Export of prepared opium is also prohibited except by the Superintendent, exports by whom are confined to the legitimate supplies of prepared opium sent in execution of orders from the Government Departments of the various States which derive their supplies from him as stated in 7 above.

10. The sale of prepared opium is a Government monopoly. The Superintendent sells wholesale to persons licensed to sell by retail to the public.

11. No one may sell to the public without a licence issued by the Superintendent.

12. There are two kinds of licences—Retail Licences admitting of sale only for consumption "off", and Smoking Room Licences allowing sale for consumption either "on" or "off".

13. There is no restriction as to hours at which holders of Retail Licences may sell, but Smoking Rooms are allowed to be open only between the hours of 6 A.M. and 10 P.M.

14. Licensees are allowed to sell only on the premises specified on their licence.

15. Licensees may sell only to adult males.

16. Prepared opium may be sold only for current coin.

17. Prepared opium may be sold only in unbroken packets or receptacles issued by the Superintendent.

18. Only adult male Chinese are allowed to smoke in licensed Smoking Rooms.

19. No female or child under 16 years of age, except the licensee or the wife or child of the licensee, is allowed to enter a licensed Smoking Room.

20. The adulteration of the prepared opium issued by the Superintendent and the counterfeiting of the marks, packets or receptacles used by him are penalised.

21. All licensed shops are at all times open to inspection by any Revenue Officer appointed by the Superintendent or by any Police Officer not below the rank of Sergeant.

22. Licensees are not permitted to sell at prices exceeding the maximum fixed by law.

23. It is an offence for a person other than a licensee to possess more than 5 tahils of prepared opium or more than one tahil of dross.

24. The Superintendent buys dross at $4.50 per tahil for 1st quality and $1.50 for 2nd quality. It is an offence to sell dross to anyone other than the Superintendent.

25. It is also an offence to reprepare dross for use by application of artificial heat.

26. All dross bought by the Superintendent is destroyed.

27. Even licensees are not allowed to possess more than 3 tahils of dross unless expressly authorised by the Superintendent. Licensees of Smoking Rooms are required to bring in a certain amount of dross of 1st quality for purchase by the Superintendent under penalty of forfeiture of their licences.

28. It is an offence to be in possession of any dross obtained from opium other than that which has been prepared at the Government Factory. Identification of such opium is rendered possible by the addition of a minute quantity of a secret and harmless ingredient. The presence of this ingredient enables the derived dross also to be identified.

APPENDIX LXIX.

Summary of variations of Opium Laws in other Administrations from those in force in the Straits Settlements.

Note.—The numerical references in these summaries are to paragraphs of Appendix LXVIII correspondingly numbered.

FEDERATED MALAY STATES.

2. Importation of raw opium (except by any person for medical purposes or by persons licensed to sell poisons) is prohibited.

3. Does not apply to Federated Malay States.

4. Applies, except for medical purposes or by persons licensed to sell poisons.

5. Export prohibited except as provided for in 4 above.

6. No raw opium in Federated Malay States. Does not apply.

13. Hours of sale are restricted in Federated Malay States as follows:—

"Off" Licenses	...	...	... 7 A.M. to 10 P.M.
"On" Licenses	...	...	... 7 A.M. to 10 P.M.

15. To read male Chinese above the age of 21 or to others having permit to purchase.

19. No females or children, without exception, permitted to enter or be upon any licensed premises.

21. Add Commissioner Trade and Customs, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Protector of Chinese, Officers in Charge of Administrative Districts, and for "Revenue Officer" read "Chandu Officer".

23. For 5 tahils read $7\frac{1}{2}$ tahils.

27. Licensees permitted to keep up to 25 tahils of dross in their possession. Licensees required to produce for purchase by Superintendent, Chandu Monopoly 40 per cent of the sales of prepared opium for consumption on the premises in the form of 1st quality dross.

JOHORE.

2. Importation of raw opium is controlled by prohibition of import except of opium for medical purposes only, by or on behalf of the Government, or by persons licensed to sell poisons and deleterious drugs.

3. No regulations as to movement of opium.

4. No regulations as to export of opium.

9. No regulations as to export of prepared opium.

12. There are 3 kinds of licences "Off licenses" permitting of sale only for consumption "Off". "On licenses" permitting of sale only for consumption "On": and "on and off".

15. Licensees may sell only to adult male Chinese or to persons authorised in writing by the State Secretary to purchase prepared opium.

19. No person except a male Chinese of over 21 years of age is allowed to enter into or remain upon any premises used as a public smoking-room.

KEDAH.

The importation of raw opium is absolutely prohibited and Clauses 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the Summary do not therefore apply.

Clause 8 is subject to the provisos that prepared opium may be imported by Government or under licence for medical purposes and that a person may not import more than 3 hoons for his personal use.

Clause 9. There is no export of prepared opium but legislation to prevent this export is not traceable.

Clause 12. A Smoking Room License does not permit sale for consumption off the premises.

Clause 13. All licensed premises must be closed between the hours of 11 P.M. and 6 A.M.

Clause 19. No male other than a male Chinese above the age of 20 is allowed to enter such premises.

Clause 21. A Police Officer not below the rank of Corporal may inspect.

Clause 23. The quantity of Government prepared opium which an unlicensed person may possess is 6 chees.

The possession of opium dross exceeding 3 tahils is prohibited, but a licensee may, by special permission, possess more.

Clause 27. *See* remarks on Clause 23.

PERLIS.

2. No provision as to bonded warehouses; importation of chandu prohibited except by Superintendent; raw opium cannot be imported at all.

3 to 6. Raw opium cannot be imported.

7. Raw opium forbidden, therefore no manufacture possible.

8. Import of prepared opium is prohibited except by the Superintendent; a private person may bring in not more than 3 hoons for his own consumption.

9. No provision as to export.

12. Smoking-room licence only allows sale for consumption on the premises.

13. Smoking house under a saloon licence may be open from 6 A.M. to 11 P.M.

KELANTAN.

1 to 6. Raw opium is not produced in Kelantan and the possession of raw opium is absolutely prohibited (Penalty fine up to $1,000 or 10 times the value of the opium whichever is the greater and imprisonment for 3 months for first offence and $5,000 or 20 times the value and imprisonment for 6 months for a subsequent offence.)

8. Prepared opium may only be imported by the Superintendent of Chandu (Penalty as in (1)).

13. Retailers of both kinds can only sell between 7 A.M. and 11 P.M.

15. Licences may only sell to adult males and may not sell to Southern Indians or Malays.

19. No person other than a male Chinese above the age of 21 may enter a licensed smoking-room.

24. The price paid by the Superintendent for first quality dross is $3.75 per tahil.

Licencees are required to put in monthly a statement of the amounts sold daily for consumption both on and off the premises and in the case of smoking licences the amount of dross produced daily.

TRENGGANU.

REFERENCE TO MR. WILSON'S PARAGRAPHS.

1 to 6. Raw opium is not produced in or imported into Trengganu.

8. Import of prepared opium is a Government Monopoly.

9. Prepared opium is obtained solely from Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Singapore.

10. The sale of prepared opium is a Government Monopoly.

The Superintendent sells wholesale to persons licensed to sell by retail to the public. In Kuala Trengganu and Kemaman he also sells by retail to the public.

13. Holders of retail licences may sell to the public only between the hours of 6 A.M. and 10 P.M.

Smoking-rooms are allowed to open between the hours of 6 A.M. and midnight.

15. Licencees may sell only to males of 18 years and upwards.

19. This regulation is not in force.

23. This regulation is not in force.

24. The prices at which dross is bought are $2.50 for first quality dross and $2 for second quality.

27. This regulation is not in force.

28. This Government has no arrangements for detecting the secret ingredient referred to.

The following specific regulations are in force, which are not mentioned in Mr. WILSON's note:—

(*a*) Retail shops are not allowed to sell more than 100 packets, whether 3-hoon packets or 4-hoon packets, within the space of 24 hours, except with the express authority of the Superintendent, who may fix a definite limit beyond 100 packets.

(*b*) No female and no person below the age of 18 years, and no person professing the Mohamedan religion, and no Government servant may enter a smoking-room for the purpose of smoking prepared opium.

Only Chinese of the cooly class may use a smoking-room.

BRUNEI.

1 to 9.—(*a*) No raw opium is imported unless for medicinal purposes by special permit issued by the Resident.

(*b*) All import of prepared opium is prohibited except by the Superintendent of Chandu Monopoly from the Government Monopolies Department, Singapore.

(*c*) All export of raw or prepared opium is prohibited except by Superintendent, exports by whom are confined to return of damaged packets to the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, Singapore.

12. In a licensed smoking-room chandu may be consumed *on* the premises only.

18 to 19. No females or children under 15 years of age or notorious bad characters known to be such by the licensee may be allowed to enter a smoking house.

23. No such rule in Brunei.

24. Superintendent buys dross at $2.25 per tahil.

27 to 28. The only mention of dross in Brunei Chandu Enactment is "Any person who cooks chandu dross is guilty of an offence".

Note by British Resident.—In general, rules in force in the Colony are also enforced here even where the Brunei Enactment does not make provision for same. The latter is very incomplete and inadequate.

APPENDIX LXX.

Extracts from the Report on the Opium Monopoly Service in Netherlands East Indies for the year 1922.

(Officially translated.)

REGISTRATION AND LICENCES.

In Java and Madoera towards the end of the year under report only in those districts of the residencies Pasoeroean, Besoeki and Kediri, where the possession of opium without special permission was allowed, the total sales were not yet registered in the name of the buyers. In the Government East Coast of Sumatra this was on the 1st January, 1922 still the case with 188 of the 194 selling places, but since the introduction of the incomplete licence system in the so-called "cultivation district", with 19 only, all situated in the district Bengkalis, in a part of which Chinese are allowed to possess opium without a licence. In the month of December of the year under report more than 37 per cent in that district and in the residency Rhio and Dependencies 69 per cent of the total sales were registered. Everywhere else in the Outer Possessions the total sales are already being registered. In places where licence owners only may possess opium, the opium bought is naturally booked in the registers in the names of the licence owners for whom it is intended, but for the rest it is often booked in the name of the buyers, because often little information is gained from asking people the names of those for whom the opium is destined. In the Outer Possessions many smokers are not registered because they buy their opium from owners of so-called titip-licences.

From the summary in annexe 2 can be seen how many licence owners of various nationalities bought opium in the month of December, 1922 and in what quantities. The number of consumption licences, which were in force in that month does not quite tally with the relative numbers mentioned in the summary because sometimes through absence or for other reasons licence owners do not buy for an entire month. It also happens that persons who use opium not regularly but only now and then, do not avail themselves of their licences when the licensing system is introduced and abstain in future from smoking opium.

There were also persons who formerly only used opium secretly and who used to have the opium bought in the name of others. They did not wish to be known as opium smokers, because this might harm their credit or business, or because they would be ashamed for their relations, etc.

In many cases it is easy to understand that Native as well as Chinese persons of certain standing do not like the staff of the selling places and other minor officials to know them, their wives or relations, to be opium smokers. Therefore, when preparing the introduction of the licence system, it was made known in several places that such people could apply for a licence to a European officer. The name of the person concerned is not mentioned in the licence in that case and it allows him to buy the opium through somebody else, whilst the delivery of the licence is not booked in the ordinary register, but in a special register kept by said European officer.

Nothwithstanding sufficient publicity was given to the above, there are smokers who do not apply for a licence, hoping that they will not be discovered. Should it appear from investigations made prior to the introduction of the licence system that they are opium smokers, a licence is made out in their names. They often refuse to accept this document.

In this case, and especially at first Government and Police watch them, because it is quite possible that they will try to obtain opium secretly.

The introduction of the incomplete licence system took place without trouble in parts of the residencies Pekalongan, Rembang, Soerabaja, Djokjakarta and Madioen. This was also the case on the East Coast of Sumatra although the preparation and introduction caused great difficulties, which were, however, overcome by the energy of the officers concerned. In the latter Residency there was a possibility that the measure allowing opium to be bought only at the selling places indicated in the licence, would cause trouble with the bad elements of the Chinese population. For security sake the Government, therefore, caused some police to be present at the selling places in order to preserve peace. As this measure was formerly always taken when prices were increased, it was thought that opium would become dearer, and as a result great quantities were bought on the last day before the introduction of the incomplete licence system. Shortly after the system came into force some Chinese employers of labour requested that the licences granted to their coolies be annulled as they had lost all authority with the men, who before were forced to buy their opium from their employers. Those requests were, of course, refused.

During the year under report 8 requests were made to obtain in districts with a complete licence system a licence for persons who can only obtain such licence by special authorisation from the Governor-General. All these requests were refused. One of the applicants was a Chinese possessing Japanese nationality and, therefore, subject to the regulations made for Europeans; the desired licence could therefore not be granted to him.

With regard to the 3rd part of Section V of the previous report concerning dishonesty of a Chinese district clerk in the residency Lampong Districts in issuing licences, it may be mentioned that sufficient proof against him could not be obtained. But we succeeded in so far as only few applications for new licences were since received, which could be proved sufficiently to emanate from real smokers.

Ignoring the position taken up by the Government with regard to the use of opium by labourers on Government undertakings (*vide* the conclusion of section V of the previous report) the Boekit-Asem Coal mines some time ago engaged a number of Chinese contract labourers, who could not do without the use of opium. As they could not obtain the drug they often could not do their work on account of illness, and they repeatedly stayed away from their work without valid reasons. As cancelling the contracts and returning these people to their place of origin would not only entail large expense but would moreover cause a partial cessation of work, and as it is not contrary to the regulation concerned in the Residency Palembang, the Resident was authorised by the Governor-General to grant licences for at most 2 years longer to Chinese labourers who were already working in those mines and to whom according to a medical certificate the use of chandu was necessary. The Chinese referred to will, however, not be re-engaged, while newly arrived labourers, who appear to be opium smokers, will be returned at once. The Resident granted a so-called titip-licence to an officer of the mines, in order to buy opium for the first mentioned smokers and to forward it to the mines.

With regard to a request from the Committee for the suppression of opium, the Government declared that every time when in accordance with the 8th paragraph of the 1st Government Secretary's circular of the 10th December, 1921, No. 3855/IIIC (*vide* annexe No. 2 of the report for 1921) permission was given to engage opium smoking labourers for Government undertakings, said Committee would be notified.

In the Ombilin mines, where labourers are absolutely forbidden to use opium, a number of Chinese contract labourers were found to be in possession of opium. Some of these labourers were sent back after their contract had been cancelled. Of the others whose offence had not yet been judged, some deserted.

The Resident of Banka and Dependencies was of opinion that smuggling in his residency was partly the result of the unjudicious and exaggerated

way in which his predecessors suppressed the use of opium, not taking sufficient account of existing conditions and he deemed it desirable to reduce the incentive to smuggle by a more lenient application of the restricting regulations (*vide* also section XIII of this report). After investigations into this matter it was decided with the consent of the Monopoly that a licence should again be granted to a number of persons, whose licence had been taken away without the consent of the Head of the local Government by officers of lower rank without sufficient reasons, and that others whose licence quantity of opium had been reduced to below their real requirements and of whom it was safe to assume that their means allowed them to buy more opium, should be allowed to do so. Nobody, however, would be allowed to buy more opium than their first licence (in 1915) entitled them to, while as a rule a quantity of 2 mata a day would not be exceeded and the quantities allowed the contract labourers in the Banka tin mines would in no case be increased. As it was also arranged not to accept the proposal to apply for authorisation to issue new licences to persons who lost them when leaving the service of the Banka tin mines, the total extermination of the use of opium in Banka will not be retarded by the foregoing measures.

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In districts where the complete licence system was working sales declined also through dimunition of the number of licence owners in consequence of death or departure, or through ceasing to use opium and also by reducing wherever possible the allowed quantity of opium when renewing a licence. The stipulation that in all licensed districts the licence owners may buy opium only once a day has also influenced the diminished sales.

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In Banka and Dependencies the number of seizures as well as the quantity seized shewed a diminution. The decision to issue new licences and to increase the quantity allowed to be bought in this residency, as mentioned in section 5 of this report, aimed also at reducing the smuggling of Monopoly opium from other districts which was steadily increasing. This smuggling has gradually become so well organised that from the diminution of the number of seizures and of the seized quantities may not be deduced without further evidence that the smuggling has diminished in the same proportion. The supposition that such diminution is equally due to the ingeniousness of the smugglers in finding new stratagems, is justified. The seized drug was found in bamboo baskets provided with double bottoms and sides, cases with lamp chimneys, casks with salted eggs and in a hollowed out ham. Elsewhere also monopoly tubes and other smuggled goods destined for import in the prohibited spheres were hidden away in all kinds of manner, for instance in the leg of a bamboo chair, in a clock, in a hollowed out broomstick, in milk tins, which were again soldered down in such a clever way that without a thorough inspection they could not be distinguished from ordinary tins, in hollowed out planks, in the lids of rice tins, in the leg of a writing table, in Chinese wooden pillows, etc. In a postal parcel sent from Batavia to a Chinese at Bengkoelen, which could not be delivered because the addressee had already left for elsewhere, a large number of monopoly tubes was found.

APPENDIX LXXI.

FIFTH CONGRESS

OF THE

FAR EASTERN ASSOCIATION OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

SINGAPORE, SEPTEMBER, 1923.

OPIUM SMOKING.

Paper by Sir DAVID J. GALLOWAY, M.D., F.R.C.P.

The subject of the use of opium as a habit of addiction has assumed considerable proportions of late years and is, at the moment, a matter of international interest. What literature there is on the subject is mostly of lay origin and, as it has been my fortune to pass through my hands of late years a large number of opium smokers (and also of those who used it in other ways) it struck me on going over their case cards that a compilation of those might not only prove interesting, but might conduce to a better understanding of a difficult subject.

Although I have notes of opium users of other races, all those included in this paper are Chinese.

The terminology of the subject differs with each country but that which is used here is as follows:—

Chandu is the inspissated extract of opium. Its morphine content varies but is now, I am informed, about 12½ per cent.

Dross is the residuum left after smoking. It also varies greatly in strength, some smokers reducing it almost entirely to an inert ash while others leave a dross with a high morphine content.

The terms of quantity appear as an appendix to a small pamphlet in which I have embodied all the statistical tables connected with this paper and to which I shall refer from time to time.

The history of opium is lost in antiquity. Theophrastus wrote of it in the third century B. C. There is little doubt that the Arabs are responsible for its conveyance into Asia both by the land and sea routes and the drug has been known in China for at least twelve centuries. Opium was first smoked with tobacco, as it is to-day in eastern Europe and dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is ascribed to the Dutch.

There is no authentic record to show when opium was first smoked alone but it is thought to have originated about the beginning of the eighteenth century and to have coincided with the issue of an edict prohibiting the importation of all opium into China. The first edict directed against opium smoking was issued in 1729, from which we may infer that, at that time, it was a prevalent habit.

Reasons for beginning.—

No categorical enquiry was made as to the reason for beginning the use of opium but information was frequently spontaneously offered. Among the better class of Chinese merchants who are in close touch with China and often spend long periods in either country impartially or as business demands, no reason was considered necessary. It was the custom. There were among the class just mentioned an appreciable number who regularly dropped the habit on their return to the Straits, only to re-acquire it on their next visit to China where it seems to occupy a place of some ceremony in business. In their physical and mental attributes there was little to choose between the moderate smoker of this class and the non-smoker.

To call opium smoking a social habit depends on the locality. Thus in China and in many of the large business firms here, the opium pipe and its accessories are always in evidence. It is otherwise among the Straits-born Chinese, with whom the use of opium is not in favour. Among them the smoking of opium is carried on in the privacy of the person's own room and his habit is carefully concealed.

There were among the poorer, and occasionally among the better class, an appreciable number who had taken to the habit for therapeutic reasons, mostly the alleviation of suffering. In this relation there were five morbid conditions which assumed prominence—Phthisis, especially if accompanied by hæmoptysis—the Glycosurias of the Chinese-Malaria-Abdominal (chiefly pelvic) pain—and the nocturnal pains of Syphilis. Apropos of the last-named, although no enquiry was made on the subject, gross obvious signs of syphilitic infection were noted as being present in 223, a percentage to the total of 18·8.

Sometimes the statement was made that the habit had been contracted in brothels, the association of opium smoking and brothels being of very ancient origin in China.

The effects of opium smoking.—

It is not possible to adequately discuss this aspect of the question without first making a short preliminary study of the Chinese as a race. As a race they display a marked idiosyncrasy to certain drugs. I shall mention three only, although there are others, to which they display this extreme susceptibility—Iodine—Ipecacuanha—Belladonna. I have seen intense iodism, with threatened œdema of the glottis, produced by one grain of iodide of potassium, and emesis unfailingly induced by one grain of ipecac given without the knowledge of the patient, while belladonna, in minute doses produces all the well-known effects of that drug.

The Chinese share with some Indian races a comparative immunity to opium. We have all seen the pellet of opium which is given nightly to a Bannian or Brahman child and which would settle the future of any European child, a habit which is stopped when the child reaches his second year. Should a general immunity be denied there is an undeniable selective one by which most of the deleterious effects of the drug are annulled. We are, in this peninsula, in a position to judge of this by actual comparison between the Malay and Chinese races. In the Report of the Phillipine Opium Commission and also in some other Reports, it has been stated as being beyond argument that opium exerts a most pernicious influence on the races of Malay origin, all the narcotic and enervating effects being prominent without any of the relaxant and stimulating effects which the Chinese derive from its use. Once the Malay acquires the habit he goes on invariably and uninterruptedly to sottism and it is to be feared that, should it ever attain a position as a racial habit among them, it would be exterminative.

I mentioned the susceptibility which Chinese display to belladonna. It has frequently suggested itself to me that, belladonna being the physiological antidote to many of the alkaloids of opium, this susceptibility might be taken as indicating the presence in the blood of some atropin-like antibody which conferred on them their tolerance of opium. It is a point requiring further observation.

The immediate effects of smoking opium are-with the first few inhalations there is a rise in the pulse and also in the blood pressure. As the process goes on these both steadily fall and, when the brief stage of narcosis is imminent, are both considerably below normal and remain so for some time after the smoker has resumed his ordinary occupation.

The primary sensation is one of slight exhilaration and of physical well-being, slowly passing into one of complete relaxation and restfulness with clearness and vigour of the mental faculties. Continued, there may come on a very brief stage of slight narcosis which might be called a light hypnosis, from which the smoker emerges with his faculties fully alert, sometimes preternaturally so.

The manner in which the drug is taken, the extreme dilution, the portal of entrance, the slow invasion of the centres aided by the selective immunity of the Chinese as a race, are all contributory to the condition which is induced and it is probably the combination of complete relaxation accompanied by mental exhilaration which has given the smoking of opium its high place in social functions and, incidentally, its undoubted power to create an addiction. The accomplished smoker can produce any of those stages at will or stop short at any stage although the latter may require a conscious effort. There is never seen in a Chinese that imaginative exaltation which is described as occurring in the European nor the somnolent confusion, with headache and nausea, lasting often for a day, which follows any attempt by an European to exploit the habit.

The effects on nutrition are, without exception, bad. There are exceptions and I have known smokers, some of them heavy smokers, who retain their rotundity. The usual tendency is towards emaciation even when the smoker can afford a full table in addition to his expensive habit. There is a diminution of the digestive juices, appetite is capricious and digestion slow. The effect of this is a disappearance of all subcutaneous fat, the skin is wrinkled but greasy, and it is always a matter for surprise how very little the muscular power is affected, some smokers following most laborious occupations such as that of a blacksmith or pulling a jinrickisha. The effects upon the movements of the bowels are set out in Table 4 and it will there be seen that they are not so great as would be expected, judging from an European standard.

In excessive users of opium, not so much in smokers as in eaters, there is sometimes severe abdominal pain accompanied by diarrhœa due to a paralysis of the splanchnic nerves, the inhibitory nerves of the bowel, the only treatment for which is to detoxicate those nerves by free purgation. But as we descend the social ladder the effects of smoking become more marked, mainly from two reasons (*a*) inability to afford the luxury without curtailing their table and (*b*) the lessened self-control of deficient education. (There is here a curious contradiction in that, among the working classes, it is the skilled workman who is the heavy smoker).

These effects manifest themselves in any degree of intensity, from merely a lack of initiative or a neglect of the finer adjustments to their environment down through all stages of addiction to the sot, who is a most repugnant person with his dull stupid expression, slovenly appearance and the heavy odour which clings to him and which is the outcome partly of personal uncleanliness and partly of the stale opium smoke. The general conclusion over all degrees of addiction to the opium pipe must be that, "ceteris paribus", the opium smoker is not the equal of the non-smoker.

Opium smoking has been credited with aphrodisiac qualities but this is contrary to all we know of the action of the drug. Its reputation seems to have arisen in a curious way. The smoking of opium in brothels has long been practiced in China and thus an association has arisen between the sexual act and opium smoking. It has really a quite contrary effect, lengthening the act and, if excessively used, annulling it. In old habitues, in whom the stimulating effect is greater than the relaxant, the sexual act, as any other act demanding effort, can be performed only while under the influence of opium, but this is merely a part of the general stimulation and not selective.

There were two conditions which I found with sufficient frequency among smokers to warrant mention:—a lividity and dusky appearance of the face but without any indication of air-hunger, and a tachycardia. The former was probably due to depression of the respiratory centre and the latter to depression of the cardiac vagus before the intrinsic ganglia had become affected by the drug. In confirmed smokers there was always to be got a dry rough murmur over all both lungs. Pyo-alveolitis was common and many old smokers were edentulous, probably from this cause.

I have never seen a death from opium smoking in a Chinese. The only death ascribed to opium smoking which I have met with was a young French tourist who had been experimenting with the pipe in one of the smoking shops in town. But, from the large amount of opium I found in the washings of his stomach, I would ascribe it to simple swallowing of the drug through inexpertness with the pipe.

The opium smoker displays great sensitiveness to some drugs, the only one in my mind at the moment being mercury. I have seen one grain of yellow iodide induce profuse salivation and a necrosis of the outer table of the lower jaw from five grains of grey powder taken as Hutchinson's pill.

Effects on women.—

Among my cases were 58 women and in Table 8 will be found particulars as to their habit. It will be observed that the quantities used by them are considerably greater than the average. The age at which most of these women began to smoke corresponds roughly to that at which most women of that class marry, and many had taken to it for the relief of pain, mostly pelvic. A few had used it for hæmotysis while most of them had acquired the habit from their husband. The proportion who had taken to it for therapeutic reasons was greater than among men.

Of the list there were five who smoked two chi daily and swallowed all the resulting dross and it is curious to note that one of them was eight months pregnant. The sexual history of this group is interesting. Women of the class to which they belong marry early, at from fifteen to seventeen years of age, and very few bear children after thirty. Eliminating those who began to smoke after thirty I find in the group 38 women. Of these 22 had borne children during the years in which they smoked and three were at the moment pregnant. One had had seven children during her twenty years of smoking, one had had six full-time children and many miscarriages during 13 years of smoking, another had had six children in ten years, while families of three or four were common. These figures are entirely opposed to the prevalent belief that women who smoke opium are sterile and they certainly astonished me.

Opium smoking does not disturb menstruation in any way. It is curious to note that evidences of malnutrition were absent throughout the whole group, most being well-nourished, some even fat.

Cure of their habit was, as a rule, difficult and relapses common.

Average consumption.—

The daily average per head of my 1,203 cases was 2·74 chi. This is somewhat higher than the figure given by Clementi in his well-known paper as being the average in China, but it must be remembered that the bulk of my cases came from the leisured class with whom expense was a secondary consideration. The records from four opium shops in a poor locality gave an average of nine hoon while in another group of four shops, it was two chi. There were many users of a single three hoon packet daily. It is a practical impossibility to ascertain with certitude or even with probability, the average consumption of the mass.

Insurance companies accept smokers of two chi daily and I know that an otherwise good life would not be turned down even with an average considerably over that amount. The effects of opium smoking on the expectation of life are in process of being worked out but there seems to be no tendency in the habit to shorten life.

The thesis that smoking in moderation is impossible and that the dose must be steadily increased receives no support from the facts: I have taken from my case cards thirty-three, of men who have smoked from thirty to thirty-five years and I find their daily average to be 2·47 chi, a less figure than the average of the 1,203 cases analysed in this paper. Three of them had been heavy smokers while they were younger, consuming over a tahil daily, but they now used only three chi daily. The tendency seems to be, with advancing age, to reduce the amount and it seemed to call for no effort. The average age of the group was fifty-five and a half years.

I was able to obtain the history of the youngest smoker on my list. He began smoking at 14 years of age and smoked until he was twenty-nine, fifteen years. At that time he smoked six hoon daily and had never exceeded that amount. He managed a large fruit importing firm's business and, considering the stock from which he sprang, his physique was well over average.

The contents of opium smoke.—

Morphine and a large number of empyreumatic substances have been demonstrated in the smoke from an opium pipe by CUSHNY, BOON KENG and several others, and two exhausive quantitative analysis were made for the Straits Settlements Opium Commission in 1908. One was by Dr. FRANKLAND DENT and he says "The above experiment shows that chandu, when smoked in the ordinary pipe under favourable circumstances for the volatilisation of the morphine, yields about one-tenth of one per cent of its weight of morphine in the smoke, and, of this quantity, only a small proportion would remain on the mucous membrane of the smoker's lungs. Taking into account the large amount of tarry and oily matter in comparison with the mere trace of morphine produced, especially in the later stages of the destructive distillation of chandu or dross, it seems more than likely that those secondary toxic products may be the cause of much more injury to the smoker than can possibly be ascribed to the morphine. The great number of those products, which probably approach coal-tar in complexity, render it almost impossible, except working in very large quantities of material, to isolate or estimate the amount of each present in the mixture, and I suggest that the best plan would be to fractionally distil chandu and, after estimating the morphine contents, to make comparative tests with the several fractions on living animals, which would, I believe, settle finally the question of the toxic effects of those products".

The second experiment was conduced at the Institute for Clinical Research at Kuala Lumpor by Dr. FRASER and Mr. EATON and was very extensive, the final one lasting a fortnight. They report as follows "The amount of Morphine obtained was very small being only 0·092 per cent of the chandu smoked. The greater proportion of the morphine originally present in the chandu had therefore been destroyed as all the morphine present in the fumes was extracted by the alcohol and, as seen from the analysis of the dross which was left, less than one per cent remained in it" They further report "the temperature was noted at the aperture of the bowl while in the position it usually occupies above the lamp while chandu is being smoked and was found to vary between 240 and 250 centigrade". They draw attention to the very large quantities of Carbon dioxide produced during the process of smoking and suggest the cause to be that Meconic acid at 240 C splits into Comenic acid and C O 2 and that at slightly higher temperatures Comenic acid again splits into Pyromeconic acid and C O 2.

Those two experiments carried through independently of each other and on quite different lines give an almost similar result, that the amount of morphine recoverable from chandu by smoking is in the close vicinity of one-tenth of one per cent of the weight of chandu smoked.

The Empiric Check.—

Now let me apply the empiric check. In my cases there were 940 persons who smoked only pure chandu. I found that the amount of morphine, taken by the mouth, which was necessary to completely annul the effects of the deprivation of the smoke did not vary to any great extent in all this number and that the quantity required was from ·025 to 0·032 gramme for each chi of chandu smoked. This, stated in grains is from one-third to one-half a grain. The variation is accounted for by the fact to which I have already directed attention, that one smoker will get more out of his chandu than another. But the hiatus between the chemical test and the empiric is very large. All the morphine which can be got from one chi of chandu by smoking is, according to the chemical test, only four milligrammes. The only conclusion is that some of the other constituents of opium than morphine play a not insignificant part on opium smoking.

The effects of withdrawal.—

In gaols and other public institutions the custom is, in robust opium smokers and even in those in ordinary health to at once stop the habit. The immediate effect is to incapacitate the individual for a longer or shorter time. The symptoms do not appear until the hour approaches at which the individual has been accustomed to renew his dose. Although by far the most common method of using opium is to smoke three times daily, after the chief meals, there are many who smoke only twice, and a very few who smoke once daily, in the latter case, almost invariably at night. The first symptom of withdrawal is one of anxiety which may be largely mental but is always associated with a feeling of faintness referred to the epigastrium. From this as a centre there seem to be quite well-defined circles of diffusion which I shall not take up your time by describing. The average smoker will leave you in no doubt as to his sufferings. Briefly, after 48 to 72 hours of misery he is able to begin work.

It is very different with the smoker over middle age who is heavily addicted to the drug. His symptoms are those of shock. There is the grey, slightly livid, pinched face, slow feeble pulse, profuse sweating with cold extremities, salivation with mucous rales all over the chest, vomiting, abdominal pain, generally accompanied by diarrhœa. The respirations are slow and sighing.

These cases require careful watching as collapse is always imminent, and they require small and frequent doses of morphine administered by injection and by the physician himself. The symptoms of shock are unmistakeable and yet it is not easy to account for them by any of the present theories of shock causation. The cardiac condition might be explained by the effects of the withdrawal of sedation from the vagus while the intrinsic ganglia of the heart are so depressed as to make acceleration impossible and thus the cardiac action remains infrequent. On this point also I should like the opinions of the members.

There occurs within a measurable time after the withdrawal and the effects of the withdrawal, a certain amount of reaction in which the temperature rises a little, the pulse rate rises considerably, and there is usually an extra-systole. These all subside in a few days.

Never at any time have I seen the intense disturbance of the nervous system which follows the abrupt stoppage of morphine injection. In fact, nervous disturbance is uncommon, though Dr. SAMUEL tells me that he has had one case of insanity after withdrawal of opium.

The Opium habit as a cause of Insanity.—

The following is an extract from a Memorandum which was submitted to the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Opium Commission by the late Dr. GILMORE ELLIS, Superintendent of the Asylum here:—

"From January 1, 1893, to date (1908) there have been admitted to the Asylum 38 patients in whom the excessive use of opium was alleged as the cause of their insanity. In 29 of these cases causes for their illness were discovered:—Alcohol 6, Syphilis 5, Malaria 3, other bodily diseases 3, Senility 4, Phthisis 3, Gambliing losses 1, previous attacks 2, privation and worry 1. In the remaining nine cases no cause could be discovered and they were cases of different forms of insanity and I do not, for a moment, believe opium smoking to be the cause although three of them admitted excessive indulgence in the habit. During the same period there were admitted into the Asylum 95 Asiatics suffering from the effects of alcohol and 25 from the acute mania of Ganja smoking".

I have frequently discussed the subject with Dr. ELLIS' successor, Dr. GIBBS, and he holds even more pronounced views on the subject, and, from his statements I gather that he seriously doubts if opium is ever the cause of insanity. These views find support in the fact that in his Annual Reports I fail to find opium quoted either as a predisposing or exciting cause of insanity.

I am indebted to Dr. SAMUELS, the Director of the Mental Hospital at Tanjong Rambutan for the fact that in 4000 admissions, in only twelve was the cause attributed to opium.

Dr. A. W. OVERBECK WRIGHT in his book "Lunacy in India" notes that in India the use of opium, a drug which there is taken mostly in pilular form, does not produce any conspicuous ill-effects. There is no tendency to the marked mental and physical decay which is observed in those who smoke or who take it in the form of morphine by injection. Cases of insanity due to opium are practically unknown". I may mention that his views on the relative harmfulness of opium smoking are entirely his own.

It is a curious fact that, in this relation, each of the recorders pass from the effects of opium to contrast them with those of the taking of alcohol in the Asiatic, incomparably to the disadvantage of the latter.

The uses of opium.—

Although most smokers had adopted the habit simply because it was the national habit of relaxation, an appreciable number had done so deliberately for the relief of suffering. Many had taken it purely as a sedative on account of either abdominal or pelvic pain, thus old sufferers from dysentery or recurrent appendicitis were found on my list. In women the painful condition was, almost without exception, pelvic.

Apart from the mere relief of pain there are three conditions in which it is believed to exert a specific influence.

The first of these is Phthisis, especially if accompanied by haemoptysis. From the observation of hundreds of cases it is evident that the smoking of opium occupies first place in the Chinese mind as the remedy for this condition and not without good reason. The empyreumatic vapour, the fall in blood pressure, the sedation of the cough and the feeling of complete ease form a combination which is ideal for the purpose desired. The extraordinary number of healed lungs which are found in opium smokers lends colour to the belief that there may also be some curative agent in the smoke. Many, in fact most, of those "opium wrecks" whose photos are shewn as those of the "awful example" would, if an X-ray picture of their thorax were obtained, impart a useful lesson as to the extent to which lungs may be riddled by T. B. and yet years of a comfortable and useful life be enjoyed.

The second of those conditions in which opium is useful is Glycosuria, of which there are several types among the Chinese. Throughout Asia, as far back as history goes, opium has been *the* remedy, *par excellence*, for all diabetic conditions and any comment on its action would be superfluous. I have never found any benefit in altering the mode of administration, it resolved itself into a question of expense, but, as four grains of chandu swallowed produced the effects of one chi smoked, the change had sometimes to be made.

The third condition in which the use of opium is beneficial is Malaria. In this relation also it has been in use from time immemorial, not only in Asia but even in England, in the Fen country. During the sittings of the Commission already referred to, evidence was given bearing on this point and at least one instance where works in a notoriously malarious district were carried through after having been abandoned. I personally know of another. There is little in the literature of Malaria which bears upon this point and there is a wide field for speculation as to how it acts. I believe that a large part of its beneficial action is due to side effects. Every smoker, however poor, tries to possess himself of a curtain of sorts within which to have his smoke undisturbed. This acts as a bar and in addition, the atmosphere within that curtain is such as to warn off any mosquito and, lastly, the odour of an opium-smoking coolie's body offers no inducement to a self-respecting mosquito. Yet the fact remains that parasites are to be found in the blood of opium smokers as I have frequently seen. I am convinced that the utility of opium in malaria centres round its sedative action. It annuls the first shock of the rigor and the later reaction and the whole episode, if watched, instead of being a tempest of cold and heat, resolves itself into a short disturbance which is met by a recourse to the "pipe" and, after a brief rest, the individual is himself again. I do not think that opium has any effect on the parasite but this is a phase of the subject on which some work might profitably be done.

The cure of the habit.—

In undertaking the cure of the opium habit there is one postulate which I invariably make, that the individual comes entirely of his own free will. In open practice, by which I mean practice without the means of isolation and the absolute control which isolation gives, it is a first essential that the co-operation of the person himself is full and willing. The most satisfactory patient is he who has stood by and seen some friend ridding himself of the habit and makes up his mind to follow suit. Given the free co-operation of the person there are two conditions invariably instituted—the immediate and final discarding of the pipe, and—complete neutralisation of the effects of such dicarding.

The first is directed against the habit and habit, reduced to simple terms, is a formula of motion. The process of opium smoking contains within itself the essentials for the formation of a habit. The absolute regularity, in time, of its recurrence, the repetition of a number of small co-ordinated movements in an unvarying order, the position assumed by the smoker, in short, the dallying with the pipe has in itself, without the aid of any drug, many attractions. Something in the nature of a shock is necessary and it is attained by jostling the pipe habit from the assured position it has assumed in the day's routine. It means a disruption of the person's daily life and strongly suggests to the person that a new regime has begun in which he has to play his part. This may seem a small matter but, in my experience, I have found it to be fatal to success to permit the smoker to continue to smoke while taking the remedy.

The second of the conditions insisted on is directed against the drug addiction. There are few smokers who have not, at some time or other, and, certainly from circumstances over which they had no control, passed the usual hour of their indulgence and experienced the effects of its deprivation. There remains in their memory a vivid recollection of their sensations then and a dread of their recurrence, and a doubt if they can be obviated by any means.

The reason for complete annulment of the effects of the deprivation is to remove that doubt. Once he knows that the matter is wholly in his hands, the rest is easy and, by gradually lessening his dose he can eradicate the habit within one, rarely, two months. It is better to over-annul than otherwise, the only effect being a headache and some giddiness.

After much experimentation the drug I now exclusively use is Morphine. The chandu sold in these colonies has a fairly high morphine content (probably in the vicinity of 12½ per cent) and I begin by giving half-a-grain of morphine hydrochlorate by the mouth for every chi smoked. I find that the effects vary a little but that is due to the fact already mentioned that some smokers obtain more from their chandu than others. The dose can be increased or diminished at will. It is best given in pill form and the pill made of a fair size to permit of gradual morcellement. Many refinements can be incorporated in the treatment as there are frequently minor ailments requiring attention which can be efficiently treated at the same time.

The full dose is taken for about a week and then steadily diminished. Relapses do occur, but not many, and I generally find that, in the meantime, the individual has been to China and has re-acquired the habit. Success with women is small. They do not seem to have the strength of will to give up the pipe habit, even after complete annulment of the drug element.

As would be expected from the gradual emaciation which follows the smoking of opium, one of the first effects is an increase of bodily weight even while treatment is in progress and this increase may go on to actual obesity.

Excess.—

Stigmata of excess were found in 59 of my series and the amounts required to produce these are set out in Table 6.

The only constant and reliable sign of excess is the "facies" which is as distinctive as is the "kidney face" of chronic renal disease. There is a deposit of black pigment at the muco-cutaneous junctions of the mouth, nose and eyes, most marked in the last situation so that sometimes the eyelids seem as if touched with "kohl". There is also a darkening of the irides so that the small pupil is difficult to distinguish. In the fairer northern races of Chinese the skin assumes a dull earthy pallor but in the darker southern races, especially if employed out-of-doors, there is a bronzing of the skin. Lividity is generally, I might say always, present with a rapid heart action, A loose phlegmy cough, most prominent just before the time of smoking, is present and there is a red scorched condition of the soft palate not extending forward to the hard palate. Pyo-alveolitis was very common.

The condition of nutrition was variable. I have on my list several persons who are fat, even corpulent, and who are consuming one tahil daily. But these are the great exception, and leanness, amounting to emaciation, is the rule especially in those who have taken to "compromise" methods of using opium and still more evident in those who only swallow.

The presence of the stigmata of excess does not warrant an inference of incapacity of any kind, many being engaged in laborious occupations or in conducting businesses of some magnitude, nor would one be justified in assigning the members of this group to the limbo of the "sot".

The Economic and Public Health considerations are so inextricably involved that I propose to take them together.

Because of the extremely deleterious effect of opium on Malay races, it is not sold to them and, as the result of sustained and considered propaganda work among the Straits-born Chinese, the use of opium is looked upon by them with disfavour. At present the smokers among them are few and it may be confidently expected that, when the present generation of smokers have eliminated themselves, opium smoking will be extinct among them. Numerically also the Straits-born form but a small part of the Chinese population, Straits-born males being only 17 per cent of the total Chinese males.

It is thus evident that the indigenous races form a very small part, if indeed they form any, of the opium question and that the crux of the matter is in the immigrant Chinese, whom, for the sake of brevity I shall call the "other" Chinese.

On these "other" Chinese we are dependent for all our skilled and for much of our unskilled labour and they have been called the "backbone of the Colony". The extraordinary fluidity of this section of the community is remarkable and is best described in the language of the Director of the last Census:—"The Chinese population was, in 1911, 916,619 and, in the last ten years, 1,599,338 landed in Singapore. The actual number of Chinese enumerated at the present census was 1,174,477, so that, allowance being made for the number of deaths over births in British Malaya, the number which left the country can be little short of a million".

This really represents a minimum as, had the Straits-born Chinese been eliminated from the equation and the numbers which may have left through other channels been added, the numbers would have been much higher. I calculate roughly that the "other" Chinese population probably "turns itself over" once in five or six years.

Above all other races, the Chinese are ruled by precedent. The habits of those immigrants have been formed on the pattern of his family, his village, his clan, or whatever the social aggregate was to which he was subject and, especially in his recreations and indulgences, is he refractory to any foreign influence. Their habits they bring with them and thus they dominate the opium position in this country.

THE OPIUM POSITION HERE IS AN ACCURATE INDEX OF THE OPIUM POSITION IN CHINA AS TO CONSUMPTION, AND AN INDIRECT INDEX OF THE EXTENT OF OPIUM PRODUCTION IN THAT COUNTRY—

The means relied on by the local Government to effect a reduction in the use of opium and, eventually, its elimination are (*a*) complete Government control, (*b*) encouragement of propaganda and (*c*) a steady enhancement in price of chandu.

The first two call for no comment but the third does.

This was not the line which was recommended by the Opium Commission of 1908, who considered the then price sufficiently prohibitive. The price is now four times what it was then and three times that at which it may

be bought in China at the present moment. The incentive to wholesale smuggling is obvious but that does not concern us here. What does concern us is, that the immigrant Chinese, on arriving in this country, finds that he cannot afford the amount of chandu to which he has accustomed himself, on account of the price and he seeks a less wasteful method than smoking. This usually at first takes the form of a "compromise" method, partly swallowing, partly smoking. A concrete example is that of a three chi smoker who is able to afford only one chi. He smokes the chi at night, and, dividing the resulting dross into two portions, swallows one of those in place of the morning smoke next day and the other replaces the midday smoke. How common this practice has become is evidenced by my figures that of 1,203 enumerated no less than 263 had taken to this method of use. A glance at Table 5 which shows the occupations of this group will also show that price was the compelling element. It does not stop there and many have discarded the smoking of chandu and swallow only, either chandu or dross, usually the latter.

I scarcely think I require to demonstrate to you how much more harmful is the eating than the smoking opium on the physical condition of the individual, but there are other more pernicious effects which seem to cling to eating opium. The first of those is that the amount which is eaten is far in excess of the amount which is necessary to neutralise the effects of the smoking which has been given up. A glance at Table 7 will elucidate this point.

The second is that the desire to increase constantly the dose is far greater in eating than in smoking and thus the earning capacity of the eater is steadily encroached on and a time comes when he cannot afford to buy even the dross to satisfy his craving and he begins to look round for a cheaper method of indulgence. THE ONLY CHEAPER METHOD IS MORPHINE INJECTION and it cannot be too clearly understood that the unsatisfied opium eater is the potential morphine injector. This is not mere surmise as all the injectors who appeared before the Opium Commission of 1908 were of the poorest class and frankly stated that price was the consideration which drove them to adopt the practice.

There can be no reasonable doubt that the enhancement of the price has had a beneficial effect in that it must have prevented many from beginning such an expensive habit, but I maintain that, as a continuous policy for the suppression of opium consumption, it has passed, in fact has long passed, its limit of usefulness and is now reacting in a most injurious manner on the public health, especially of the Chinese immigrant by forcing him to adopt methods to which the smoking of opium is comparatively harmless.

We cannot stop immigration unless we are to "go out of business".

We are, as regards our population, virtually a province of China and with such an inflow and outflow of people as I have described, propaganda would have little, if any, effect and registration be an impossibility. The obvious "way out" and that offering the greatest, if not the only hope of success, would be to effect an intimate rapprochement with China and to closely support and follow her, or even to anticipate her in an agreed programme of opium suppression.

This is, unfortunately, at the moment, unattainable, but will not, I trust be so much longer and, as such a programme presupposes China assuming complete control of her opium traffic, every assistance towards that end

should be given and all criticism withheld even should she, in the process of doing so commit the unpardonable sin of making revenue from it.

Until that desirable result is attained (the control of the Opium traffic in China) we must adopt some more humane method of dealing with the Chinese immigrant, one which will not drive him to adopt methods which are, compared to the innocuous smoking of chandu, infinitely more harmful and in striving towards that end we are, incidentally, ridding ourselves of much of the drug menace, as, I repeat, the unsatisfied opium eater is the potential user of drugs.

TABLES

to Illustrate

Sir David Galloway's Paper

on

OPIUM SMOKING.

TABLE OF WEIGHTS IN USE LOCALLY.

One hoon equals 5·83 grains—·378 gramme.
One chi equals ten hoon—58·3 grains—3·78 grammes.
One tahil equals ten chi—583 grains—37·8 grammes.

TABLE 1.

Length of time during which they had used Opium:—

One month	...	...	2	persons.
Five months	...	...	2	,,
Six months	...	...	6	,,
Seven months	...	...	1	,,
Eight months	...	...	2	,,
One year ...	...	...	32	,,
Two years	...	...	58	,,
Three years	...	...	76	,,
Four years	...	...	66	,,
5 to 10 years	...	...	266	,,
10 to 15 years	...	...	293	,,
15 to 20 years	...	...	111	,,
20 to 25 years	...	...	166	,,
25 to 30 years	...	...	23	,,
30 to 35 years	...	...	32	,,
35 years ...	...	...	1	,,
40 years ...	...	...	1	,,
		Total ...	1,138	

TABLE 2.

Age at which the use of Opium was begun:—

14 years	...	...	1	person.
16 ,,	...	...	6	persons.
17 ,,	...	...	27	,,
18 ,,	...	...	33	,,
19 ,,	...	...	19	,,
20 ,,	...	...	69	,,
21 ,,	...	...	54	,,
22 ,,	...	...	60	,,
23 ,,	...	...	53	,,
24 ,,	...	...	61	,,
25 ,,	...	...	74	,,
26 ,,	...	...	63	,,
27 ,,	...	...	60	,,
28 ,,	...	...	75	,,
29 ,,	...	...	55	,,
30 ,,	...	...	71	,,
31 ,,	...	...	47	,,
32 ,,	...	...	43	,,
33 ,,	...	...	41	,,
34 ,,	...	...	35	,,
35 ,,	...	...	41	,,
36 ,,	...	...	35	,,
37 ,,	...	...	28	,,
38 ,,	...	...	18	,,
39 ,,	...	...	13	,,
40 ,,	...	...	21	,,
41 ,,	...	...	6	,,
42 ,,	...	...	14	,,
43 ,,	...	...	10	,,
44 ,,	...	...	7	,,
45 ,,	...	...	5	,,
46 ,,	...	...	7	,,
47 ,,	...	...	3	,,
48 ,,	...	...	5	,,
49 ,,	...	...	2	,,
50 ,,	...	...	3	,,
52 ,,	...	...	2	,,
53 ,,	...	...	1	,,
56 ,,	...	...	3	,,
		Total ...	1,172	

TABLE 3.

Of the group of 86 who began smoking before the age of twenty, it has been possible to follow the history of 81 so far as the number of years during which they continued to smoke:—

Two years ...	...	...	...	2
Three years	...	...	...	2
Six years ...	...	...	...	2
Seven years	...	...	...	2
Eight years	...	...	...	3
Nine years	...	...	...	2
Ten years ...	...	...	...	12
Eleven years	...	...	...	6
Twelve years	...	...	...	4
Thirteen years	...	...	...	4
Fourteen years	...	...	...	2
Fifteen years	...	...	...	3
Seventeen years	...	...	...	1
Eighteen years	...	...	...	3
Nineteen years	...	...	...	7
Twenty years	...	...	...	9
Twenty-one years	...	...	...	9
Twenty-two years	...	...	...	1
Twenty-three years	...	...	...	1
Twenty-five years	...	...	...	1
Twenty-seven years	...	...	...	1
Thirty years	...	...	...	2
Thirty-two years	...	...	...	2
			Total ...	81

TABLE 4.

Nutrition.—Effects upon the action of the bowels:—

In two cases there was diarrhœa.

Three, there was an action only after a purgative.

Six, the bowels acted twice daily.

329	,,	daily.	
148	,,	once in	2 days.
248	,,		3 ,,
150	,,		4 ,,
58	,,		5 ,,
29	,,		6 ,,
83	,,		7 ,,
8	,,		8 ,,
2	,,		9 ,,
45	,,		10 ,,
1	,,		11 ,,
2	,,		12 ,,
2	,,		13 ,,
6	,,		14 ,,
3	,,		15 ,,
2	,,		16 ,,
1	,,		17 ,,
5	,,		20 ,,
1	,,		30 ,,

TABLE 5.

Occupations of those using "compromise" methods:—

Coolies (chiefly plantation coolies)	...	105
Contractors	...	2
Jinrickisha pullers	...	26
Shopkeepers	..	38
Hawkers	...	13
Traders	...	9
House servant	...	1
Kangchew	...	1
Coolie broker	...	1
Storekeeper	...	1
Carpenters	...	6
Fishermen	...	3
Boatmen	...	8
Dyers	...	2
Masons	...	2
Confectioner	...	1
Planters	...	6
Supercargo	...	1
Clerks	...	17
Pigbreeders	...	2
Chinese doctor	...	1
Opium shopkeepers	...	2
Baker	...	1
Motor drivers	...	2
Coolie overseers	...	10
Dresser	...	1
Tailor	...	2
Females	...	2
	Total ...	263

TABLE 6.

Those showing stigmata of excess.

Quantities and manner of use.

A.—SMOKING CHANDU ONLY.

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity.*		
34	15	7½	chi	daily.
60	32	1	tahil	,,
47	10	1	,,	,,
30	9	9	chi	,,
47	4	8	,,	,,
37	20	6	,,	,,
51	1	4	,,	,,
32	12	5	,,	,,
51	22	6	,,	,,
27	5	1	tahil	,,
46	8	4	chi	,,
47	22	8	,,	,,
57	20	6	,,	,,
38	15	6	,,	,,
27	6	3	,,	,,
27	3	5	,,	,,
37	1	3	,,	,,
43	10	1	tahil	,,
40	10	6	chi	,,
40	17	4½	,,	,,
31	10	4	,,	,,
37	2	4	,,	,,
42	10	4	,,	,,

A.—SMOKING CHANDU ONLY.—*Continued.*

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity.*
33	14	1 tahil daily.
40	12	6 chi ,,
36	13	4 ,, ,,
35	6	5 ,, ,,
51	20	1 tahil ,,
40	13	1 ,, ,,

B.—SMOKERS OF CHANDU AND DROSS MIXED.

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity.*
30	15	3 chi chandu and 2 dross
37	16	3 ,, ,, ,, 1 ,,
36	15	4 chi chandu with the dross from previous day.
30	10	2 chi chandu and 2 dross
33	10	5 ,, ,, ,, 5 ,,
43	20	3 ,, ,, ,, 3 ,,
40	20	2½ ,, ,, ,, 2½ ,,
54 (female)	30	3 chi chandu with dross of previous day.

C.—SMOKING CHANDU AND SWALLOWING CHANDU.

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity smoked.*	*Quantity swallowed.*
49	25	5 chi at night.	2 hoon at 6 A.M. 11 A.M. & 5 P.M.
41	20	6 hoon midday	2 hoon morning and evening.
36	15	2 chi	6 hoon at night.

D.—SMOKING CHANDU AND SWALLOWING THE DROSS.

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity smoked.*	*Quantity swallowed.*
30 (female)	15	8 hoon, thrice daily	all the dross.
50 (male)	10	27 hoon	,, ,, ,,
43	15	4½ chi	,, ,, ,,
57	20	3 ,,	,, ,, ,,
32	10	16 hoon	,, ,, ,,
34	8	3 chi	,, ,, ,,
40	20	2½ ,,	,, ,, ,,
43	20	3 ,,	,, ,, ,,
44	10	3 ,,	,, ,, ,,
33	7	3 ,,	,, ,, ,,
40	20	1·6 ,,	,, ,, ,,
39	7	3 ,,	,, ,, ,,
41	2	2 ,,	,, ,, ,,
38	20	1 ,,	,, ,, ,,
40	15	1 ,,	4 hoon dross noon and night.
37	17	12 ,,	3 hoon thrice daily.

E.—SWALLOWING ONLY.

Age.	*Years smoked.*	*Quantity smoked.*
38	17	2·1 chi dross daily.
38	10	1 chi dross daily.
64	10	4 hoon chandu thrice daily.

TABLE 7.

There was another group of swallowers who showed no sign of excess and who had taken to swallowing in substitution for smoking owing to the high price of the drug.

Years smoked.	*Now swallows.*
20	6 grains chandu thrice daily.
8	4 hoon chandu in 3 dross.
11	5 „ „ morning and evening.
10	4 „ „ thrice daily.
20	3 „ „ „ „
?	20 grs. morning, 16 midday, 8 night.
?	9 hoon thrice daily.
10	1 hoon dross thrice daily.
11	3 „ „ „ „
30	3 „ „ „ „
20	8 hoon chandu and one hoon dross mixed and taken in 3 doses.
10	1 chi dross in three doses.
11	3 hoon dross four times daily.
8	4 „ „ thrice daily.
17	7 „ „ „ „

TABLE 8.

Of the 1,203 users of Opium 58 were women.

The age at which they began was:—

17	years	...	...	...	... 1
18	„	...	...	...	... 2
19	„	...	...	...	... 2
20	„	...	...	...	... 3
21	„	...	...	...	... 7
22	„	...	...	...	... 1
23	„	...	...	...	... 4
24	„	...	...	...	... 2
25	„	...	...	...	... 3
26	„	...	...	...	... 4
27	„	...	...	...	... 2
28	„	...	...	...	... 4
29	„	...	...	...	... 3
30	„	...	...	...	... 3
31	„	...	...	...	... 1
32	„	...	...	...	... 2
34	„	...	...	...	... 1
35	„	...	...	...	... 2
36	„	...	...	...	... 2
37	„	...	...	...	... 1
38	„	...	...	...	... 2
40	„	...	...	...	... 1
41	„	...	...	...	... 1
42	„	...	...	...	... 1
45	„	...	...	...	... 1
47	„	...	...	...	... 1

Length of time during which they had smoked.

For	one year	3
,,	two years	4
,,	three years	4
,,	five years	3
,,	six years	3
,,	seven years	6
,,	eight years	3
,,	nine years	3
,,	ten years	10
,,	eleven years	2
,,	twelve years	2
,,	thirteen years	1
,,	fourteen years	3
,,	fifteen years	1
,,	twenty years	3
,,	twenty-two years	1
,,	thirty years	2

The quantity used was, in most cases, more than average.

Three used less than one chi daily.
Five used one chi daily.
Ten ,, 1½ chi daily.
Ten ,, 2 ,, ,,
Eight ,, 2½ ,, ,,
Ten ,, 3 ,, ,,
Two ,, 3½ ,, ,,
One ,, 4 ,, ,,
One ,, 4½ ,, ,,
One ,, 1 tahil ,,
Two ,, 1½ tahil ,,
One ,, over 2 tahil daily.

APPENDIX LXXII.

Mr. Cheah Cheang Lim's Scheme referred to in Mr. Loke Chow Thye's Evidence, Page C 76.

REGULATIONS FOR THE SALE OF CHANDU* AND ISSUE OF PERMITS WHETHER FOR CONSUMPTION ON OR OFF THE PREMISES.

1. Chandu shops shall enter in a book the number of every permit produced daily for purchase of chandu.

2. Chandu shops shall endorse on the permit the quantity and date of purchase.

3. No chandu shall be sold to any person without producing a permit.

4. Chandu shops shall not sell each holder of permit more than the quantity prescribed in the permit.

5. Permit holder shall be allowed to purchase for one week's consumption at a time.

6. Chandu shops shall not sell to any permit holder if his permit shews that he has already purchased from another shop.

7. The permit can be used throughout the Federated Malay States.

8. Should a permit holder desire to leave any State for good he should surrender the permit to the registration office of such State in which he intends to reside in exchange for a permit of that State.

9. The registration office of each State shall issue a new permit to any person from other State who surrenders his permit in exchange.

10. The registration office of each State shall make a special mark on the permit if it was issued in exchange for permit of other State.

11. The registration office of each State shall return any permit which may be surrendered to them to the office of issue.

12. A quarterly return or statement shall be submitted to the registration office by the chandu shops and such statement shall contain the total number of the State's and other States' permits produced before them.

13. The permits shall be renewable from year to year unconditionally and not transferable.

14. A special permit may be granted to any respectable person who desires to purchase for medical purposes.

15. If a permit holder fails to purchase chandu for seven days the permit shall be cancelled.

16. If a permit holder desires to go abroad he should report to the registration office, and have the permit endorsed otherwise his permit shall be cancelled under clause 15.

* Chandu is the local name for prepared opium.

17. If a permit holder purchases less than the quantity allowed in his permit, the registrar shall accordingly reduce the quantity in his permit to the actual quantity purchased.

18. The Registrar shall not on any account be allowed to increase the quantity.

19. No permit shall be issued to new consumers except immigrant labourers which should be dealt with by a board or committee.

20. A permit may be issued to any person with a qualified doctor's certificate that such person must have opium to cure any illness.

21. Any opium smoker from foreign countries who intends to pay a visit to the Federated Malay States shall before his departure obtain from the British Consul or agent a paper certifying his being a habitual smoker, or no opium shall be sold to him.

22. Any opium smoker who owns a business or property, or is an old resident in the Federated Malay States and happens to be abroad when these rules come into force, a permit shall be issued to him on his return.

23. One year's notice should be given to all opium consumers to prepare for registration.

They should be allowed to register themselves within one year from date of enforcement of the rules and after that no permit shall be issued.

APPENDIX LXXIII.

Letter and Memorandum from Dr. R. M. Connolly.

PENANG, *14th December*, 1923.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that I am prepared to give evidence regarding the terms of reference of the Opium Committee, if the Committee desire to receive it. I regret that it has been impossible for me owing to press of work and private affairs, to offer to give evidence before this date; but I hope that the Committee will see fit to accept my application to give evidence for the traffic in opium is a subject to which I have given much attention for the last 18 years, and the effects of opium on the human system have been the subject of my study for nearly a quarter of a century, both as a former District Surgeon in Perak, and as a private practitioner in Malaya.

I have also been connected with Anti-Opium Societies in Malaya and in London for a long period.

A brief summary of the nature of my proposed evidence is attached.

It is most advisable that action be taken by Government to increase the control of the opium-traffic and to render the regulation of the sales of opium as stringent as those regulating the sale of morphia and cocaine by pharmaceutical chemists.

A.—If the Government shops are to be as numerous as the present licensed opium-shops, the change is hardly likely to be effective and beneficial; but if the Government shop be converted into a genuine Government Office, attached to a Government Office such as a Post Office, and if there be only one such Opium Office in the chief town of a District, and only in small towns where Post Offices are situated, effective control may be exercised.

With the object in view of putting every obstacle in the way of a man or woman acquiring the habit of smoking opium, such as by rendering the Government shop a part of the Government. District set of Offices, the policy of discontinuing the present licensed system and of instituting only a few Government Opium Offices or shops, will be effective.

There is no doubt that under the present system there is a complete absence of supervision of opium-shops in the smaller districts of Perak, which I have myself examined in several small towns in the Districts of Larut, Kuala Kangsar, Kinta and Batang Padang. In the Straits Settlements, as for example in Penang, it can hardly be said that there is any close supervision of opium-shops at all. The present system hardly allows it. It is not the fault of the Chandu Monopoly Officials, but of the system, by means of which opium may be sold freely provided that the seller be a licencee. Licencees at present endeavour to sell, as much opium as possible, as the opium-shop, sometimes alone or combined with a liquor-shop, is their means of livelihood. A Government Official will sell opium as he sells stamps without interest on the profit.

B.—It is feasible to adopt a uniform maximum limit according to the adult male Chinese population for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption. One ought to go further and state that after a census of opium-smokers has been taken the maximum limit should then be calculated according to the number of opium-smokers. By restricting the total sale of any commodity there must be a restriction in the retail sales, and there will be, therefore, less opium available for users. The strictest care should be taken with allocating the amount of opium for each town

or District, and books should be kept detailing the amonut of opium sold to each individual.

It is unquestionable, and it is a fact within my experience, that the free sale of opium and the ease with which the drug may be obtained, constitute temptations to suicide and the illegal use of opium. Instances are known to me where young Chinese for a slight cause have obtained a large quantity of opium, not for smoking, for they were not opium-smokers, but for consumption mixed with water with the intention to commit suicide. Two recent cases of this nature in Penang have been very remarkable.

One may be morally certain without having sufficient evidence, or desiring to obtain it, that cases of the use of opium to terminate life and suffering at the same time in diseases, such as cancer, diseases of the liver, and pulmonary tuberculosis, are not infrequent.

C.—Registration of opium-smokers is the sole means by which total suppression of the traffic many be secured. This measure was strongly advocated at various Anti-Opium Conferences. At the first held in Ipoh in 1907, at the second held in Penang in 1908, at the third held at Kuala Lumpur in 1909, at the fourth, held at Singapore in 1910, and at the fifth, held in Seremban in 1911. Registration of opium-smokers was the measure, the necessity of which was most emphasised as it is by all reformers at the present moment.

One neighbour country, Siam, has adopted the practice in order gradually to procure the abolition of the habit of opium-smoking in that country. It is unsatisfactory that Siam should be more progressive in this respect than a country such as Malaya, British Territory, or under the British Crown.

The introduction of this system will be a certain method of eradicating the abuses which at present exist in the sale and distribution of a poison.

I have, etc.,

R. M. CONNOLLY,
B.A., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., (Edinburgh).

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX LXXIV.

LETTER FROM THE MANAGER OF THE BUNDI TIN MINES, TO THE BRITISH ADVISER, TRENGGANU.

BUNDI,
4th December, 1923.

DEAR HUMPHREYS,—Many thanks for your letter.

In my experience in wet mines and where air is bad the opium smoker is better than the non-smoker, and in strenuous work like bringing stone down steep hill-sides (as is done both here and in Kajang), the opium smoker more than holds his own, and on the whole keeps better health.

With one exception all my head men here smoke opium, and I find them quite as good and trustworthy as the non-smoker.

Ninety per cent of our best coolies smoke. The only trouble is that if wages are low with the present price of opium a cooly often has to stint his food in order to get the 4 *huns* (*a*) of opium per day which seem here to be about as little as opium smokers can do with. Another advantage of opium from a Manager's point of view is that the smoking coolies are quieter and better behaved than the non-smokers who often indulge in *samsu* (*b*), which causes much more trouble than opium. Spirit, though it is had cheap, as a rule does the coolies a lot of harm. Heavy *samsu* drinkers are of little use; and generally if a coolie is forced either through lack of funds or other reasons to give up opium he takes to *samsu* with very bad results.

If opium was stopped the immediate result would be that practically all who were smokers before would take to *samsu*—probably in excess; and a mine like Bundi situated in the wilds would be very hard to run.

Yours faithfully,

E. V. PETERS.

(*a*) 4 huns = 23½ grs. (*b* Samsu is locally distilled spirit.

Note.—Bundi is 25 miles up river from the port of Kuala Kemaman in Trengganu and can be reached only by river.

The British Adviser states that the writer of the letter has twelve years experience of Chinese labour in Malaya.

APPENDIX LXXV.

LETTER FROM THE SINGAPORE CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

SINGAPORE, *12th December*, 1923.

SIR,—At a meeting of this Chamber held to-day at 2-30 P.M., they have discussed fully the terms of Reference relating to the use and Control of prepared opium in the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States:—

(*a*) they consider that 5 years' time should be given before doing away with the retail shops and that 1/5 of the present retail shops should be ballotted and cancelled yearly and that compensation should be paid to the shops so closed, as done when closing the Johore Gambling Farm rights;

(*b*) they are in agreement with (*b*) and (*c*), and suggest that the opium sold should be packed as in the Dutch Indies and Saigon in Tins. A penalty should be imposed on the opium shops selling opium to new smokers without license.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

王會儀

Secretary.

THE SECRETARY,

OPIUM COMMITTEE,

HIGH COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,

SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX LXXVI.

LETTER FROM THE PENANG CHINESE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

2, PENANG STREET,
PENANG, *4th January*, 1924.

SIR,—With reference to your letter of the 11th ultimo, I am directed to inform you that in view of the approaching Chinese New Year, we are unable to send down a representative to Singapore to give evidence before your Committee. However, I am directed to state that the introduction of the following measures will receive the support of this Chamber:—

(*a*) Increase control of prepared opium by Government.

(*b*) Abolition of the opium traffic within a specified period—say 5 years.

I have, etc.,

LEE BOON YIN,
Secretary,
Penang Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

THE SECRETARY,
OPIUM COMMITTEE,
SINGAPORE.

APPENDIX LXXVII.

Translation of a Memorial by the Opium Shop-keepers Singapore to the Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements.

Hearing that the Opium Commission appointed by the Government propose the registration of all opium smokers, the petitioners (opium shop-keepers of Singapore) beg respectfully to submit their reasons (though they are in favour of the suppression of opium smoking) against such registration, and request the Government to kindly postpone the carrying out of such a proposal.

That should Government adopt registration of all smokers:—

(1) It is feared that non-smokers would have themselves registered in order that they might be enabled to buy chanhu and sell it to those who do not like to register themselves at a large profit.

(2) The invalid smoker may lose his life for want of opium because he is unable to go to get opium himself, and is not allowed to get it through another person.

(3) The majority of smokers may not have time to go to buy opium, and being obliged to do so they may have to suffer loss of money on account of business being delayed.

(4) Among the multitudes of travellers that call at Singapore, there are a good number of opium smokers, and if only registered smokers are allowed to purchase opium what a lot of inconvenience, leading to physical break-down, will such traveller-smokers have to undergo.

There are many other reasons why registration of opium smokers is not feasible. There are three ways relevantly necessary if the suppression of opium were to be successful:—

(1) prohibit opium growing;

(2) prohibit the importation of opium; and

(3) prohibit the smoking of opium. With the opium growing that is carried on on such extensive scale in the various provinces of China, the suppression of opium smoking here is almost impossible, besides it cannot be done in a short time, neither can the use of force bring any good results.

In the opinion of the petitioners, the following suggestions may be feasible and more practical:—

Prohibit all those below the age of 20 years from smoking opium. Thus it will be seen as time goes on the number of smokers will gradually lessen until the entire disappearance of opium smokers will result.

While appreciating the action of the Government in trying to get rid of this evil, in response to the agitation started by the Chinese themselves, the petitioners further beg to state that, in consequence of the carrying out of the proposed registration of opium smokers, they will have to keep a larger staff in their shops.

After careful consideration over the question, the petitioners have decided to ask your honour to see your way to have the proposed registration postponed.

Chops SIN HENG HUAT and others.

APPENDIX LXXVIII.

Straits Tin Prices at Singapore and/or Penang (Straits Dollars per Pikul.) *

FURNISHED BY THE STRAITS TRADING CO., LTD.

Year.	Highest.		Lowest.		Average.	
	$	c.	$	c.	$	c.
1911	101	00	84	65	94	22
1912	115	85	92	15	104	17
1913	114	80	84	60	100	06
1914	93	37	58	00	75	88
1915	87	00	70	00	79	20
1916	94	00	82	63	88	64
1917	141	00	86	65	108	07
1918	184	00	119	50	154	20
1919	164	00	114	00	129	23
1920	212	75	105	75	156	24
1921	116	00	74	50	82	10
1922	94	25	71	75	81	00
1923	121	00	89	50	102	64

* 1 pikul = 133 ⅓ lbs. avoirdupois.

C.

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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE THE

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE

IN THE

TREASURER'S OFFICE, SINGAPORE.

First Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 28TH NOVEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. G. G. WILSON was called.

1. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—GEORGE GORDON WILSON.

2. You have been in Malaya 24 years?—Yes.

3. You started your career by studying and passing in a dialect of Chinese?—Yes, Hokkien.

4. You have several times been in the Government Monopolies Department, both in Penang and as Superintendent here?—Yes, in Penang and three times here.

5. It is correct to say you have been about 8 years as Superintendent of the Government Monopolies in Singapore?—Yes.

6. You have seen the terms of reference to this Committee, and you have in the past, I believe, studied this question, quite apart from being Superintendent of Government Monopolies, as member of a Committee appointed in 1919?—Yes.

7. Have you got any personal views on the use of opium in Malaya? How do you view indulgence in opium smoking?—My view is very unorthodox, I am afraid. I do not think there is much harm in it at all.

8. Quite apart from your official position, have you any views? Is it any worse than drink, for instance?—It is not nearly so bad as drink, I should say. It certainly makes them spend a lot of money, but if they confine themselves to smoking, I cannot see where the harm comes in.

9. Would you sum it up by saying a costly but not a very noxious habit? Would that represent your personal views?—Certainly. It certainly seems to me that it cannot be anything like so bad as eating the raw opium, which they do in India and which, apparently, is likely to be passed as a legitimate or semi-medicinal use.

10. Can you offer any opinion as to whether opium smoking is confined to Chinese adults, or is common to any other races?—In the Colony, it is practically confined to Chinese adults.

11. Adult males?—No, I know of several female smokers.

12. But would you say it was common amongst adult Chinese females or not?—I really cannot say. I daresay the cases that happened to come to my notice were exceptions.

13. Would you think they were isolated cases?—I should not like to say that.

14. As regards non-adults, both male and female, is opium smoking common or not common?—I have never come across any non-adult smokers.

15. In the Colony only, other races very little?—Yes, I think so.

16. Does it vary amongst the various tribes; that is to say, is opium smoking more pronouncedly common in one tribe than in another?—I have made some enquiries within the last few days, and the information given me by several of my officers was to the effect that Hokkiens, more than the other tribes, are devoted to opium-smoking; then come Tiechius, and then Cantonese, Khehs and Hylams. They smoke less.

17. Fairly common among Tiechius or not?—Yes; but they all put Hokkiens first, and Tiechius next.

18. You have made an estimate of the number of opium smokers in the Colony, I believe. Are you prepared to put that estimate forward?—I should not like to say it is a reliable one. In considering the question in the Colony generally, I arrived at the conclusion that the average consumption per smoker was about 4½ hoons a day. Then, some months ago I had occasion to write to Christmas Island about the Chandu consumption there, and I got some figures from the District Officer. This was in January, 1923, when the number of Chinese on the Island was just over 800. It was estimated by the opium salesman there that there were about 250 smokers among the *laukheh* coolies (that is, old hands), each consuming about 4 hoons a day. That would give a total of 10 tahils a day for the 250 (100 hoons = 1 tahil). Among the *sinkheh* coolies (that is, new arrivals) there were estimated to be about 150 smokers, each smoking about 1½ hoons a day; in all, 2¼ tahils. Then there was a third class of smoker, the mandore smoker, who was drawing a big wage and could afford to smoke about 4 chees a day (10 hoons = 1 chee). Of these there were estimated to be about 25. Adding up, we have a daily consumption of 22¼ tahils by 425 smokers, or an average consumption per diem per smoker of 5·23 hoons.

19. *Mr. McLean.*—Could you say what proportion of the *sinkhehs* smoked chandu?—No, I do not know how many *sinkhehs* there were..

20. *Chairman.*—It is rather dangerous taking an average over so small a number?—The population of Christmas Island is rather a small number on which to base an average. But, suppose we do proceed on this basis. Our sales in the Colony, in 1921, were 1,518,322 tahils, and if we take it that a smoker smokes 5·23 hoons a day on the average, multiplying by 365 and dividing the sales by the result, we get 79,537 as the total number of smokers in the Colony.

21. Did these 22¼ tahils per diem in Christmas Island about correspond with the consumption in Christmas Island or not?—Yes, almost exactly.

22. There is no possibility of making any other estimate than by assuming an arbitrary normal consumption for a normal smoker and dividing that into the total amount consumed?—We must begin by assuming a certain quantity to be the amount consumed daily by a normal smoker.

23. If that is the only method to be adopted, that will only give you the maximum number of smokers?—I would only repeat that I should not place much reliance on the estimate.

24. You would agree that yours does not give the minimum number of smokers?—Possibly not.

25. *Mr. Jelf.*—Have you any reason to suppose that any appreciable quantity of Singapore smokers smoke as much as 40 hoons a day? If you have not, then this figure of 40 hoons a day for 25 mandores is not of much use?—Dr. GALLOWAY will tell you that there are quite a number that smoke as much as 40 hoons a day.

26. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you remember that out of my 1,200 cases, the average was 2·74 chees per day?—Yes, I recollect it was in the neighbourhood of that figure.

27. And we thought that a very high average?—Yes.

28. Then we took a census of a number of shops and we found that the variation was such—from one 3-hoon packet per day to your limit of about 4 chees a day—that we arrived at the conclusion that no safe figure could be stated as an average consumption?—Yes, I certainly agree with that. I do not think we can arrive at a reliable figure.

29. Then another figure I got was 2·74 chees?—I think I remember that.

30. And you and Mr. BADDELEY and I went into the figures very very carefully and we arrived at the conclusion that it was unsafe to state any figure whatever as the average consumption?—Yes.

31. I find in this paper here that it has been estimated in the Federated Malay States that the daily consumption was 7 smokers to 1 tahil daily. That would be about 1½ chees for each person per day. Do you think that that would be a fair average?—It seems very high.

32. Do you still adhere to the proposition that it is unsafe to state any figure?—I think it would be unsafe to give any figure as a reliable figure. You cannot get a reliable figure.

33. And without a figure of that sort, you cannot arrive at the number of smokers?—No.

34. *Chairman.*—Then are you withdrawing your number or what?—I think it would be advisable to say that we do not know the figure.

35. How many pipes would 4½ hoons a day give, to an economical smoker, not a mandore?—The Dutch Indies sell tubes containing only ½ hoon, so that ½ hoon must be at least one pipeful.

36. Then your average works out to 10 pipes a day?—I do not know how much goes into a pipe. ½ hoon may be two pipefuls: it must at least be one.

37. Well then, your average is—speaking of the really economical class, the one that has not a plethora of money—at least 10 pipes a day?—Yes, I should think so.

38. What about the consumption in the Colony generally? You gave us one figure just now for 1921. Can you say whether it has been increasing or decreasing in the last 15, or even 10 years?—I have a comparison here of 1911 and 1921, which are the two census years. In 1911, the sales were 1,769,506 tahils, in 1921 they were 1,511,422 tahils. The Chinese adult male population (20 years and over) for the Colony, excluding Labuan, in 1911 (we had no monopoly in Labuan at that time), was 220,216. In 1921, the Chinese adult male population, including Labuan but excluding Christmas Island, was 254,870. That gives a consumption in tahils per head per annum of 8·035 in 1911 and 5·93 in 1921.

39. That looks like a very handsome reduction?—It does.

40. But what about the other years in between?—1920 was a very fat year; the consumption was very high.

41. I suggest that 1921 is rather a lucky year to choose for this purpose?—Yes.

42. And I suggest that if 1921 is taken as 100
then 1920 should be taken as ... 143
1919 „ „ ... 146
1918 „ „ ... 139
and 1917 „ „ ... 119

Will you accept those figures?—Yes, I accept those figures.

43. 1919 would be the most unlucky year, from that point of view?—Yes.

44. To what do you ascribe the difference between 1919 and 1921; to economic reasons solely, or population as well?—Economic reasons and efflux of population combined.

45. Which would you put as the major of the two?—I think that it must be chiefly economic.

46. You will put in tables* of the sales for past years, I take it. Will you tell us whether the sales by the Monopolies in one year might reasonably be considered to be the consumption of that year; that is to say, the stocks in the hands of the public would remain about constant?—Oh yes. There would be only a very slight variation in the stocks.

47. You gave us just now the figures for the whole Colony showing a reduction in the average consumption from 8·035 to 5·93. In the same two years that you were comparing there, 1911 and 1921, is the reduction more noticeable in any one Settlement than in any other?—Malacca shows the most marked reduction.

The average in—

Malacca was 7·70 in 1911 and 3·99 in 1921.

Penang was 8·17 in 1911 and 5·40 in 1921.

Singapore was 8·03 in 1911 and 6·41 in 1921.

48. In regard to prices, is the price of chandu the same in every Settlement?—No, Labuan and Christmas Island have different prices from the rest of the Colony.

49. There is a variation between Settlements; has there also been a variation in price in the last ten years?—Yes. I put in Table 1 showing past and present prices.

50. Labuan there shows a price consistently less than Singapore?—Yes.

51. Is the consumption in Labuan consistently greater or otherwise than in Singapore, in so far as your figures go back?—I have the figures for 1921; average consumption 12·74 in Labuan, as against the Colony average of 5·93.

52. That would seem to show that there is a marked effect in raising the price; or would you explain it in any way by leakage?—I have just written to the Resident, Labuan, for his views on the point and will let you know the result.

53. You have read the terms of reference to this Committee? As to the measures existing to control the use of prepared opium in the Straits Settlements, will you please sketch us the major features?†—The sole right of import and export of opium is vested in the Superintendent; the import of Chandu is totally prohibited; the right of manufacturing chandu from raw opium is a monopoly in the hands of the Government; the export of chandu except by the Superintendent is prohibited. In regard to sale restrictions, no one can sell without a licence, either a licence to sell by retail, or a smoking shop licence. A smoking shop licence admits of sale for consumption either on or off the premises. Nobody can buy except an adult male, and no one is allowed to smoke in a smoking shop except an adult male Chinese. The

* Appendix VII. † *See* also Appendix LXVIII.

limit of possession is 5 tahils of chandu for an unlicensed person, (*i.e.*, for anyone other than a licensed shop-keeper), and nobody is allowed to possess any raw opium at all. The quantity of chandu dross which a private person is allowed to possess is limited to 1 tahil.

54. Have you any suggestions as to the method by which the control which you have just sketched might be beneficially increased?—No, I do not think that any further action at present will be beneficial at all. I think until China closes down her poppy cultivation it is quite useless for us to take any steps whatever. It will simply encourage the smuggling in from China which is rampant even now when the supply of Government chandu here is unrestricted. In support of what I have said I should like to put in a list showing the seizures of chandu and opium from China which have been made in the current year.

55. On the shop question which is one of our references, what are the principles governing the giving of licences to shop-keepers? There is no tendering?—No, it is hereditary at present. Certain people have licences and they are simply continued to those who have them.

56. Is it correct to say that it is a choice of a suitable person, preferentially one who has in the past proved himself a suitable licensee?—I suppose that is so in theory: licences in practice are renewed to the former holders year after year.

57. In how far does the Superintendent himself participate in this question of approving of licensees?—In any case where a licence is transferred from one holder to another, the Superintendent's approval is required

58. Do you merely act by way of approval—that is to say, do you formally give something that is put up to you or do you know something about it yourself?—I make as careful enquiries as I can; I do not give a licence to an undesirable character.

59. This is really a thing that the Superintendent himself takes a personal interest in?—Yes.

60. Would you say the chandu shop-keepers form a ring?—Yes, they are apt to form a ring.

61. That is to say the question of vested interests arises?—Yes.

62. With the chandu shop-keepers as a ring, have they the power to keep you from licensing a potentially suitable licensee who does not belong to their ring?—The only thing that debars me is the fact that we do not wish to increase the number of licences. We keep the number more or less fixed; so that, in practice, I rarely, if ever, give a new chandu licence. I say new, as apart from transfer from an existing licensee to another person.

63. Then there is a sort of recognition that there is some property in one of these licences?—Yes, it is a valuable asset.

64. In spite of what the Courts and the Government say?—Yes.

65. *Mr. Jelf.*—Then that is to say your approval is practically limited to one family?—It might be misleading to use the word "family".

66. *Chairman.*—On those lines, is there any guarantee given to a licensee that no other shop will be opened within a prescribed distance of his?—No, I do not give any definite guarantee.

67. Other things being equal, if, for instance, you give one in 44, Cecil Street, to-day, you could give one in 46, Cecil Street, to-morrow, if it were otherwise desirable?—If it were otherwise desirable, I should; but, obviously, I should regard Nos. 44 and 46 as being too near.

68. Well, then, what is your general plan as regards the lay-out of these shops? Do you zone the areas?—Yes, I try to have a reasonable number of shops for each district.

69. Reasonable, that is to say, in comparison with the thickness of the population in those districts?—That is certainly taken into account.

70. **In point of fact, you zone rural and urban areas for these shops?**—Yes.

71. **Now, we come on to the crux of the whole question. One of our terms of reference is that the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops. Will you give us your views on that part of the reference?**—In the Federated Malay States there are already a number of Government retail shops, and if they can run them there, I do not see why we should not be able to do so here. I think that gradually we might be able to take over at least most of the retail shop work—perhaps not all. But I do not think that we could go to the length of having Government smoking shops.

72. **You say you could take them over; do you mean in a length of time, or is this a thing you could bring in at a moment's notice?**—It would require time. In doing so we should have to give our licensees notice. It would mean we should have to close licensed retail shops in a district where we are opening Government retail shops, otherwise they would certainly undersell us.

73. **Should we be landed with compensation like one has heard so much of at home?**—There might be complications. But I should think the question of compensation might be largely got over by giving the licensees adequate notice before closing them down.

74. *Mr. Jelf.*—**Were there complications in the Federated Malay States?**—I have not heard of any; but we ought to give ample notice to licensees.

75. *Chairman.*—There are only a few Government shops in the Federated Malay States. The suggestion is that we should change entirely from the one to the other?—I do not think it would be good; because, in Singapore we have about 200 retail chandu shops, and we certainly could not open 200 Government shops to replace them; if we opened only a small number of shops, I am sure it would encourage the use of illicit chandu. If we make it too inconvenient for people to buy licit chandu, they will use illicit chandu instead.

76. *Mr. Jelf.*—**In the Federated Malay States, is the sale of chandu confined to Government shops, or is there a dual system, private shops as in the Colony and Government shops as in the Federated Malay States?**—They have both, but they avoid having retail chandu shops where they have Government retail shops. In Kuala Lumpur town, for example, they have 2 Government retail shops and, I think, 13 smoking shops which are allowed to sell only for consumption on the premises.

77. **Privately owned?**—These smoking shops are privately owned. Then, in the country they have licensed retail shops

78. *Chairman.*—**You said the Government could take over the retail shops, that is the "off" licences, but they could not take over the "on". Is there much capital put by an "off" licensee into his retail shop?**—There must be a certain amount of capital. There are some shops which sell 1,000 tahils a month, which means a turnover of $12,000 a month.

79. **Would there also be leases of premises or not?**—I should think in the majority of cases there would not. A lot of these retail chandu shops are what one might describe as small rabbit-hutches in front of a sundry goods shop, so that in many cases I do not think there would be much difficulty on the question of leases.

80. *Mr. Jelf.*—**Is not the amount of rent large because of the fact that it is a chandu shop?**—I have no information as to what the rents are.

81. *Chairman.*—**But there was an idea surely once that chandu should not be sold side by side with anything else. Did that die a natural death or what?**—The smoking rooms are regulated; there is nothing but smoking going on in a smoking shop. As to retail chandu sale, there is nothing like the same objection to its being carried on in conjunction with some other business.

82. Do you think it is desirable that chandu should be sold retail side by side with other things or not?—It could be argued that it is preferable that it should not be.

83. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is there not a regulation to the effect that chandu alone is sold on certain premises, and is there not a regulation also which forbids any woman to be employed on those premises?—The former only applies to smoking shops: as to the latter, quite a number of our licensees are women, the widows of people who have had licences before. But apart from them women are not allowed in smoking shops.

84. *Chairman.*—If this is merely done as a side trade in the district areas, could not you have fewer shops, make them walk a little further, so as to make it more easy to get the Government servant in charge of them?—We could give notice that we were going to close certain shops; we should certainly have to give notice.

85. You say you have got about 200 retail shops in Singapore?—Yes, 219.

86. Then, if you kept to the same number you would have to get in your employ 219 suitable persons at a salary. Bearing in mind the suitability of the person, do you think that would take some time or could it be done quickly?—I do not think you could do it; you could not get the men. And even if you could it would be very un-economical. I should say it would be quite impracticable to open as many Government shops as there are licensed shops at present.

87. The words used here are,—"that Government servants in charge of shops would have no temptation to push the sales". Is there much pushing of sales going on now under the existing system?—I do not think so. The demand is there, and I do not think they need to push their sales.

88. But then, these individual licensees now are, we will assume, out for profit: do they have much chance of cutting one another's profits and so increasing their own individual sales?—They could undersell; they have a margin of 4 cents on a packet of 3 hoons.

89. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you know whether they do undersell?—As regards the present time I do not know. But I believe that there have been times when chandu could be bought at less than the maximum authorised price.

90. *Chairman.*—But that, of course, is no temptation to push sales, underselling one another. What I am now talking of is not a temptation to push the sales of chandu in the place?—No.

91. This under-cutting will not alter the demand?—No, the demand is the determining factor.

92. It will not alter the total sale and it does not amount to a pushing of sales?—That is so.

93. As regards these retail shops, you feel that you could, given sufficient time, introduce that system, but that you could not introduce that system in regard to smoking shops?—I think so.

94. Your smoking shop I understand, has an "on" and "off" licence?—Yes.

95. Therefore, the sale by retail, as opposed to sale in the saloon bar will not be solely from Government shops unless you take both the "on" and the "off" over?—If we were to start Government retail shops, we should certainly have to confine our smoking shops in the same district to sale for "on" consumption. We should take away their "off" licences.

96. Why don't you like this suggestion of Government servants in charge of smoking shops?—I do not see what advantage is going to be gained by it; and it means Government taking a lot of risks which it does not take at present. Further, it is a new idea to have Government officers in charge of smoking saloons, and I don't know where you are going to find suitable men for the work.

97. The objection, then, is that the Government would be taking a lot of risk that it is not taking at present. What do you mean by risk?—Well, for example, chandu might be gang-robbed, while being transported to

the shops. And there is always risk of robbery from the shops. And responsibility for stocks of chandu in charge of subordinate officers in a number of isolated houses away from the head office is no small matter.

98. So that the Government and the Government servant are both taking unnecessary risks?—I think it involves much additional work and considerable risk without any compensating advantage.

99. You would not abolish smoking shops?—No, I think the proper policy is to retain smoking shops.

100. Develop the reasons for retention of them?—If you are going to aim at suppression, smoking shops would seem to provide the best means of registering smokers. Moreover, if you have your smoking shops, you can control the chandu dross.

101. You would not go so far as to say that in view of the places where some of the poorer smokers live, it is desirable that they should smoke in the better surroundings of a smoking shop?—That would also be a consideration.

102. And not at all a bad consideration either?—A good consideration.

103. *Dr. Galloway.*—There is another aspect I would like to turn your attention to, and that is the force of example. An old man, smoking in a kongsi house, or a private house, is much more likely to entice younger men in the same house to begin smoking than would be the case in a public smoking shop; in other words, a beginner would avoid a smoking shop; is that not so?—Yes, I should think so.

104. *Chairman.*—Admitting the desirability of retaining smoking shops you have not any other grounds for saying you could not run them with Government servants than the one you mentioned, risk?—The rent of the premises would be a serious matter.

105. But he makes all that back in his big profits?—The licensee must make a profit or he would not be anxious to retain his licence.

106 *Mr. Jelf.*—Is it not a fact that the Federated Malay States Government are making a lot of profit on their shops?—On retail shops in the aggregate, yes. They have not taken over the smoking shops.

107. *Chairman.*—Do you think it more likely that you would obtain suitable people in charge of retail shops than in charge of smoking saloons?—Yes, certainly. To find reliable officers to take charge of smoking saloons would be a difficult matter.

108. *Dr. Galloway.*—Have you absolute control of the dross from the smoking shops?—We could have absolute control of it if we confined the licences to "on" sales.

109. How much dross, compared to the sales of chandu, do you manage to buy back?—We get back quite a small proportion; talking from memory I should say about 10 per cent to 12 per cent of the total amount of chandu sold.

110 That dross which you buy back, all of it comes from the smoking shops? You get none whatever from the retail shops?—No.

111. Are there any private users of opium who come and sell the dross to you?—Not in Singapore.

112. It is criminal to have dross in your possession; therefore, the prohibition as regards having dross in your possession is practically a dead-letter?—We do prosecute people for having quantities of dross exceeding 1 tahil; but I think there is no doubt that the average private smoker consumes his dross also.

113. Reverting again to the retail shops, exactly what control have you over them at present?—Only this, that they must sell the chandu in the packets as they are put up by the Superintendent.

114. They are not under any obligation to return the dross to you?—No.

115 *Mr. Jelf.*—How many smoking shops are there?—205.

116. *Mr. McLean.*—How many smokers would they hold?—4,183.

117. *Dr. Galloway.*—Coming back to the question of the shops, you spoke of capital employed in those retail shops; what is the capital? Buying the day's supply?—Yes.

118. They practically turn that capital over daily, don't they?—In every 2 or 3 days, I should say.

119. Therefore, the capital must be exceedingly small?—It would not be very big for each shop.

120 Another thing I was surprised at your saying was in regard to the question of opening shops. Is there no possibility of simply converting a shop as at present held from a retail shop to a Government shop, giving the man the option of taking employment under Government?—No, I should not like to employ those people; I do not think them sufficiently trustworthy.

121 Which is equivalent to saying that if they were in Government hands you would have a better class of men?—Yes.

122. *Mr. Jelf.*—Has the number of chandu sale shops been reduced or is it a constant figure? You say it is 219 now?—

Taking 1911 and 1921, in 1911 there were 317 smoking shops;
in 1921 there were 206;
in 1911 there were 200 retail shops;
in 1921 there were 220.

123. The smoking shops have been largely reduced and the retail shops have gone up by 10 per cent?—Yes.

124 *Chairman.*—When you have decreased the smoking shops, have you decreased the total accommodation in those smoking shops or not?—I should say that the accommodation provided now is less than it was before.

125. Could you give us the figures?—I doubt if I could, for 1911.

126. As a matter of fact, it would be worth while trying if you could?—I am prepared to try.

127 *Mr. Jelf.*—Your policy is not to reduce the retail shops? You have not any particular policy one way or the other?—We keep them about the same as far as possible.

128. When the licensee of a retail shop dies, you do not make any effort to cut off that licence?—No, during good behaviour we, as a rule, continue the licence. If we manage to cancel a licence for any misdemeanour, then the policy is to shut the shop.

129. *Dr. Galloway.*—I think you stated that in taking over those retail shops Government might lay itself open to a loss?—Yes, if we had any considerable number of shops Government could not, I think, run them so economically as the licensees do.

130. But then you see the profit that the licensees make does not go into the pocket of the Government. The Government is not out for gain in this matter. Would you concede the point that taking control of all those retail shops is a great step towards obtaining control of the whole traffic—getting nearer the consumer?—It would certainly be useful as a step towards registration if we had our own retail shops.

131. *Mr. McLean.*—If you had Government shops, would you require a large staff of Europeans to supervise them?—That would all depend on the number of shops we had: each shop would need to be inspected at least once a month. I think the crux of the question would be in finding reliable men to run the shops; men of the class of Government pensioners would perhaps be the most suitable.

132. Not necessarily Chinese?—No, Government pensioners, not necessarily Chinese, would be pre-eminently, I think, the sort of people to put in charge of them. They would have their pension at stake, which would help to keep them straight.

133. *Mr. Jelf.*—Quite apart from any registration of smokers, would not you think that Government retail shops, on the analogy of the toddy kiosks in the Federated Malay States, would be a more satisfactory arrangement from the point of view of the Government and the consumer?—I daresay there are certain advantages in having Government retail shops.

134. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Cannot Government manage these shops in the same way as stamps are sold by the Post Office?—It has been tried in the Federated Malay States, and if it can be done there we can do it here. I should not like to extend it to out districts, but it could be done in the towns.

135. *Chairman.*—I think the out district one is the more important of the two. It is a question of doing the whole thing or nothing. If we think it is a good thing to have *per se*, one ought really to begin in the out districts; in anything to do with the control of opium, the less controlled things are in the far distant parts of this Island and Settlement?—It would be necessary to have out-station shops strongly guarded. There have been recently several attacks upon licensees going home with their chandu.

136 You could get Government servants to be in charge of shops in rural areas just as well as in urban areas, I suppose?—No, I am afraid there would be more difficulty in getting them to live in villages.

137. Why?—There would not be suitable quarters for them, and they would be isolated and away from their friends.

138. But surely you could centralise the thing. You do not want to carry the chandu to the man's actual mouth, you want him to bring his mouth forward. You have now zoned your place to suit the convenience of your customers. If it is desirable to have Government servants, and that zone will not suit Government servants, then rearrange your zoning. Build one decent premise instead of three of these and then your Government servant can live there. What is the objection to that?—That could be done, but even if you reduce by two-thirds, the number of shops would still be considerable: and if you are going to build a number of premises it will be a costly business.

139 Yes, but then the retail shop is not necessarily unusable for anything else?—No, a shop-house would do.

140. *Dr. Galloway.*—At the same time you would have to have a fair number of those, because, if a man had to travel a long distance to get his supply of chandu, the chances are that he would take to illicit chandu. The area which was not occupied by a shop would be an area open to the use of illicit chandu?—For that reason you would have to be careful not to reduce the number of shops too much.

141. *Chairman.*—If we are going in for this thing at all, we ought to go in for it all-in-all. Would you agree with that or not?—Yes, it would in theory be best to go in for it right through, though they have not done so in the Federated Malay States yet. In out-stations they have combined "on" and "off" licences where they have no Government shops; that seems to indicate that they have not found it practicable to have Government shops in these places.

142. Would you advise the Government to introduce this system of Government shops forthwith or not?—I should hesitate to advise it. Of course there is the consideration that it seems desirable to have uniformity between the Colony and the Federated Malay States.

143. *Mr. Jelf.*—If you think there ought to be uniformity, then you would advise the Government of the Colony to introduce it?—That would seem to follow. Apart from that, I would rather let things go on as they are.

144 *Chairman.*—This (*b*) one is very difficult. The reference is that the amount of prepared opium allowed to be sold should be based on X tahils per head of the Chinese adult male population. You said earlier in your evidence that the consumption varied from tribe to tribe of the Chinese and that it was most marked amongst the Hokkiens. It is, therefore, little good setting up X as an average unless it takes into account this tribal composition of the population?—Quite so.

145. I will give you an instance based merely on shipments of chandu. The Federated Malay States, in 1921, received chandu from you which averaged 3·25 tahils per head of the adult male population. So that, if shipment corresponds approximately to sales in the Federated Malay States, the average in the Federated Malay States is infinitely lower than that you gave us for the Colony. Now, that is taking two places, the Colony and the Federated Malay States, in British Malaya. There are also other places which have their variations amongst themselves. I will read my own rough figures for 1921 got in the same way:—

Johore	4·3
Kedah	4·61
Perlis	6·64
Kelantan	7·52
Trengganu	7·16
Brunei	6·18

That is, of course, a very considerable variation. I read that table to you to ask you whether you could assist us in any way as to how reference (*b*) could be made operative in regard to British Malaya?—You cannot fix an arbitrary figure. An average that will do for one place will not do for another. The tribe of the inhabitants is the determining factor. For example, in Singapore, where we had a consumption of 6·14 tahils per head, we have got 607 Hokkiens and Tiechius in the thousand, and 261 Cantonese and Khehs. In Malacca, the Hokkiens and Tiechius are 402 and the Cantonese and Khehs 286 in the thousand, and the consumption per head is different.

146. Do you think this X tahils per head of the Chinese adult male population is something that is feasible?—No, I do not think it is.

147. *Mr. Jelf.*—Because of the heterogeneous population?—Yes. It depends on what you fix the limit at. If you take the 1920 average, there will not be any trouble.

148. *Chairman.*—You would not be willing to take the Federated Malay States average consumption as applicable to the Colony?—Certainly not, because of tribal differences in the population.

149. *Dr. Galloway,*—Each district would require an analysis of the population into its component tribes?—That is so.

150. Look at Sir MALCOLM DELEVINGNE's speech at page 46 of the Minutes of the Fifth Session of the League of Nations. He says—"A fair "comparison between the consumption in one Possession and another could "only be made if a common denominator based on a common unit were "taken". Is that entirely your sentiment?—Yes.

151. But there does not exist a common denominator or a common unit in British Malaya?—No.

152. *Chairman.*—Let us take the last term of reference, registration and licensing of smokers. You have made an exhaustive study of this subject for the purposes of the Committee on which you sat in 1919?—Yes, we went into it in 1919.

153. Can you take the two questions of registration and licensing separately, or are they one and indivisible?—Registration alone is of no value at all; you must have licensing and rationing of the smoker as well, from the point of view of suppression.

154 What do you say, is a system of registration on your estimate of smokers possible?—I do not think it is a practicable proposition. The number is too big. It is too unwieldy even with the population we have got here: and then again, if you overcame that difficulty, if you did register all the smokers in the place, the only possible way of doing any good would be to refuse to register any new-comers, which would exclude any smokers from coming in and would probably seriously affect our labour supply.

155. You could register 80,000 people?—Yes, it could be done.

156. Would it be of any value to know how many people smoked as a preliminary measure towards suppression?—Yes.

157 Will you get that from registration only?—No, not from registration alone, because there is no limit fixed as to what a person can purchase, and he may be purchasing for other people. It would tell you how many purchasers there were, but not how many smokers.

158. Assume a limit put upon the amount of prepared opium allowed for sale; you would then have to ration that amongst the smokers?—Yes; then you come to rationing.

159. Then that would force you into registration and licensing?—Yes.

160. Under these circumstances, would it be feasible?—I fear it would create very serious dissatisfaction and disturbances among the Chinese if you tried to introduce it.

161. *Dr. Galloway*.—It would also create a sort of purchaser who would simply act as a distributor at a profit?—Yes.

162. *Chairman*.—But he cannot do that with a coupon system?—No.

163. I put it this way: if you ration, you must have the coupon system?—Yes, but first of all you would undoubtedly have a lot of people registered as smokers who were not smokers.

164. Do you agree with what is said in the 1908 Opium Commission's Report about registration?—Yes.

165. Would you think it would be likely to be effective if introduced here in spite of all the cost attaching to it?—It certainly would not be effective. It would simply increase the amount of smuggled chandu smoked. As long as the demand is there, it does not matter what legislative measures you take. Chandu will be smuggled in as long as a supply from other countries is available.

166. Even if you stop the supply?—If you stop the world supply, yes; in that case they will not get it.

167. It is no good stopping the supply to the Straits Settlements?—Not a bit of good; because, if they want it, they will get it from elsewhere. We are close to China, so they will get it from there.

168. But you run the most excellent preventive service. Do you mean that that is an ineffective preventive service?—We have a tremendous coast-line here which it is quite impossible to patrol effectively. We do our best, but we cannot stop smuggling altogether It is impossible.

169. And as the licit supply became less, unless the demand reduced also, your preventive service would steadily become more ineffective because the profits of the smugglers would steadily increase?—Yes, that is so.

170. You have a list of seizures. Do you mind this Committee making any use of that? Are we permitted to publish any figures out of that?—Yes, you may make use of the figures.

171. *Dr. Galloway.*—You are looking entirely to China as the source of smuggled opium?—It is China that troubles us at present.

172. You don't take into account opium from other sources. India, of course, is out of the question?—There is no danger now from India, but there is from Persia.

173. You take no note of possible smuggling from Persia?—The supplies from China now come so easily, that there is no immediate cause to worry about Persian opium. It is easier to get it from China.

174. The population here would require to be re-registered every year?—Practically; it is a migratory population.

175. Can you give us any idea of how often that population changes itself, as it were? In how many years, do you think, the whole of that population turns itself over?—I have no definite figures, but from the number of immigrants, one would think that the population must practically replace itself once in every 5 or 6 years.

176. That is practically the figure that both the Chairman and myself have arrived at, that the population turns itself over once every five years; and that fact would add enormously to the cost and trouble of registration?—It would make it impracticable.

177. *Mr. Jelf.*—The fact of our having a migratory population makes the circumstances here entirely different from any other place which has a more or less settled population?—Yes.

178. *Chairman.*—What would you do about the surrender of licences when they are going back to China? Would that be an easy matter?—No, I do not see how it could be managed.

179. *Dr. Galloway.*—In fact, they would be taken to China and sold at a premium to intending immigrants who would themselves arrive equipped with a licence?—Yes, very likely.

180. *Chairman.*—A factor that is given to me in regard to rationing is that if there is no real shortage, merely a supply arbitrarily limited, it wants public opinion in support of the scheme?—Yes, obviously.

181. Public opinion of the public that is creating the demand, not of the public that is not interested in it at all?—Of course, it is the public that is interested in the demand.

182. Then I state the proposition to you, that if there is merely an arbitrary shortage of chandu on sale here, the Chinese smokers themselves must be in favour of a system of registration or licensing, or it will be ineffective either through increase of smuggling or other things?—Yes, I agree.

183. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you think that the amount you seize bears any proportion to the amount smuggled in?—I am quite sure we do not seize the whole of it. How much comes in I could not say.

This concluded Mr. WILSON'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Second Meeting.

FRIDAY, 30TH NOVEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

The Hon'ble Mr. D. BEATTY was called.

184. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—DAVID BEATTY.

185. You are the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements?—Yes.

186. You joined the Straits Settlements Civil Service 25 years ago?—That is so.

187. You have studied and passed in two dialects of Chinese, Cantonese and Hokkien?—Yes.

188. The majority of your service has been in Chinese appointments?—Yes, more than half.

189. You were a member of a Committee appointed in 1919 to report upon the opium question, and, apart from any other knowledge of the matters referred to this Committee, you made a special study of the subject for the purpose of the Committee I have just referred to?—Yes.

190. What are your own personal views on the opium smoking habit as indulged in in the Straits Settlements?—That in the vast majority of cases it does not do the smoker any more harm—if as much harm—as whisky drinking amongst Europeans.

191. Would you say that indulgence in this habit has been increasing in recent years, or otherwise?—That is a very difficult question to answer. I do not think it has increased in proportion to the growth of the population.

192. Has the opium smoking habit any direct connection with the wave of lawlessness we hear so much about at present?—No.

193. You are aware of the measures that are in existence controlling the use of opium in the Colony. Have you any suggestions as to increasing or tightening up those measures?—The only effective measure that I can think of is bringing in a system of sale by Government shops as apart from sale by licensed outsiders.

194. *Mr. Jelf.*—The system that obtains in the Federated Malay States?—I am not certain about what they are doing in the Federated Malay States.

195. *Chairman.*—When you speak of Government shops, would you include the smoking shops as well as the retail shops?—Yes, I would.

196 Do you see any objection to smoking shops *per se* or would you abolish them?—I would not abolish them. I think they serve a want amongst the coolie classes who, if they did not have such places to go to, would frequent either unlicensed and sly dross shops, or frequent *Pang Kengs* for the purpose of smoking

197 The atmosphere, then, of a smoking shop is not necessarily an inducement to excess of the habit?—I do not think so. As a matter of fact, it prevents excess, because a man thinks two or three times before leaving his living quarters to go out to smoke, whereas if there were no licensed smoking shops he would buy and take the chandu to his quarters, or his *Pang Keng* or his Coolie *Keng* and possibly smoke a good deal more than when he has to go out for it.

198. You recommend the Government shops, which is part of one of our references. Would you say that under the existing system there was any actual pushing of sales? The temptation may be there, but have you heard of any suggestion of pushing sales by the present retailers?—I have never heard of it.

199. Then may I ask you just to say what is the feature that would appeal to you about running Government shops, as opposed to private shops?— (*a*) That it would do away with the misconception that by having outsiders running shops there is a pushing of sales, and (*b*) Greater control over the destruction of chandu dross.

200 You consider the use of chandu dross to be much more noxious, I presume, than chandu itself?—A great deal more.

201. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you think that there is much swallowing of chandu dross?—I do not know about that, but there is a considerable consumption of chandu dross retailed clandestinely.

202. *Chairman.*—It would be quite impossible, I suppose, to get from every customer of a retail shop the dross equivalent to his last purchase before you sold him any more?—Practically, I think it would be impossible. But I think that if you had a Government shop under strict supervision you would get back more chandu dross than you get now.

203. Would you give bonuses for the return of chandu dross or not?—I do not think so. I think it would give rise to abuses.

204. I was thinking, of course, of something in the nature of those soap coupons and such-like things. Could you have any system like that in order to induce the people to bring back their full residue?—That question is put to me without notice, but my first feeling on hearing your question is that it would not attain the object aimed at.

205. Have you yourself, in coming in contact with an enormous number of Chinese, noticed any marked inferiority, mental or physical, of the opium smoker as compared with the non-smoker?—Only in very exceptional cases where the man has become an opium sot, on the same lines as one hears of the habitual drunkard at home.

206 The sot would, relatively, even compared with the total number of smokers, be very infrequent?—I have come across them very exceptionally.

207. And you have seen thousands and thousands of Chinese?—I would not like to say how many.

208. Would you call this a purely China-born habit, and is it practically confined to male adults or not?—It is not purely China-born. There are a certain number of Straits-born Chinese who smoke opium. Smoking is not absolutely confined to males; I have known a certain number of females, Straits-born and otherwise, who smoked chandu.

209. Non-adults?—I do not remember ever seeing a case.

210. *Mr. Jelf.*—Of what social standing were the females?—I could instance two Chinese ladies in Singapore; I could also instance a certain number of lower class women.

211. *Chairman.*—Would the Chinese women acquire it from preparing the smoke for their male relatives or not?—That I cannot say. There is now no preparation, so far as I am aware, of chandu in the chandu smoking rooms

by women. There used to be, and an attempt was made—I think it was at the end of 1919—to introduce girls into chandu smoking rooms for that purpose; but information was given to me, with the result, I understand, that the Superintendent of Government Monopolies dealt severely with the shops concerned and stamped it out again. I may say that the attempt was made in connection with Tiechiu shops only.

212 Amongst the China-born smokers, where do you think the habit is mainly acquired, in China or here?—I think a large number of the China-born smokers have acquired the habit in China.

213. *Dr. Galloway.*—If they have not acquired the habit, they coquette with a pipe whenever they have the money and the opportunity?—They have come into touch with chandu smoking before they have come here.

214 And look upon it as the natural form of relaxation?—I would say so in the case of the men who come from the towns, but not to such an extent in the case of those who come from the country districts. I have got some figures here. We have been examining ships coming in during the latter half of last month and this list* (which I hand in) gives the figures, first of all, of passengers returning to the Straits after a visit to China, and next, the new hands from China, and the actual numbers of those who are found, on examination, to be smokers, divided between the returned visitor from China and the new arrival from China. I have not had time to do very many; there are about 7 I think.

215. *Chairman.*—These are the first figures on record of anything of this nature, and are, therefore, enormously valuable?—I may say the Chairman asked me to make these enquiries.

216. The enquiry was carried out under your aegis?—That is so.

217. And was carried out with, as far as you know, the utmost of discretion?—With discretion jointly by my Senior Boarding Officer Mr. De Souza, who has been 32 years in the Chinese Protectorate and the Port Health Officer and his assistants. Before any further question is asked me, might I say, with reference to these figures, that owing to the disturbances in China, the number of new arrivals this year, and even now, is disproportionately small. It is difficult for the *sinkheh* to get down to the seaports to get away; and, in addition, a very large number of the men who would be *sinkhehs* in the ordinary course of events and come down here to earn their livelihood, are now absorbed by one of the various armies fighting in South China.

218. *Mr. Chan.*—In the case of *sinkhehs*, do not the majority of them acquire the habit here; would not they be too poor to be able to smoke in China?—I have figures there which will be laid before you, showing that 13 per cent of *sinkhehs* arriving here are smokers.

219. *Chairman.*—Opium is very cheap in China?—Very much cheaper than here, and it has been getting consistently cheaper owing to the increased areas under the poppy in the Southern Provinces of China, especially the Province of Fuhkien.

220. You kindly sent me a return† of Chinese immigrants and emigrants for the past 10 years. The immigrant figures are more reliable than the emigrant figures? Chinese immigrant ships have to be boarded and examined before the immigrants can land, whereas no restrictions by way of examination are placed on emigrants. Is that about the position?—That is so.

221. Therefore those figures for immigants would be obtained in the ordinary course of your departmental work?—My boarding officers get those figures on the arrival of each immigrant ship, and they may be taken as almost accurate.

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* Appendix XXIV. † Appendix VI.

222. As to the emigrant part of the return?—Those are figures obtained from the Master Attendant's office, compiled from figures given on the sailing of the ship to the Master Attendant's boarding officers. They cannot be so accurate, because the passenger tickets have not been taken up when the ship sails, and the figures merely represent a rough count by the Chinchew of the ship.

223. Incidentally that would be to show there is no overcrowding?—I think that is the only object.

224. Would that return cover people who are coming to and going from other places than British Malaya?—It covers people going to all other ports of the Malayan Archipelago and coming from all other ports of the Malayan Archipelago additional to the ports of the Malay Peninsula.

225-226. *Mr. McLean.*—It would not include those going to the Dutch Colonies?—It includes a considerable number going to the Dutch Colonies, because those going to Sumatra invariably pass through Singapore, and quite a number of those going to the Banka tin mines are passing through Singapore also. In addition, there is a very considerable transhipment here for Batavia and other Dutch ports.

227. *Mr. McLean.*—Could you say what proportion of these figures are passengers to and from the Dutch Indies?—I could not.

228. *Chairman.*—It would be fair, then, for this Committee to take the emigrant side of that return as a rough compilation only, and it would scarcely be fair to subtract the emigrants from the immigrants and say that the result was the nett gain in the Chinese population in British Malaya?—When engaged on the Opium Committee in 1919, and when I desired to obtain what you might call an inter-censal figure for any particular year, I did not think it safe to rely at all on these figures and simply reckoned the percentage increase corresponding to the percentage increase for the 10 years previous to the previous census.

229. Please read my foot-notes on the page showing your figures; is it a fair inference to say that the population turns itself completely over in 7 years?—It is a fair inference, although there is a certain proportion of Chinese immigrants arriving here who do not return to China. Certainly before South China became disturbed, I should say that even the poorer classes managed to go back to China at least once every 5 years, and I may say that I have known quite a number of cases where they have gone to and fro once every two, or once every three, years; but, of course, they have been above the line of the mere labourer.

230. Would it be stretching a point too much to say that the population turns over in say a period of 5 years?—No, because I think you have got to allow for that percentage which does not return to China at all.

231. Supposing you had been asked the question without your own returns in your hands; would you volunteer an answer to that question?—If it were not for that percentage which does not return to China, I would say that a 5-yearly turn-over would be reasonable; but, in view of the fact that you have to allow for that percentage that becomes completely residential, it is quite fair to take 7 years.

232. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you think the proportion of immigrants who arrive here and who remain and never go back is a large one?—On the safe side, I put it at 10 per cent.

233. *Chairman.*—Our recent question showed that migration is a big factor in the population mainly indulging in this habit. Ought we to lead the way in measures of suppression, or ought we to go *pari passu* with China in such matters?—From a practical point of view, I, personally, consider that it is useless to attempt to lead or show the way to China, although I think that if China did effectually and effectively take steps to reduce the planting of the poppy in China we should do our best to help her. From an ideal point of view, of course, I should feel inclined to say that we should show an example. But I do not think it is possible so long as you have the poppy being so freely grown as it is at the present time.

234. That would make the example purely useless?—It would.

235. *Dr. Galloway.*—You say that the prevalence of opium smoking in the Straits is a close reflex of its prevalence in China?—I think opium smoking in the Straits is inevitable here if there is smoking in China.

236. If the prevalence of opium smoking is great in China, it is also great here?—I would say that the proportion of smokers in the Straits Settlements, or in British Malaya, would increase in proportion to the increase in the number of smokers in China.

237. It bears a relation to its prevalence in China?—A rough relation.

238. *Chairman.*—One of our references is in regard to registration and licensing of opium smokers. I believe you have some knowledge of the system that was obtaining in Burma when you were officially stationed there. Would you tell us whether the Burman system then was a success or not?—To a great extent it was a farce. That is to say, any Burman could obtain chandu if he desired it, and even unregistered Chinese smokers could get as much chandu as they desired; and, although nominally registered smokers were confined to a fixed weight of chandu per mensem, I personally knew men who were able to buy as much as they liked. For instance, the common rate per mensem was, I think, the equivalent of Rs. 7 weight, and I knew one man who had not the slightest difficulty in obtaining and smoking (he was an opium sot) Rs. 2 weight per diem.

239. *Dr. Galloway.*—In what year was your experience in Burma?—I was there from March, 1916, to March, 1917.

240. That was at the time of the re-revised list of smokers. There was a registration, a revision and a re-revision?—I am not aware of that.

241. Registration in Burma was introduced very early in this century?—There was supposed to be a very small proportion of Burman registered smokers, and they were all supposed to be old men who had been registered at the start of the system. But, as I say, it was not at all uncommon to find Burmans, and young Burmans at that, without registration, (registered smokers had little books with their photographs), without these documents, smoking chandu. I have myself come across them in making raids in the town of Tavoy.

242. *Chairman.*—What are the chances of such a system in British Malaya?—I think it is quite impossible. You are dealing with a rapidly and constantly changing population, not merely as between British Malaya and China, but there is also a constant movement to and fro within British Malaya, and if one finds in Burma, where the population, both Burmese and Chinese, is mainly stationary, that registration was not a success, I do not see how it could possibly be carried out here with any hope of success.

243. The inter-state movement could be got round by a British Malayan registration and licence?—We find it difficult enough to trace society *samsengs* and people of that kind now, as it is, with the whole force of the Police and with the Protectorate such as it is. I do not think our experience as regards bad characters would in any way incline me to think that registration could be carried out.

244. But, theoretically, in this thing you are dealing with a man who desires to come and buy something from you; it is not like a *samseng* or a bad character, who desires to see the least he possibly can of you?—But you have got to consider the following points. My Burma experience showed that there grew up a class of men who were not themselves real chandu smokers but who obtained smokers' licences with a view to selling at an enhanced profit the chandu which they got each month. Secondly, there was, no doubt, in the chandu department at Tavoy, great corruption, thus making it easy for people to evade the law. Thirdly, you are dealing with the Malay Peninsula, which, on all sides but one, has a long and, if I might say so, difficult seaboard to watch. The consequence is that if you attempted to limit, first of all, the number of smokers, and, secondly, the quantity smoked by each smoker, there would grow up an enormous smuggling traffic. Take the province of Tavoy again. There were two main rivers, the Tavoy River and the Tenasserim River, and in addition, of course, there was a seaboard on one side and, on the other side you had what might be considered a very difficult barrier and mountain between Tavoy and Siam. There was no doubt whatever, from my information and from what I observed, that there was a great deal of chandu, in the form of opium as well as in the form of chandu, smuggled in partly by the Tavoy River (I had actual facts about that) and partly over the mountain passes from Siam. Well, the problem there, to my mind, is not nearly such a difficult one as in the Malay Peninsula.

245. You spoke of corruption in Tavoy. Do you think your Government shops that you have advocated would reduce the corruption here in any way?—Undoubtedly not. That corruption would vary with the amount of European supervision that was given to those shops. If there was very little European supervision, I consider that the corruption would be very great.

246. I suppose with your enormous experience of contract coolies and everything, you would agree that the matter of identification of Chinese of the lower orders is a very difficult matter indeed?—I do not consider that identification could be very successful with photographs merely. You would also require to have finger-prints for absolute identification.

247. Many times in your experience possibly, the same as in mine, you may have seen people who managed to pass the doctor by sending the coolie in front of him with a bad coolie's blurred photograph. Have you seen anything of that sort?—I have seen quite a number of cases where the man passed by the doctor could not possibly be the man who appeared before me.

248. Then if you are going to use finger-prints, if it is going to be of any use you want finger-print experts in every one of the shops where identification is necessary?—I do not think that the learning of the science—if I may use such a phrase—of finger-prints is so very difficult that you could not instruct the more educated Chinese whom, I presume, you would put in charge of these shops to understand the system. But I would like to say that where you would use your finger-print system would be where the supervisor paid a sudden visit to some chandu shop or smoking room, asked for the production of the registration books and then compared the finger-prints with those in the books. That is the only way in which you could do it. I am not in favour of this system; I am simply indicating what you could do.

249. In so far as licensing is concerned, it seems clear to me that you must work with a coupon system?—You mean a book with a certain number of pages to be torn off each time you get so much chandu?

250. Yes. I say that because otherwise your Government shop-keeper, Government Officer though he may be, will have no check against him that he supplied it to a registered smoker?—Even with the coupon system you would not prevent the non-registered smoker from getting his

quota of chandu, although he may have to pay more than the market price for it. Because, as I said before, if you start a system of registration, you will undoubtedly have spring up a new profession of registered chandu smoker who would re-sell the chandu obtained by him at a profit. You get something very similar in the case of the rickshaws. Under the Municipal Ordinance, each owner of a 'rickshaw has to have his photograph on a form and a copy is kept, I understand, by the Registrar of Vehicles. What happens is this. You do not have the real owners of these 'rickshaws registered, but you have a man coming forward who claims to own 25, 50 or 100 'rickshaws, and he is photographed and the numbers of his clients' 'rickshaws are placed on this form. He is known as a *Siong Thau*, the literal meaning of which is "photograph head", and he charges the real owners of the 'rickshaws a certain sum of money each month for the privilege of being saved the trouble of going to the 'rickshaw department.

251. Assume that this country went far ahead of China in measures of suppression of opium smoking; would not that have a serious effect on the influx of our labour?—If the attempts to restrain or control the smoking of chandu in the Malay Peninsula were successful, it would undoubtedly discourage quite a considerable proportion of men who would otherwise come here for the purpose of labour.

252. And who might otherwise be good labourers?—Yes, who otherwise would be good labourers.

253. *Mr. Jelf.*—At the Fifth Session of the Advisory Committee on traffic in opium, Mrs. HAMILTON WRIGHT quoted the *British Bulletin* of the Society for the Suppression of Opium Trade, in which Dr. CONNOLLY says—"It is sad but true that great numbers of Chinese artisans used no opium when they entered Malaya from China, but contracted the habit under the British flag". Would you consider that statement about great numbers using no opium as correct?—My figures will show that there is a large proportion of new arrivals who, as far as those figures have gone, do not appear to smoke opium and who deny that they smoke opium.

254. The Chinese delegate to the Convention, Mr. CHAO HSIN CHU said—"The Chinese population in the Far Eastern Colonies spend most of their money on opium. The Coolie in Singapore with the opium habit and earning $1 a day, spend 50 cents of it on opium. He preferred to spend his money on opium rather than on food and clothing, with the consequences that he was often miserably under-fed and ill-clothed. If the Singapore Government suppressed the consumption of opium, thousands of coolies would be saved". What do you think of that statement?—As a general statement, I consider that that is not the case.

255. *Dr. Galloway.*—Would you go further and say that that is a glaring mis-statement of the case?—I would go so far as to say that the statement does not apply to even 5 per cent of the actual labourers in Singapore, and that is, again, a percentage taken on the safe side. That looks like a general statement of mine referring to all Chinese labourers. When I use that 5 per cent, I am thinking specifically of the rickshaw-puller class. I do not think that my statement is true as applied to the Twakow man, the loading coolie, the stevedore's coolie and the rubber coolie and people of that class. It must be remembered that quite a number of such coolies are provided with food by their employers; but the rickshaw-puller is not provided with food. It is a statement that might refer to at least a maximum of 5 per cent with reference to rickshaw coolies.

256. And not at all to the other classes?—Practically not at all. They could not do their work if that were true.

257 *Mr. Jelf.*—The Chairman of the Session, who was a Frenchman, said—"The situation in Indo-China was a particularly difficult one. The Chinese population was a floating one and was constantly being renewed

by the arrival of opium smokers coming from the southern provinces of China. A fresh solution for the problem had, therefore, to be found each year. The campaign against opium in Indo-China, therefore, very closely depended on the results of the campaign in China itself". The same point is made later on about Hongkong. Would you say that the situation in Malaya resembled the situation in Indo-China and Hongkong in that respect?—I think I have already given an answer which shows that I do think so.

258. Sir JOHN JORDAN urged—"that the Chinese Authorities should be asked to arrange that only non-opium smokers should leave China for the eastern Colonies". Would that result in an undue check upon labour and would it be practicable?—It would be a check upon the labour force, and, in my opinion, it would not be practicable.

259 *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Only 13 per cent of the China-born coolies are opium smokers. Does that refer to *sinkhehs* or *laukhehs*?—That applies to *sinkhehs*. That is taken, of course, merely from 7 ships which have come in during the last 15 days, and those figures were obtained in the following manner. As each deck passenger passed before the doctor, he was asked whether he was a new arrival or a man returning from a visit to China, and then he was asked whether he was an opium smoker or not. In addition, the Medical Officer tested each of the passengers to see whether he gave clinical signs of having been an opium smoker. Consequently we got, I think, a fairly accurate set of figures, smokers and non-smokers, both for the new arrival and for the man who was returning to the Peninsula from a visit to China.

This concluded MR. BEATTY'S evidence.

The Hon'ble Dr. A. L. Hoops was called.

260. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—ALBERT LAUNCELOT HOOPS.

261. You are the Principal Civil Medical Officer, Straits Settlements?—Yes.

262. You have been in British Malaya nearly 20 years as a Medical Officer?—Yes.

263. You have come in contact with great numbers of Chinese as patients and otherwise?—Yes.

264. Great numbers of the Chinese adult males are said to indulge in opium smoking. Have you, in your experience, observed any pronounced harmful effects, either mental or physical, as the result of this indulgence?—In my experience, which is chiefly amongst China-born coolies, roughly half of them smoke opium. About one-third have begun the practice in China, while the other two-thirds started in Malaya.

265. Have you any personal views on opium smoking as a habit?—Yes, I consider that the effect on the majority of smokers is good, and not bad. With the moderate use of opium, as of alcohol, the resulting euphoria is beneficial, provided that a man gets sufficient food and exercise.

266. Has the normal smoker any marked facial or physical characteristics so that you, as a medical man, could, on an identification parade, pick out all the normal smokers—I do not refer to the sot?—No.

267. I ask you that question because in connection with any question of licensing opium smokers, somebody would have to know that we were not getting merely claims from people who proposed to make money out of their licences, but that the people applying were genuine smokers. You say you could not identify them?—I could not.

268. I believe you have caused a special census of opium smokers to be taken in the principal hospitals in the Colony?—Only in Tan Tock Seng's Hospital. I hand in a table* showing the results of the census. It was prepared by Dr. MACGREGOR, the Medical Officer in Charge.

269. On behalf of the Committee I ask you to convey our thanks to the medical officer who took the census and prepared this report. May I ask you to ask for a similar census on any random day in the Penang District Hospital and also in the native hospital in Malacca, if there is one?—Yes. I shall arrange for that.

270. A considerable proportion of your service out here was spent in Kedah?—Yes, I was in Kedah 14½ years.

271. I have been told that opium smoking is common in Kedah amongst races other than Chinese. Was that your experience there?—No. I would like to give you some figures. The most exact figures I can give you are for the Alor Star Jail, of which I was Superintendent during the whole of my service in Kedah. The inmates averaged 400 prisoners: the average yearly admissions to that prison were from 600 to 650, and of these admissions in various years I registered from 109 to 168 as opium smokers. Now, I will give you a specimen year, the Muhammadan year A. H. 1337 (which equals, roughly, 1918). In that year there were admitted 644 new prisoners, of whom 109 were opium smokers. One hundred and sixty-eight of those prisoners were Chinese. Of them, 89 were opium smokers, leaving 20 opium smokers amongst the other 476 admissions of other nationalities. As to my experience about other nationalities, opium smoking is relatively rare amongst all of them. It was commoner amongst Siamese—there are a certain number of Siamese in north Kedah—than amongst Malays or Indians. In fact, the number of smokers amongst Malays is negligible. Opium smokers entering jail were given no opium after admission unless their condition required it, and they were, as a rule, put on to ordinary hard labour. Not more than 3 per cent of opium smokers required treatment after admission to prison or were unfit for hard labour, and those were crocks.

* Appendix XVIII.

I would not put the proportion of the coolie class who exceed as high as 5 per cent; I take as a measure of excess either obvious injury to health or marked decrease in capacity for work. Persons who do exceed to that extent are more liable to digestive troubles and harder to cure of bowel complaints than their fellows. Amongst the few Malay smokers whom I have known intimately, one was a high Government official who suffered from Diabetes. He was a man of marked ability and was on the State Council: his judgment continued sound and his work good right up to the time of his retirement at the ordinary age limit. I have not, in my whole hospital and prison experience, known of a single death that could be registered as due solely to opium smoking. Sir WILLIAM HALE WHITE, the best known writer and teacher on *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy in Great Britain, used to say in his lectures to students—"Gentlemen, I have only one thing to say against opium, it prolongs life".

272 Do you agree with that?—I do not believe it shortens life, and it undoubtedly prolongs life in many cases of ill-health.

273. Is there anybody who has made a scientific study of the opium question in the Medical Service here?—No, I do not think there is anyone who has made a scientific study of it: there are a number of medical officers who have taken an interest in it. I have taken returns for many years of the number of opium smokers, and I have observed their capacity for work and their health and I have observed the ease with which they were broken of the opium habit. As a rule, they were broken at once and without any preliminaries at all.

274. Then the figures you have given to us would indicate that normal opium smoking has no adverse effect at all on capacity for labour?—I do not believe it has any effect on capacity for labour: there are cases where it will improve capacity for work: one should treat it as a harmless indulgence. The normal man, who now smokes 3 hoons a day, some years ago when it was cheaper perhaps smoked more; but I do not think that smoking 3, 4 or 5 hoons of chandu per diem would interfere with the average man's capacity for labour. In cases of excess, the harm done to the health of the individual is less than that done by excess in alcohol, and is more comparable, in my opinion, to the harm done by excess in tobacco, tea or coffee.

275. *Dr. Galloway.*—You told us that of the smokers, one-third had brought the habit with them from China and two-thirds had contracted it here. I want to ask you how much the question of capacity to buy had influenced that proportion?—In my opinion, many of them had not begun to smoke in China because they were too poor, just the same as many a young man is a teetotaller because he cannot afford to drink.

276. And, earning liberal wages here, he naturally took to the national habit?—Yes.

277. On page 212 of the Minutes of the Fifth Session of the League of Nations, there is a quotation made which comes under two heads. The first is that the habit of opium smoking or of opium eating is morally and physically debasing. What do you think of that?—As to opium eating I have very little practical experience, but I do not believe that the habit of opium smoking *per se* is morally and physically debasing.

278. The second statement is that opium ought, in India as in England, to be classed as a poison. Do you agree?—I do not agree with that statement.

279. That involves another question, the question of opium being limited to medicinal use. Do you think that such a limit is a possible one?—It is perfectly impossible.

280. Is it a possible one in Europe or in America, civilized countries?—It is difficult but possible perhaps.

281. But in Asia and opium producing countries you consider it absolutely impossible to fix a limit?—Yes.

282. If this were pushed further, and a medicinal limit insisted upon, who is to be the deciding authority in Asia as to what that limit is? In other

words, who are to be "the Medical Authority"?—There can be no competent authority to decide such a thing.

283. Would you limit the competence to a European qualified medical man?—No, certainly not ; nor to any medical man at all.

284. If limited to medical use, of course Government would have to select the different systems of medicines, as in India and China, which they would have to recognise as systems of medicine, as being competent to state what is the medicinal quantity?—Yes.

285. Have you any idea as to how many medical systems there are in India or China or Persia?—No.

286. Then you consider that fixing a medicinal limit, as far as Asia is concerned, is impossible?—It is neither practical nor practicable. It is impossible.

287. Do you think that this continuous increase in the price of chandu is working beneficially, or otherwise, as regards the use of opium?—It leads to more poverty, I think, than when chandu was cheaper. More coolies, perhaps, spend a bigger proportion of their income on the indulgence and, therefore, have less left for themselves or for their families, if they have families.

288. Don't you think that, as smoking chandu is a very wasteful method of using the drug, they take to other less wasteful methods, such as swallowing?—Yes.

289. And then, assuming that they cannot afford even the amount to swallow, don't you think that a reasonable thing would be to hunt after a still cheaper method, viz., injections?—Yes, morphia injections.

290. Do you think that all non-medical uses of chandu should be classed as abuses?—No; if I were an American Prohibitionist, I might: but I am not.

291 Do you think that it is the case that using deleterious drugs in Asia seems to occur only when there is a difficulty in procuring opium?—Yes.

292. You think that people take to drugs when chandu or opium is not available?—Yes, that is my opinion.

293. Do you think that this question of drug using in Asia and the question of drug using in Europe and America are two totally different things, based on totally different demands?—Yes.

294. And that the use of opium alone requires consideration quite apart from the question of using drugs?—Yes.

295. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do both the opium smoker and the non-smoker have an equal expectation of life?—Yes. It does not affect the expectation of life. I can say that I have examined opium smokers for insurance when I was in Kedah, I have passed them as first class lives and they have been accepted as first class lives by good insurance companies.

296. *Dr. Galloway.*—Had you a limit in your mind as to what those men might consume?—The usual insurance company's limit was 2 chees a day, but I was guided more by the appearance and health of the man as revealed by my examination than by any stated quantity that he used.

297. Then you would not turn a good life down, even though he consumed double that amount?—No, not unless the insurance company gave specific instructions.

298. But from a medical standpoint you would not turn that down?—No, I would not; and I might say that of three opium smokers whom I examined 14 or 15 years ago, two Chinese gentlemen in Alor Star are both still alive and in good health.

299. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—How much did they take?—That I cannot say at this distance of time, but they were men who smoked quite a quantity, and one of them I would have known from his appearance was a smoker.

This concluded Dr. Hoops' evidence.

Mr. Ho Siak Kuan was called.

300. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—Ho Siak Kuan.

301. You are the Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs?—Yes.

302. You are a Tiechiu, born in Canton?—Yes.

303. You are also Cantonese on your mother's side?—Yes.

304. You have been in the Straits Settlements nearly all your life, and in Government Service for nearly 40 years?—Yes, it will be 40 years in February next.

305. You were educated here?—Yes, in English.

306. All your Government service has been spent in the Chinese Protectorate in Singapore?—Yes.

307. Then presumably you have come into touch with untold numbers of Chinese?—Yes, that is so.

308. You gave evidence, I believe, before the Opium Commission in 1908?—Yes, I did.

309. Will you give us your present views as to the habit of opium smoking as practised in the Straits Settlements?—From my own standpoint, I find opium smoking is doing a certain amount of harm to the smokers.

310. Would you say it is a really serious vice?—In some cases.

311. The cases in which you would apply the words "serious vice" would you say those are proportionately numerous or not?—No, I should say not—at any rate not in Singapore.

312. It is a costly habit, of course?—Yes.

313. Is there any pronounced stigma attaching amongst the China-born Chinese to this indulgence?—Yes, there is, particularly at the present moment.

314. A more pronounced stigma now than in 1908?—I should say so. Now that China is a Republic ideas have changed very much.

315. But China is cultivating more of the poppy now than in 1908. Would you believe that?—I believe it and I believe the present disturbed condition of China is chiefly responsible for this.

316. Still confining ourselves to the China-born Chinese here, would any one of them be ashamed to confess to another that he was a moderate smoker of opium?—Yes, as a rule people do not care to make themselves known as opium smokers, particularly the Cantonese and the Hakka people.

317. Now, among the Straits-born Chinese how do they view the habit?—Very few Straits-born Chinese are addicted to opium, and I do not think they pay so much attention to the question as the China-born Chinese.

318. But most of the Anti-Opium Society members are surely Straits-born Chinese?—No, not in Singapore; and in Singapore I do not know whether that Society still exists.

319. You said just now the stigma was greater at the present moment than in 1908. Has there been much talk on this point of "stigma" in the local Chinese newspapers in recent days or not?—Yes, during the last few weeks; that is after certain Chinese in the Federated Malay States had petitioned the Government on the question of the suppression of opium smoking.

320. That is a case where peculiar circumstances gave rise to it?—Chinese newspapers must take up a subject of this sort.

321. For want of news or as expressing public opinion?—Chinese public opinion is against opium smoking.

322. Do you say that the habit is either dead or is dying amongst the Straits-born Chinese?—I should say dying; I should almost say practically dead amongst Singapore Straits-born Chinese.

323. *Dr. Galloway.*—Would you put it in this way, that there are no new smokers amongst the Straits-born and when the old lot die out the habit will be practically dead?—Yes, I do not know of any new smokers.

324. *Chairman.*—Returning to the China-born Chinese, is the habit noticeably more prevalent amongst one tribe than another?—Yes, it is most noticeable amongst the Hokkiens.

325. Tiechius?—There are still many Tiechius addicted to opium smoking.

326. Would it be more common amongst Tiechius than amongst the Cantonese?—Yes, very much so.

327. Then you would not be surprised if the consumption of chandu was greater in countries where Hokkiens predominated than in countries where Cantonese predominated?—I would not be surprised.

328. As to Chinese women, do they, in any considerable number, smoke?—No.

329. Amongst existing Chinese women smokers, would it be more common among one tribe than among another?—Yes, among the Hokkiens again.

330. Would you suggest why the habit is more prevalent amongst the Hokkiens than, say, amongst the Cantonese. Is it the same in China itself?—Yes, I would say the same thing applied to China.

331. More people in the southern part of the Fuhkien Province would smoke than in the Kwangtung Province?—Yes.

332 Am I correct in gathering that the Hokkiens offer as hospitality opium smoking more frequently than the Cantonese?—More openly I should say.

333. That would seem to indicate that the Hokkiens do not view the habit as seriously as do the Cantonese?—That is so.

334. Amongst the China-born, do many non-adults smoke?—No.

335. Where do you think the habit amongst Straits smokers is acquired, more in China or more here?—That is very difficult for me to say. Of course a large number of the Chinese immigrants bring the habit along with them, but there must be a fairly large number who learn to smoke here.

336. You remember when you gave evidence before you were asked if you could give any percentages of opium smokers amongst the Chinese population. Would you agree to hazard a guess now?—Oh, no.

337 More so if I asked you according to tribe? If I asked you what percentage of Cantonese males born in China smoked opium, would you hazard an answer or not?—I would say that the percentage is very small as regards the Cantonese.

338. You talked of excessive smokers. Have you noticed in recent years any growth in the number of excessive smokers?—No.

339. What do you think has been the result of the increase of price of chandu in the last 10 years; good effect or not?—I think it has produced some good effect. Considering the increase of population, if the price of chandu had not been raised, I think there would be a much larger percentage of men addicted to the habit.

340 The price now is $12 a tahil; would you put it up any more?—I think not· $12 a tahil seems to me to be prohibitive enough.

341. If you will look at that list, since 1910 the price has almost multiplied by 3. Do you think that wages have gone up by 3 times in the same period?—Oh, no, I do not think wages have gone up by 3 times; perhaps a little more than twice, but not 3 times.

342 If that is so, the coolie cannot afford to smoke as much in 1923 as he could in 1910?—I do not agree entirely with that, because a confirmed smoker may have to spend a greater part of his income on opium, no matter how high the price may be, at the expense of other necessities of life.

343. I suggest to you that in 1908 you said exactly the same as that; but it is not so applicable now, because you have admitted that he has got less margin to go. He has not as much margin as he had in 1908?—He has less margin but he will be compelled to spend more on opium than on other necessities of life.

344. The normal smoker amongst the lower classes is said to require 60 cents worth—that is 4½ hoons—a day. Would you accept that?—It would depend on the daily earnings of the man. Some coolies do not earn 60 cents a day.

345. How much of his earnings can your "sot" spend on opium?—A man earning $2 a day may spend $1 on chandu. We must also take into consideration that a large number of the opium smokers do not smoke chandu alone; they take to chandu dross, which is a cheaper but a stronger drug.

346. *Dr. Galloway.*—They might go even further and take to swallowing dross?—Yes.

347. *Chairman.*—Your figures are rather high; $2 or $3 a day you said. What about the "sot" among the class who only earns $15 a month?—He must swallow dross.

348. As regards the better class Chinese, has the habit any noticeable effect on their capacity for intellectual labour?—I do not notice any. I find many heavy smokers are just as capable in managing their businesses as non-smokers.

349. Now, take the lower classes whom you have seen passing in front of you in the Protectorate in vast numbers; do you notice that it has any pronounced effect on their physical capacity?—Yes, I have noticed that.

350. In regard to the moderate ones?—Not in regard to the moderate ones.

351. In fact I suggest to you that you could not spot a moderate smoker; you are only able to spot the "sot"?—That is right. Many moderate smokers who smoke only chandu do not show outwardly any appearance of being smokers.

352. As regards China itself, and what is put in the local Chinese newspapers, is there any effort being made in the Kwangtung Province at the present time to eradicate the habit?—Up to the time that Dr. SUN went back to Canton on this occasion I understand that measures had been adopted to reduce at least the habit of opium smoking.

353 In the Amoy district?—Even in Amoy.

354. You admit that China is not in a position to take effective suppressive measures at the present time?—I quite admit that.

355. Then is it any good our taking them?—I think not.

356. You know roughly the laws that are in force in regard to opium here. Can you suggest any measures of control that, in your opinion, would be beneficial, that ought to be brought in irrespective of any action

taken in China?—I do not think the Government can do very much in the way of controlling opium smoking.

357 Then what do you suggest is the proper method to achieve gradual suppression?—Registration may do some good.

358. You would not say that the only way to eradicate the habit was by the education of the people?—That would take a long time; in fact too long a time to achieve any appreciable effect.

359. But you said just now there was a strong China-born Chinese opinion against opium. Surely that can work effective propaganda work, not "show" propaganda work?—Yes, but it would take a long time if you relied solely on that.

360. But surely that is the only true method of eradicating the habit?—Of course, education is the soundest step to take.

361. You are not one of those who believe that by passing a law to prohibit opium smoking nobody will want to smoke opium the following day after passing the law?—Oh, no, I am not one of those.

362. Therefore, you, I take it, would never go so far as to suggest to this Government to prohibit opium smoking. You would realise that that was farcical?—It is impossible; you cannot abolish it by a stroke of the pen.

363. You brought us to this question of registration, which implies licensing of opium smokers as a measure of control. Do you think you could work a system of that nature effectively amongst this population down here?—It is rather difficult, because our population here is not a permanent one; but a great deal can be done.

364. Assume the Chinese Protectorate were asked to register smokers, you would require a very large staff to begin with. Do you think that only the people who actually did smoke would come to register as smokers? Don't you think some non-smokers would come also with the intention of obtaining the licence for traffic?—They would.

365. So that you would have the possibility of corruption there?—Yes, of course.

366. And the underlings in the registration office might make money by introducing a non-smoker and assuring the superior officer that he was a smoker and so obtaining a licence?—Yes, that is to be expected.

367. Then, you license the genuine one to get so much per day, per week or per month, as the case may be. How are you going to fix the amount that you would give to that man on his licence?—That is a very difficult question.

368. It is no good putting 3 chees a day on everybody's licence?—No, that is no good.

369. Then are you going to have a medical examination to see how much that person ought to be allowed to consume?—I do not think any medical examination would be effective.

370. So that the one who really wanted to get the licence for his own profit and not for his own indulgence might claim to be a 3-chee smoker and get it, and require none at all and be able to sell the 3 chees?—A great deal would depend on the licensing office.

371. But you told me that you cannot spot the normal smoker—even an experienced man like you?—Not in every case, but then, they may have a staff which will be able to collect information that will point to such delinquencies.

372. In respect of how many people?—I am unable to estimate the number of smokers.

373. Your system of investigation of these cases would apply to a small number of people only?— To a fairly large number, I should say.

374. If I suggest 79,537, would you be able to investigate the genuine requirements of each of those smokers?—It would not be necessary to enquire into every case.

375 Why?—Because there are many smokers who show by their appearance that they are heavy smokers. Those need not necessarily be enquired into. Then in regard to the ordinary coolie classes, we can always estimate what each man ought to require. A man who is a coolie earning a dollar or less a day certainly would not be allowed to smoke 3 chees of opium a day. He would be allowed only the proper quantity required in his case.

376. *Mr. Jelf.*—What proportion of a man's salary would you consider the proper one?—Ordinarily, I should say one-third of a salary of less than one dollar a day, but in some cases they may spend as much as half of their income, or even more, on opium.

377 *Chairman.*—You say the system of giving licences is not impossible, given a good staff; how are you going to identify the man who comes along to purchase opium at the shop? How are you going to be sure that he is the proper owner of that licence to purchase?—By his photograph.

378. As an old Protectorate officer, surely you do not set much store by photographs?—Oh, yes, a new photograph always helps to identify a person. A photograph 5 years old may not help very much.

379. How many times has the Assistant Protector of Chinese in my time 20 years ago been taken in, and been unable to identify the person with the photograph?—I do not find very much difficulty in identifying a man by means of a recent photograph.

380. A local photograph or a Chinese photograph?—A local photograph.

381. You do not think then you would have to have finger-prints coming in into this registration system?—No; some smokers may object to that.

382. But now, if the finger-print, which is supposed to be perfect identification, is not available, and only the photograph is available, don't you think the blurring of photographs to make the identification more difficult will come in as a business?—Oh, yes, it will come in, but a new copy of the photograph can be required after the lapse of a certain length of time.

383. Well, then, the retail shop-keepers must be absolutely above suspicion in order to make this an effective measure?—Yes, of course.

384. They must not sell anything to anybody for three times the price if he has not got a licence?—That is so.

385. Do you suggest that there are a sufficient number of incorruptible people who could carry on this opium shop trade?—We have to do our best.

386. But would you go as far with me as to say that corruption would be absolutely rife in this registration and licensing system?—There must be a certain amount of corruption.

387. You are not willing to say a great deal of corruption?—There must be a certain amount.

388. I will go one step further. After having given this man what he ought to require, which is the amount that is put on his licence, it is desired to suppress opium and so you take away some of that from what he still ought to require and give him less. Will not the effect of that be to bring about infinitely more corruption?—Is it absolutely necessary to do that? My idea is that registration is meant chiefly to prevent people who are not addicted to opium from acquiring the habit.

389. Is it a part of your measures that you must not admit any new smokers into the country?—Admit them and license them.

390. That is to say that if a man had smoked a little in China and came over here and said he was an opium smoker, you would give him a licence?—Yes, I would.

391. Then you won't be doing anything to reduce the consumption of opium as far as I can see?—As I say, my idea is to prevent a non-smoker from acquiring the habit. I am not aiming at the reduction of the consumption of opium by means of registration.

392. Surely public opinion and educational propaganda are the preventives against the non-smoker acquiring what is said to be a vicious habit?—Ordinarily, I would say so, but public opinion has been against opium smoking for a long time and yet we do not find any appreciable effect from that.

393. What do you argue from the fact that public opinion is so unfruitful? Why is it unfruitful in regard to opium smoking?—Because the habit of opium smoking is so difficult to throw off.

394. There is a suggestion in our terms of reference that chandu should be sold solely from Government shops staffed by Government servants; do you think there is at present any tendency on the part of the opium shop-keepers to push their sales, to press their wares on the public in order to gain greater profit?—I think so, from the fact that they employ women in some cases to serve the customers.

395. Not in the smoking saloons?—Not now, I think.

396. A Government servant would get a fixed wage. Do you think it is a beneficial measure to confine the sale to him?—It is very difficult to say. It all depends on the character of the man selected.

397. You would, of course, throw out of employment quite a considerable number of opium shop-keepers if you did that?—Perhaps a couple of hundred of opium shop-keepers.

398. And all their families with them; the bread-winner would go?—The assistants employed in the shops would have to go, of course, if all the smoking shops are put a stop to.

399. Do you think smoking shops could be run by Government servants?—Again I say it all depends on the man selected.

400. But do you think there are any Chinese pensioners of this Government who would be willing to descend to the occupation of smoking saloon keeper?—Some of them may like to take up the work if they only sell chandu and act as agent for the Government.

401. There would not be any stigma attaching to that?—Not to their working for the Government.

402. They would not look upon it as an unpleasant or a disreputable trade?—They may.

403. You admit you want a very good class of man in a case like that to run a Government shop?—Oh, yes.

404. What do you think about the existence of these smoking shops? Do you think they are any incitement to the habit?—Yes, I think so.

405. Would you abolish smoking shops?—It is impossible to abolish them. Many coolies cannot smoke at home.

406. Why, because of their surroundings or what?—Because of their surroundings and the absence of the necessary smoking implements. Many of them have not got all those things.

407. So that you would not condemn them; you would call them a necessary evil?—Yes.

408. *Dr. Galloway.*—You think that the price of opium in Singapore is quite high enough?—Yes.

409. Would you go any further and say that it is too high, and that it has driven people to undesirable courses such as swallowing dross?—I think the high price is reponsible for a certain amount of dross swallowing.

410 Then you think that swallowing dross is really more injurious than smoking chandu?—So I understand.

411. Coming back to the question of registration, a figure, with which I do not agree, was given us as the possible number of opium smokers, and we have come to the conclusion that possibly our population of China-born Chinese turns itself over once in six years. Therefore, one-sixth part of that number would probably be moving from the Colony, that is, 15,000 of those licensed opium smokers would be leaving the Colony annually. What would you do with their licences?—I would make them return their licences.

412 How are you going to make them return their licences?—Through their employers.

413 But you know that large numbers of them have no employers?—A large number of them have no employers, but wherever possible you can make the employer responsible for the licence.

414. Surely, that is a very great responsibility you are putting on an employer. Would you be responsible for all your servants and everything they did?—But this is in reference to chandu smoking licences only.

415. But supposing they had a licence to do anything else, would you be responsible for that licence?—The employer can take the licences from the possession of the coolies and keep them for them.

416. *Mr. Jelf.*—How are you going to make the balance of the people who have got no employers return their licences? They can leave the Colony without asking anybody's leave?—In those cases we have to rely on the smokers. The licence would not be of any use to them.

417. Except to sell to somebody else?—But there is the photograph.

418 Supposing he faked the photograph?—Everything is possible.

419. *Dr. Galloway.*—Supposing a man goes to China and remains there for two years; there may be such a change in the man's appearance that no photograph could possibly be made use of for identification?—You can make him take out a new photograph when he comes back.

420. All that is adding to the difficulties; all increasing the staff that we would require?—Of course you would require a large staff and it would cost a lot of money. It would be a very costly measure.

421. Your knowledge of office routine teaches you that the whole process of registration would be almost prohibitive from its cost? It would certainly be a very costly system.

422. *Mr. Jelf.*—You might make the licence expire, say, at the end of one year. Then it would be no good to anybody coming from China, but that would increase the trouble of registration, because you would not only have new applicants, but applicants coming for renewal?—That is so; the work would have to be done if you adopt registration.

423. *Dr. Galloway.*—We have been exploiting the various ways of trying to reduce consumption of opium, and we have come to the conclusion that we ourselves would be unable to do very much. Would you think it a sound line of procedure that all the opium-using countries should come into line and make, as it were, a *kongsi* of the whole thing, fix a price,

fix a regular reduction year by year and fix a regular programme of suppression. Do you think that that is a feasible and possible thing?—I think it would be feasible, when peace has been restored in China.

424. *Mr. Jelf.*—If you had a rationing system you would have to ration the Hokkien and the Tiechiu with a higher ration than the Cantonese or the Hylam?—I would.

425. You could not have any uniform quantity of rationing per head?—I think you have to divide the smokers into classes, such as the shopkeeper class, the coolie class, and so on.

426. Then would not you also have to divide them into tribes?—I know that there is a smaller number of smokers among the Cantonese, but I cannot say whether or not there are heavy smokers among the Cantonese. There may be very heavy smokers amongst them.

427. *Mr. McLean.*—Does the amount a man smoke depend upon the kind of work he is doing?—Oh, yes, a trader can afford to smoke more, and generally he does smoke more.

428. Then a man who is doing coolie work does not smoke more than a man who is not doing manual labour?—I would not say that; some coolies smoke more than the shop-keepers.

429. Would a coolic doing mining work smoke more or less than a coolie in a shop, if they were on the same wages?—That is very difficult to say. Generally I should say that mining coolies smoke more chandu than shop assistants.

430. *Mr. Chan.*—You said just now that if we refused to register newcomers that would seriously affect immigration. Is it your opinion that we will not be able to get a sufficient supply of labour from the non-smoking classes of China?—Perhaps not, because a fair percentage of the coolies coming here bring the habit along with them.

431. Then if you register newcomers you may have to keep on registration indefinitely?—It gives a lot of trouble, of course, but, as I said, my idea is to prevent non-smokers from acquiring the habit of opium smoking.

432. But a newcomer who is a non-smoker can say he is a smoker and get a licence. How are we going to investigate the truth of what he says?—We have to do what we can, with a good staff.

433. *Mr. Jelf.*—But a perfect stranger comes from China, and says he is a smoker. How do you know he is telling the truth?—We do not know, but we do not expect everyone to do that sort of thing.

This concluded Mr. SIAK KUAN'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Third Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 5TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

LEUNG KEW was called.

434. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LEUNG KEW.

435. You are No. 1 Turner, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

436. You are a Cantonese?—Yes.

437. China-born?—Yes.

438. How old are you?—42 years.

439. What age were you when you first came here?—I was 19.

440. Have you been back to China, and if so, how many times?—Yes, 4 times.

441. How many artisans have you got under you?—Between 10 and 50, the average being about 25.

442. What are they, all Cantonese?—Yes.

443. Do you mind if I ask if you are an opium smoker?—I don't mind.

444. Are you an opium smoker or not?—I am not.

445. You never have smoked?—No.

446. Do many of your men smoke?—Only a few.

447. Do you notice any difference between the work done by the opium smoker and that done by the non-smoker?—Yes, and that is why I do not like to employ opium smokers; they are somewhat lazy.

448. Are opium smokers punctual at their work?—Sometimes they do not turn up to work at all.

449. Yours is skilled labour, is it not?—Yes, all skilled labour: they begin as apprentices.

450. Are the opium smokers less skilled than the non-smokers? Are they less clever at their work?—Even when they are clever they are lazy. They are not so strong as the non-smokers.

451. But we are talking of brains rather than physical strength; are they as skilled as the non-smokers?—They have to employ strength at their work.

452. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You have the smoker and the non-smoker; of the two, which has got the more ability in his work?—The non-smoker is better than the smoker.

453. *Chairman.*—What wages do your men get?—The highest is $3 a day and the lowest $1 a day.

454. How much, do you think, the opium smokers spend on opium per day?—I cannot say; I do not know.

455. You do not mix with them?—No.

456. Do you drink liquor?—No.

457. Do any of your non-smokers of opium drink liquor?—There are some who like it and some who do not; I do not know much about it.

458. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do these opium smokers smoke in the opium shops, or in their own houses?—Sometimes they smoke in their houses, but more frequently they go to the chandu smoking shops.

This concluded LEUNG KEW's evidence.

WONG ON was called.

459 *Chairman.*—What is your name?—WONG ON.

460. You are Head Boiler-maker, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

461. What is your age?—33.

462. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

463. Born in China?—Yes.

464. At what age did you come here?—When I was 4 years old.

465 Have you been back to China, and if so, how many times?—Yes, twice.

466. Are you an opium smoker?—No.

467 How many men have you in your gang?—At the most 70 or a little over, down to 10 sometimes.

468. Are they all Cantonese?—Yes.

469. Are there many opium smokers amongst them?—There are some.

470. How many, do you think, in the gang that is working under you to-day?—About 10 out of 70.

471. Are those who smoke opium as good at their work as those who do not?—There is a big difference.

472. You would not engage an opium smoker if you could help it; is that what you mean?—Yes.

473. Why do you engage them?—Sometimes when I require extra men I engage them and sometimes when I engage them I do not know that they are opium smokers. Occasionally, when I need workmen, I take on opium smokers as well.

474. Do they show that they are opium smokers by the quality of their work?—Yes.

475. Do they do such poor work that they get less wages than the non-smoker?—Yes, there is a small difference.

476. How much would an opium smoker get under you for a day's work?—It depends on the difference in their work.

477. What is the highest wage per day under you?—Wages vary from $3 a day down to 90 cents a day.

478. Does an opium smoker ever earn more than 90 cents?—Yes.

479. Do the opium smokers ever manage to earn enough to go back to China, do you think?—In my experience, very few.

480. *Dr. Galloway.*—Does an opium smoker ever earn $3 a day?—No.

481. Are any of your men Straits-born Chinese?—I cannot say. I do not know as I did not make enquiries about them.

482. But you have just told us that all your men are Cantonese?—Yes.

483. Then they are not Straits-born—by that I mean Babas?—Some of them are Straits-born Babas.

484. Are they among the opium smokers?—Yes, some.

485. Where did you learn your trade?—In the United Engineers.

486. *Mr. Jelf.*—If two men came to you looking for a job, one of whom smoked opium and the other did not, which would you take on?—The non-smoker.

487. How would you know him?—I would make enquiries from other people.

488. Would you ask him direct?—No, I would ask of the man who came along with him.

489. But do you think you could tell the difference without any enquiry?—I could make out in most cases; only in some cases I could not.

490. But if, on enquiry, you found that one man was an opium smoker and the other was not, you would engage the man who was not a smoker?—Yes.

491. *Mr. McLean.*—When you are engaging new men, do you always make enquiries whether they are opium smokers or not?—No, I take them on for the first day and see their work and find out for myself whether they are opium smokers or not.

492. *Mr. Chan.*—Have you known the opium smokers in your gang long?—No.

493. Could you tell us whether these opium smokers acquired the habit here or before they came here?—I do not know.

This concluded WONG ON'S evidence.

HO AH KUM was called.

494. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—HO AH KUM.

495. You are Engineer's Fitter, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

496. What is your age?—41.

497. You are a Cantonese?—Yes.

498. Born in China?—Yes.

499. What age were you when you came here first —I was 21.

500. Were you a skilled workman when you first came to the Straits?—Yes, I was apprenticed in Hongkong.

501. How many times have you been back to China?—Once in every 3 years.

502. Are you an opium smoker yourself?—No.

503. You have never smoked opium?—No.

504. How many employees have you in your gang?—At most 40 and 10 at the least; an average of about 23.

505. Are they all Cantonese?—Yes.

506. Are any of them opium smokers?—Yes, some.

507. To-day for instance, how many men have you got working and how many of them are opium smokers?—I have 20 working to-day, and only one or two of them are smokers.

508. If an opium smoker applies to you for employment, do you refuse to engage him if you know he is an opium smoker?—I cannot tell if he is an opium smoker.

509. But when you discover that he is an opium smoker, do you turn him off work?—No; if he works well, I let him stop on.

510. Have you, personally, any objection to the opium habit, or any views on it?—No. If a man can do my work I engage him.

511. Would you say that an opium smoker is necessarily a poor labourer?—Yes, he is somewhat lazy.

512. Do opium smokers stop away frequently from work?—Yes, they frequently do.

513. You say, also, that while they are at work they are lazy; are they as skilled as the non-smoker?—They are less skilled.

514. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are opium smokers as clever at their work as non-smokers?—No, they are less clever.

515. *Chairman.*—Do you drink liquor yourself?—Yes.

516. What, Arrack?—Yes, and sometimes European liquors as well.

517. Frequently?—No, only sometimes in the company of friends.

518. Do the non-smokers who work for you drink much liquor?—Yes, some of them drink.

519. What do those who do not drink liquor and do not smoke opium do with their spare time?—Some read Chinese books and some learn English words which are useful in their work.

This concluded HO AH KUM's evidence.

SICK AH HIN was called.

520. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—SICK AH HIN.

521. You are No. 1 Ship's Painter, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

522. How old are you?—51.

523. Are you China-born?—Yes.

524. Cantonese?—Yes.

525. How old were you when you first came here?—13 years old.

526. Have you since been back to China, and if so, how many times?—Yes, 6 times.

527. How many men are employed under you?—The numbers vary from 150 up to 600 odd.

528. The average, I am told, would be 450?—Yes.

529. Are you an opium smoker yourself?—No.

530. Have you never smoked?—No.

531. Are any of your men opium smokers?—Yes.

532. Many?—About one-third.

533 Are your coolies all Cantonese?—No, Hokkiens, Foochows and Cantonese.

534 Which is the tribe which is most represented?—Mostly Cantonese.

535. In the trade of a painter, you do not mind whether a man is an opium smoker or not?—That is so; if they do my work all right, opium smoking is their own affair.

536. Do the opium smokers do your work well or not?—The non-smokers are better workmen.

537. I am not talking about opium "sots"; I am talking about the man who just takes a few pipes a day; is he worse than the non-smoker?—Yes.

538. As an employer of labour, what, do you say, is the matter with the opium smoker? Is he lazy, or what?—Yes, he is lazy.

539 If he is more lazy, he cannot earn so much wages?—That is so; opium smokers work at most 4 days out of 6 in a week.

540. But surely opium smoking is costly, and they require to work in order to earn the money to buy opium?—Yes, but there is a difference between the non-smoker and the smoker; the latter are more lazy.

541. Supposing you are painting in the rain, which first stops work, the opium smoker or the non-smoker?—The whole lot stop work at once.

542. Supposing you only wanted to employ one man and there were two applicants, one a smoker and the other a non-smoker; which would you engage?—I would engage the non-smoker.

543. But then, you cannot tell every opium smoker at sight who comes along and asks you for a job?—I select non-smokers for the workmen whom I engage for my shop. Those whom I pay daily, for job work, I engage indiscriminately.

544. But these that you engage for the more permanent employment; how do you know when you engage them whether or not they are opium smokers? By sight, or how?—I can tell by the appearance of the face.

545. You have a mixed gang; do you notice that there are more opium smokers amongst the Hokkiens in your gang than amongst the Cantonese, or otherwise?—There is more amongst Hokkiens.

546. Many more?—Only a little more.

547. Does your work generally require strong physique?—In some work, yes; in others, not.

548. Would a weak man do as a painter?—Yes, he would do for light work.

549. Do you think that more painters smoke opium than people in other trades?—Yes, there are more opium smokers among painters than in other trades.

550. *Dr. Galloway.*—You said that you know an opium smoker by his face. But that only refers to the heavy smoker: the light smoker you cannot tell?—That is so.

551. Do any of your men drink liquor?—Some drink a little.

552. Of what tribe are the ones who drink, are they Hokkiens, Cantonese or Foochows?—Cantonese.

553. *Chairman.*—What liquor do they drink? Is it Western or Chinese liquor?—Both.

554. Have you ever seen one of your coolies drunk?—Yes.

555. Which are you going to employ, a man who drinks liquor or one who smokes chandu?—The man who drinks, because he does not get drunk every day, only once in a way, whereas the opium smoker has to smoke his chandu every day.

566. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you know if any of the opium smokers among your men take liquor?—I do not know for certain; some of them may.

557. Do you teach any apprentices painting?—Yes.

558. You take on men for daily labour, don't you?—Yes.

559. Are those men skilled men who have served an apprenticeship?—Both kinds.

This concluded SICK AH HIN'S evidence.

FONG AH SOO was called.

560. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—FONG AH SOO.

561. You are Head Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

562. How old are you?—32.

563. Are you China-born?—No, Straits-born.

564. You have never been to China?—Yes, I have been.

565. How many times?—Twice.

566. Are you married?—Yes.

567. Where is your wife?—In Singapore.

568. Is she Straits-born also?—No.

569. Are you an opium smoker?—No.

570. Never been?—No.

571. How many men have you got working with you?—About 35 at present; sometimes I have more and sometimes less.

572. Are they all Cantonese?—Yes.

573. Any opium smokers amongst them?—Yes.

574. About how many in every 10?—2.

575. Are opium smokers as good workers as the non-smokers?—The non-smokers are better workers.

576. Then why do you engage opium smokers?—When I have got work and they apply to me I engage them.

577. Do you know an opium smoker when you see him?—Yes, I can see he is a smoker.

578. But that is the opium "sot", not the man who smokes a few pipes a day surely?—Yes, some of them I could not make out, but I could make out the heavy smokers.

579. When you find out that a man is an opium smoker, do you discharge him on the spot or not?—No.

580. Why; they are not bad workers then?—If their work is not good and they do not listen to my instructions, I dismiss them; but, even if they smoke opium if they can do my work I take them on.

581. You say "listen to my instructions"; are opium smokers more disobedient than non-smokers?—Yes.

582. Do you say they are more lazy than the non-smokers?—Yes.

583. Are there any other grievances against the opium smoker that you would like to bring forward?—As an employer of labour I say this, they are more lazy and slower at their work.

584. But is the work of as good class as that done by the non-smokers?—Yes.

585. Do any of your people drink liquor?—Yes.

586. Many?—Yes, 7 out of 10.

587. What kind of liquor do they drink?—Chinese liquor.

588. Do they never drink foreign liquor?—Yes, some of them do.

589. Have you ever seen any of your coolies drunk?—No.

590. Do you think those who drink liquor are better workmen than those who smoke opium?—Yes, I prefer the drinker.

591. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you pay the smoker and the non-smoker the same wages?—I pay them according to their work.

592. *Chairman.*—Are all your coolies paid by piece-work?—Some, not all.

593. Are there any *Kung Sz Kungs** ?—Yes, there are.

594. Will you take on an opium smoker as a *Kung Sz Kung*?—Yes.

595. *Dr. Galloway.*—How do you recognise an opium smoker?—By his appearance.

596. Is it from his face?—Yes, his face and his teeth.

597. But that could only apply to very heavy smokers?—Yes, it would not apply to one who only took a few pulls at a pipe.

598. Do you know any of them who swallow?—I have not seen them swallow; I have heard about it.

This concluded FONG AH SOO's evidence.

* Labourers on daily wages.

HO AH LIM was called.

599. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—HO AH LIM.

600 What is your employment?—I am No. 1 Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board.

601. What is your age?—46.

602. Were you born in China?—Yes.

603. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

604. How old were you when you first came here?—15.

605 How many times have you been back to China?—4 times.

606. Are you an opium smoker?—No.

607. Never smoked?—No.

608. When was the last time you went back to China?—Last year.

609. Was there much opium smoking going on in Canton then?—Some smoked and some did not.

610. When was the time before the last that you went back to China?—Year before last.

611. You went back two years in succession?—Yes, there was an interval of a little over a year between.

612. *Dr. Galloway.*—You said just now some smoked and some did not; can you tell us which were the most, the smokers or the non-smokers?—I stayed in China for about 6 months only, so I cannot say as I do not know.

613. Are there any of your friends in China smoking opium?—Yes, some.

614. Were there more people smoking opium the last time you went back than the time before?—On the previous occasion to the last when I went back, I found some old men in my village still smoking.

615. The last time, were there any young men in your village smoking opium?—No.

616. How many men do you employ?—An average of about 70.

617. Are there many opium smokers amongst them?—Not now.

618. Not one?—No.

619 Are they all Cantonese?—Yes.

620. Have you ever had any opium smokers in your gang?—Yes, formerly.

621. Would you be willing to engage an opium smoker now or not?—Yes, I would; when there was plenty of work I would engage them.

622. You would rather have non-smokers than smokers?—Yes.

623. Do any of your people drink liquor?—Some.

624. Have you ever drunk foreign liquor yourself?—No, I do not drink at all.

625. How many out of 10 in your gang drink liquor?—2 or 3 out of 10.

626. *Dr. Galloway.*—How do you know an opium smoker?—A smoker is usually thinner and darker.

627. But that only applies to men who smoke heavily, does it not?—Yes.

628. The light smoker you would not be able to tell?—That is so.

629. Then how do you know that the light opium smoker is a smoker?—In that case I could not make out.

630. Is there any difference in the work of the man who smokes lightly and the man who does not smoke at all?—Yes, the man who smokes opium is more lazy.

631. Did you, when you were in China, never smoke occasionally with friends?—No.

This concluded HO AH LIM'S evidence.

THAM AH TONG was called.

632. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—THAM AH TONG.

633 You are Coppersmith, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

634. You are a Cantonese?—Yes.

635. Born in China?—Yes.

634. How old are you?—58.

637. What was your age when you first came here?—23.

638 How many times have you been back to China?—4 times.

639. How many men have you got under you?—Between 20 and 30 and at most 36.

640. All Cantonese?—Mostly Cantonese, and a few Hailams.

641. Any opium smokers among them?—One or two.

642. Any opium smokers amongst the Hailams that you employ?—No.

643. Do your men get good wages?—The most they get is $3, some get $2, and the least is $1.10.

644. Do the opium smokers get as much wages as the non-smokers?—The foreman looks after the work and the workmen; I have nothing to do with the pay.

645. *Dr. Galloway.*—But you know the wages that the men get individually?—Yes.

646. *Chairman.*—Have you noticed that opium smokers are bad workmen or are they as good as the non-smokers?—The work of the non-smokers is better because they are stronger; they are not so lazy.

647. What do you mean by lazy?—I mean they work slower.

648. Do any of your people drink liquor?—Yes.

649. Many?—Yes, there are more drinkers than opium smokers among them.

650. Do they ever get drunk?—Seldom.

651. Supposing you have two men coming to you to get work, one of whom drinks liquor and the other smokes opium, which one of them would you engage?—I would engage the drinker.

652. Even if you knew he often become drunk?—Even if I knew he often got drunk I would still take the drinker.

This concluded THAM AH TONG's evidence.

LEONG AH MOK was called.

653. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LEONG AH MOK.

654. You are No. 1 Blacksmith, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

655. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

656. What is your age?—51.

657. How old were you when you first came here?—20.

658. Have you been back to China at all?—Yes, altogether about 4 times.

659. How many men have you got under you?—The average is about 40.

660. Are they all Cantonese?—Yes.

661. Any opium smokers among them?—Yes, about 8 or 10 among the 40.

662. That is more opium smokers than the other No. 1 men of the Harbour Board have told us they have in their gangs. Why is that?—I do not know. I only guess that is the number. Some live elsewhere, and I do not know if they smoke or not.

663. Can you ever tell an opium smoker by looking at him?—Not exactly.

664. You can tell a "sot" but you cannot tell a person who smokes a few pipes?—Yes, those who take a few pulls at a pipe I could not tell.

665.. Do you find the opium smokers in your own gang work much worse than the non-smokers?—Yes, they are not so strong.

666. Blacksmith's work requires strength?—Yes.

667. Do the opium smokers have to throw off work because they have not the strength for it?—Yes, once in a way.

668. As a matter of fact, there is not very much difference between a man who smokes a few pipes and a man who does not smoke at all?—That is so.

669. You would not turn a man away because he smoked a little?—No, I would not.

670. Do you drink liquor?—Yes, very little.

671. Have you ever smoked opium?—No.

672. Was there much smoking of opium going on in China when you were last there?—I have not been back for more than 10 years now.

673. Why is that?—I am unable to afford it.

674. Is that because you spend your money on drink?—No, I have a family and my household expenses are large.

This concluded LEONG AH MOK's evidence.

WEE SIONG was called.

675. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—WEE SIONG.

676. What is your age?—62.

677. Are you a Hinhua?—Yes.

678. Born in China?—Yes.

679. How long have you been in Singapore?—I came to Singapore 22 years ago.

680. What work did you do in China?—I was a hawker.

681. What is your work now?—'Rikisha owner.

682. You are a *Siong Thau*?—Yes.

683. You do not own any 'rikishas really?—I own more than 10 'rikishas myself; the rest belong to other 'rikisha pullers.

684. And you are *Siong Thau* for how many?—Over 500.

685. Do you smoke opium yourself?—No.

686. Have you never smoked a pipe in your life?—No.

687. Do many 'rikisha coolies smoke opium?—Yes.

688. How many out of 10?—3 or 4.

689. At the very most 4 in 10?—Yes 3 or 4.

690. Are there many Cantonese 'rikisha pullers?—Not at my place.

691. But in Singapore there are not many Cantonese 'rikisha pullers?—I do not know how many there are.

692. Most of them are Hinhuas and Hockchias?—Yes, Hinhuas and Hockchias form the bulk of the 'rikisha pullers.

693. How much does a 'rikisha puller make in a day?—On a good day he can earn $1 or even up to $1.50.

694. How much of that would an opium smoker spend on opium?—About 50 to 60 cents a day for each person.

695. Where does he smoke?—In a smoking den.

696. Do you mean in the coolie depôt or in a smoking shop?—Some smoke in a den and some in a coolie house.

697. Do you own a depôt yourself?—Yes.

698. Have you got any opium divans in your depôt?—No.

699. Well, then, a coolie who wants to smoke in your depôt, what does he do, just lie in his ordinary cubicle?—Coolies who live in my depôt do not smoke there.

700. How many does your depôt provide for?—I have 28 coolies in my depôt.

701. *Dr. Galloway.*—Where do they smoke?—They smoke in an opium smoking shop.

702. Do you know how many of the 28 in your depôt go to the smoking shops?—2 of them.

703. *Chairman.*—Do 'rikisha pullers often go back to China?—Those who do not smoke go back to China often; but smokers cannot afford to go back often.

704. Does the opium smoker make as good a puller as the non-smoker?—Smokers usually work hard because they must earn more in order to satisfy their craving. As regards those who do not smoke, they can do better work.

705. Is it a fact that the opium smoking 'rikisha pullers only go out at night?—Coolies who smoke like to pull early in the morning and late in the evening. They do not like to pull in the middle of the day.

706. Why don't they like to pull in the middle of the day?—Opium smoking coolies must earn money in the morning to buy chandu. After smoking they want rest. After their rest, they come out again in the evening.

707. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Which coolie can earn more money in the course of a day, the non-smoker or the smoker?—Their earnings are nearly the same, but those who do not smoke can save more.

This concluded WEE SIONG'S evidence.

LEE CHOON was called.

708. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LEE CHOON.

709. You are a Hockchia?—Yes.

710. Born in China?—Yes.

711. How old were you when you came here?—21; at present I am 52.

712. What is your business?—Registered owner of 'rikishas.

713. You are a *Siong Thau*?—Yes.

714. For how many 'rikishas?—About 300.

715. How many do you own yourself?—About 50.

716. How many times have you been back to China?—Twice.

717. Have you ever pulled a 'rikisha yourself?—Yes.

718. That is what you started life as over here?—Yes.

719. Have you ever smoked opium?—No.

720. For how many years did you pull a 'rikisha?—For one year.

721. You made enough money in a year to start in business as a 'rikisha owner?—Yes.

722. How much a day did you earn when you were pulling a 'rikisha?—About 40 cents a day.

723. After paying for the hire of the 'rikisha that was the net profit?—No, that was my gross earning.

724. That was 31 years ago?—Yes.

725. *Dr. Galloway.*—What did you pay then for the hire of your 'rikisha?—Between 8 cents and 10 cents.

726. For how many hours?—From 6 in the morning till 2 in the afternoon, the hire was about 10 cents.

727. *Chairman.*—What do you think a coolie makes nowadays?—About $1 a day.

728. Is that his gross earning?—Yes.

729. How much is the 'rikisha hire now?—20 cents during the day and 25 to 30 cents during the night.

730. That does not leave him very much. He has got to buy food out of that. You do not supply food, do you?—He has to supply his own food.

731. How much do you think he spends on food?—About 30 cents a day.

732. That leaves him 40 cents to 50 cents to buy his clothes, get all his amusements and buy opium, if he smokes opium?—Yes.

733. Then he cannot buy very much opium at the present price?—No, he has not got much money to buy opium.

734. There are a great number of Hockchia 'rikisha pullers here?—Yes.

735. Do many of them smoke opium?—Yes many of them do.

736. In 10 how many?—About 30 per cent of 'rikisha pullers smoke opium.

737. Do they also eat opium?—They do not swallow chandu, but they do swallow chandu dross.

738. Is swallowing chandu dross worse for the health of the coolies than smoking chandu?—Swallowing chandu dross affects the health; smoking chandu does much less harm.

739. For how many years does the ordinary 'rikisha coolie manage to pull a 'rikisha?—I cannot give a definite estimate.

740. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do they go on for some years?—Yes, they can pull for 5 or 6 years.

741. Then, do they go back to China?—Most of the smokers cannot afford to go back to China.

742. *Chairman.*—Would you prohibit opium smoking if you were the Government?—I will not suggest anything on that subject.

743. You do not think opium smoking does enough harm to stop it?—I think prohibition of smoking chandu would be good for the public generally.

744. But do you think it could be carried out?—That depends upon the management.

745. Does it depend upon the Government or the management?—If the Government has the patience to prohibit, it could be carried out.

746. *Dr. Galloway.*—If there was no opium here, would there be plenty of pullers?—Yes, and probably we would get stronger pullers.

747. But, would you get plenty of pullers?—We may suffer a little in the beginning from shortage.

748. *Chairman.*—Do any of the 'rikisha pullers go in for morphia injection at the present time?—They do not.

749. I suggest that if you prohibit opium, which you suggest would be such a very good thing, they would inject morphia instead?—I do not think they would be able to get morphia because Government has taken strong measures to prohibit people from buying and selling morphia.

750. Have you got a coolie depôt of your own?—I had a 'rikisha depôt formerly; I have none at present.

751. In your experience of 'rikisha depôts, do they always provide facilities for opium smoking, a divan and such—like things?—A few do provide facilities for opium smoking.

752. *Mr. Jelf.*—When the coolies get wet and cold, don't they find that opium is a good thing for them?—No, they usually go to a doctor.

753. *Chairman.*—Do many 'rikisha pullers drink liquor?—A few of them drink arrack; more of them smoke chandu.

754. Foreign liquor?—No, Chinese liquor.

755. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Where does the smoker contract the habit, in China or in Singapore?—Some contract the habit in China and some in Singapore.

756. Which is the most?—In Singapore.

757. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is that because they earn more money here?—Yes.

758. Then they must have been familiar with the habit in China?—I am not sure.

759. When you were a puller 31 years ago, did you live in a depôt?—Yes.

760. Was there much smoking went on then?—A little.

This concluded Lee Choon's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Fourth Meeting.

FRIDAY, 7TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. LEE KONG CHIAN was called.

761. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LEE KONG CHIAN.

762. What is your business?—I am one of the Attorneys of Messrs. Tan Kah Kee and Co.

763. To which tribe do you belong?—I am a Hokkien.

764. Are you Straits-born?—No, but I came here when very young.

765. Where were you educated?—At St. Joseph's School, Singapore.

766. What is your age?—29.

767. How long have you been in Mr. TAN KAH KEE's employ?—8 years.

768. Not all the time as attorney?—No, I have been his attorney for only 4 or 5 years.

769. What particular branch are you in charge of?—I supervise generally in the business.

770. How many coolies, roughly, are you employing?—On the rubber estates, consisting of about 8,000 acres, in Johore, we have about 1,020 coolies.

771. Could you tell us to what tribes they belong?—All are Chinese, but I could not tell how many of each tribe we have.

772. You have been round those estates?—Yes, I visit them from time to time.

773. You must know which is the common dialect you use in speaking to the coolies?—On these estates I use the Hokkien dialect.

774. Would you say there are more Hokkiens than Cantonese?—That I cannot tell. As far as I know, all the tappers are Hailams, and all the weeding coolies are Hokkiens.

775. Are there many opium smokers among them?—We have to supply something like 9,000 3-hoon packets a month through one of our big contractors. Besides that, they themselves buy from the small contractors.

776. *Dr. Galloway.*—You say they sometimes obtain opium themselves from the smaller contractors. Could you make a guess as to how much they get in that way?—I did enquire into it, and I should say perhaps 2,000 or 3,000 3-hoon packets; but I could not say for certain.

777. And how many do they buy from outside?—I do not think they have the means to buy outside.

778. You would put the total at about 13,000?—I should place it at between 12,000 and 13,000 3-hoon packets.

779. *Chairman.*—Now as to the number of coolies you employ in the next branch?—In the Rubber Works in Singapore Island, the Kallang Road Factory, we employ 340 males and 300 females.

780. Can you tell us their tribes?—All the women are Cantonese and all the men are Hokkiens.

781. Do the women coolies smoke opium at all?—To the best of my knowledge, they do not.

782. And the men?—From enquiries we find that out of the 340 men 50 to 60 are opium smokers. They buy the opium themselves so it is very difficult to say definitely.

783. In regard to the Rubber Factory, have you had many applications from the foremen to dismiss people because they were opium smokers?—No, never.

784. Have any protests ever been made by the foremen in the Factory against employing opium smokers, say within the last two months or so?—Of course, when they smoke heavily it affects their work, and in such a case steps are taken to get rid of such people.

785. But there you refer to the "sot", the very heavy smoker, not the man who smokes a pipe or two a day?—Yes, I refer to the heavy smoker.

786. In regard to the Rubber Works, have very many of these heavy smokers had to be dismissed from work, within your knowledge?— It has not come to my knowledge.

787. As to the next branch?—In the brick works at Pulo Tekong we have 49 male coolies, of whom 9 are smokers.

788. What are they, Hokkiens?—Yes, all of them.

789. Have you had to dismiss many of them for heavy opium smoking?—Not there. We cannot discriminate in our choice of labour in far distant places, whereas we can in the towns, as between opium smokers and non-smokers. We have got to take what we can get for the far distant parts.

790. At Pulo Tekong, for example, how would they get their opium? Would you supply it through the Contractor?—No, they have a village there about a mile from the brick works where they have more than one licensed shop. In 1920 our coolies in Pulo Tekong asked us to get a licence from the Monopolies to have a private shop at the brick works, but we refused to do this.

791. The next branch?—At the Engineering branch at Kallang we have 128 coolies, and only 3 of them are opium smokers.

792. At the Engineering works are they Hokkiens or Cantonese?—All Cantonese.

793. Any other branch?—At Sambawa Road, where we manufacture rubber goods, we have 804 coolies, of whom over 300 are women.

794. What tribe would the males be?—Mostly Hokkiens. I am making enquiries as to the number of opium smokers.

795. You have to go very discreetly in making enquiries as to the number of opium smokers?—Yes, they are a little apprehensive as to the intentions and results of the enquiry.

796. Any other branch?—Yes, we have Saw Mills at Lorong 3, Kallang. There we employ 140 coolies, all men, of whom 25 are opium smokers. All the coolies at the Saw Mills are Hailams. We also have a pineapple factory where we employ 120 coolies of whom 24 are smokers. These are Hokkiens.

797. Where is the pineapple factory?—Also in Lorong 3.

798. Generally speaking, has the fact that Chinese coolies do, in some proportion, smoke opium, caused you any very great trouble with your labour?—No. We believe that opium smoking reduces their efficiency, but it does not make any trouble.

799. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is labour so plentiful that you can do without opium smokers?—I do not think so. In such a case we could carry on, but we would have to reduce our business. A lot would depend on the line of business as well. On the rubber estates it would be impossible to do without them, but in the Rubber Factory, if we tried, we could manage. In certain lines we could do if, but on the rubber estates and in the saw mills I do not think it is possible at present.

800. *Chairman.*—Will you give us your own views on the question of opium smoking?—We consider that the labourers who smoke are not able to save anything; they just earn enough for their food and smoking.

801. But surely the smoker will work all the better in order to get more money to buy opium with?—Yes, but there is a limit to his strength.

802. Do you say that moderate opium smoking, just a few pipes a day, would adversely affect his strength?—Yes.

803. If you paraded one of these gangs of coolies that you have in your employ, could you pick out all those who smoked opium, even those who smoked moderately?—No; I could pick out the heavy smokers.

804. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do I understand you to say that a moderate opium smoker works less well than a man who does not smoke?—I find it so. I have 80 coolies in the box-making factory, and at one time we had about 30 of them who were smokers. At present we have only 2 opium smokers among them, and there is an improvement in the efficiency, and the earnings are greater.

805. *Chairman.*—Does box-making require much strength or is it skilled labour?—It does not require much strength, except that the coolies have to carry stacks of wood to the saws. The work is done by machinery.

806. *Dr. Galloway.* In what way did the lower efficiency of the opium smokers show?—It was found out that they ought to do more work than they were doing.

807. How did you find that out? By comparison with what?—Generally speaking, opium smokers are elderly people. It was noticed that certain gangs did better work than others, and enquiries elicited the fact that those who did better work were non-smokers.

808 Are they on piece-work or a daily wage?—Piece-work.

809. *Chairman.*—On the ground of improvement of labour forces, would you advocate immediate prohibition of opium smoking here?—I advocate gradual suppression, not immediate prohibition.

810. What do you mean by gradual; would you put a period of years at the end of which it would amount to prohibition?—In my experience I have come across several people who were opium smokers at one time but who gave up the habit without any harmful results. In the case of people suffering from consumption and certain other diseases, they would have to continue, as they use it medicinally.

811. Those who discarded the habit, did they tell you if they did so simply because they did not like it, or because they could not afford to continue the habit?—Many of them could afford to continue smoking. I think it was due to a change of opinion as regards smoking. During the last 10 years there has been taking place a gradual change of opinion on this question.

812. *Dr. Galloway.*—If that opinion were encouraged, would it have an effect in the way of reducing the consumption of opium?—Yes, a great effect. 10 or 15 years ago, in the big houses one saw opium pipes and other facilities for smoking and it was not then considered a disgraceful habit. At the present time it is considered disgraceful and is done privately.

813. *Chairman.*—Are you talking of Hokkiens or of Chinese generally?—Chinese generally.

814. But your friends would be more among the Hokkiens than among Cantonese, for instance?—It is true that I have more intimate friends among the Hokkiens; but I believe that that remark applies generally to the Chinese.

815. Your evidence shows that there is more opium smoking amongst the Hokkien labourers than amongst the Cantonese labourers. Is the feeling amongst the better class Hokkiens against opium as strong as it is amongst the better class Cantonese, or not?—I am unable to answer that.

816. Have you ever discussed opium smoking with Mr. TAN KAH KEE?—Yes, he is dead against it. When he was in China he did a great deal to help in suppressing the planting of the poppy.

817. Is that within your own knowledge?—Yes. He was a member of the Anti-opium Society in China.

818. Has Mr. TAN KAH KEE ever gone as far as to issue an order that he will not employ an opium smoker?—We have about 500 clerks, and I do not think over 2 per cent, of them are smokers. A good many of them have been with us for over 20 years, and only a few of them retain the habit because of some illness.

819. *Dr. Galloway.*—What are these clerks, Straits-born Chinese?—No, China-born.

820. *Chairman.*—If you knew a man was an opium smoker, would you engage him as a clerk?—No.

821. *Mr. Jelf.*—When a man applies for work as a clerk, do you ask him if he is a smoker?—No.

822. If you discovered he was a smoker, would you dismiss him?—Yes.

823. Have you ever done such a thing?—Yes, in one or two cases.

824. In how many years?—During the last two years.

825. *Chairman.*—You have views against opium, did you ever yourself belong to the Anti-opium Society in Singapore?—No.

826. Do you know if Mr. TAN KAH KEE did?—No, I do not know.

827. *Mr. Jelf.*—Have you ever heard of that Society?—Yes, I heard of it when I was a school-boy.

828. *Chairman.*—Has there been much talk of an Anti-opium Society in the recent past?—Not much. They are not so keen now on expressing their views as they used to be.

829. The Singapore Chinese are not willing to take steps at present towards the suppression of opium?—I think they are willing, but they are not so active at present.

830. *Mr. Jelf.*—You mean that public opinion has changed and therefore it is not so necessary for the Society to go on talking?—Yes, that is exactly what I mean. It is now recognised among the people that smoking is something that should be done privately. Formerly it was viewed in the same way as smoking a cigarette.

831. *Chairman.*—It is generally considered to be a disgrace?—Yes.

832. And, having achieved that, the Anti-opium Society thinks it unnecessary to go any further?—Yes.

833. But unless they keep on pressing this disgrace on the opium smokers, the opium smokers will forget all about it?—My own personal opinion is this. The more important thing is to prohibit young people from acquiring the habit rather than to stop from smoking elderly people who have smoked for a long time. When it is recognised by the public to be something disgraceful, the youngsters will not go into it. A good many of the coolies at present are men belonging to good families who took to opium smoking at first as a pastime and went to the bad.

834. *Dr. Galloway.*—They are what we would call "wasters" from good families?—Yes.

835. *Mr. Chan.*—Do you recruit any labour from China?—Not direct; we get our labour locally.

836. *Chairman.*—Have you any remarks to make on our terms of reference?—With regard to "(*a*) that the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops", I would suppress smoking shops because I think that the facilities they offer attract people and encourage the habit.

837. *Mr. Jelf.*—What about retail chandu shops, as against smoking shops; would you have them only Government?—I do not think that is necessary. It would be much better just to sell the packets and not to have public smoking shops.

This concluded Mr. LEE KONG CHIAN'S evidence.

WONG AH CHONG was called.

838. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—WONG AH CHONG.

839. You are a Cantonese?—Yes.

840. China-born?—Yes.

841. What is your employment?—I am No. 1 Fitter at the United Engineers.

842. How long have you been No. 1?—Ten years.

843. How many men have you got in your gang?—Over 20.

844. To-day, for example, how many have you working under you?—The same number.

845. Are they all Cantonese?—No, some are Javanese.

846. How many Cantonese?—4.

847. Any Hokkiens?—No.

848. Do the 4 Cantonese smoke opium?—No.

849. Do you yourself smoke opium?—No.

850. If an opium smoker came to you for employment, and he was only a moderate smoker, would you give him employment or not?—No.

851. Can you tell a moderate smoker by looking at him?—No, I could not make him out.

852. *Dr. Galloway.*—Why would you not employ an opium smoker?—Because I am afraid he would waste time.

853. Have you ever had an opium smoker under you?—No.

This concluded WONG AH CHONG's evidence.

Mr. TAN BOON TYE was called.

854. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAN BOON TYE.

855. What is your employment?—I was lately Manager of Messrs. Sime, Darby & Co., at Johore; they closed their branch and I have started my own motor business.

856. What are you, China-born?—No, Straits-born.

857. What is your age?—44.

858. Have you any views on the opium habit?—No; I have no ideas at all.

859. You have got some employees?—Two years ago when I was on a Rubber Estate at Senai (15 miles from Johore Bharu and 2½ miles from the Railway Station by a foot-path) I had Chinese employees.

859A. You have nobody in your employ now?—No.

860. When you had employees were many of them opium smokers?—About 40 per cent.

861. What were they?—Mostly Khehs and Cantonese.

862. The coolies in a place like that would have no Chinese theatres or any other amusements after the day's work?—No.

863. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is it your experience that the further up in the jungle they are, the greater proportion of them smoke?—Yes.

864. *Chairman.*—Did you supply the opium to them?—Yes.

865. Did you make a profit on it?—No, I sold according to the Government rate.

866. Where did you get it from?—From the Government Monopolies at Johore.

867. You took it up-country at your own expense?—Yes and retailed it in the estate shops at 40 cents a 3-hoon packet.

868. Did they pay cash for it or have it debited in the books?—All cash.

869. Were many of them very heavy smokers, by their purchases?—The coolies who were getting 80 cents were allowed one packet a day; but when they drew their pay they would buy 5 or 6 packets.

870. And would you, the employer, let them do that? Because, surely, according to the general view, that would have spoilt their labour?—The mandor used to buy 100 packets at a time and sell to them.

871. Did you ever have to discharge anybody because he was an opium smoker?—Yes.

872. That would not be a smoker of a few pipes a day or a packet a day; that would be a heavy smoker?—Yes.

873. Were the mandors themselves much of opium smokers?—No.

874. What were the mandors, also Khehs?—Yes.

875. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Did you have any Hokkiens among your men?—No; at Johore I had only Khehs and Macaos.

876. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you consider that there is no real difference between a man who smokes 5 or 6 pipes a day and a man who does not smoke at all?—There is great difference. If a man is a smoker he cannot get up early in the morning and when it rains he is covered up with a blanket.

877. Could you tell, if you did not know, when a man applies for work, whether he smokes opium or not?—When he applies he generally says that he does not smoke.

878. If you knew a man smoked opium would you take him on?—Certainly not, when we are paying high salaries I would refuse opium smokers.

879. *Mr. McLean.*—Would you have difficulty in getting coolies to go to an out-of-the-way place if you were not able to give them chandu?—Yes, great difficulty.

880. *Dr. Galloway.*—Are there sufficient coolies without opium smokers to carry on with?—No.

This concluded Mr. Tan Boon Tye's evidence.

Mr. CHHOA HUN CHHO was called.

881. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—CHHOA HUN CHHO.

882. To which tribe do you belong?—Tiechiu.

883. Are you China-born?—Yes.

884. What is your age?—29.

885. What is your employment?—I am Manager at TEO ENG HOCK's rubber goods manufactory.

886. Where is that situated?—At Jalan Besar.

887. How many coolies are employed in the factory?—About 200.

888. All men?—Men and women.

889. How many men and how many women?—There are only 10 women altogether.

890. What is the nationality of the men?—Tiechiu, Hokkien, Hailam and Cantonese; all sorts.

891 Which are in the majority?—Tiechius and Hokkiens.

892. Do you know if any of them smoke opium?—They do not smoke; I do not allow them to.

893. To your knowledge, not a single one of your coolies smokes opium?—I do not allow people to smoke opium in my factory.

894. *Dr. Galloway.*—Does that mean that you do not employ any opium smoker?—Yes.

895. *Chairman.*—If you discovered that one of your coolies was an opium smoker, would you dismiss him?—Yes, I would.

896. Have you ever dismissed a coolie because he was an opium smoker?—Yes.

897. *Dr. Galloway.*—Why?—Opium smokers are lazy, and do not work so well.

898. *Chairman.*—Have you ever tried a pipe yourself?—No, never in my life.

899. Do you find it easy to get enough labour even though you are known to dismiss people who smoke opium?—I find no difficulty at all.

900. Do the coolies live in a *kongsi* house supplied by the employer?—Yes.

901. Do you yourself live in that *kongsi* house?—I have a family residence in Coleman Street, but I also have a place for myself in the *kongsi* house.

902. Do you think you could tell by his appearance a man who smokes only a pipe or two a day?—Yes.

903. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are your coolies on daily or monthly wages?— They are paid monthly.

This concluded Mr. CHHOA HUN CHHO's evidence.

WONG TAT was called.

904. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—WONG TAT.

905. You are No. 1 Boiler-maker, United Engineers?—Yes.

906. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

907. China-born?—Yes.

908. What is your age?—57.

909. How long have you been in the Straits?—Over 30 years.

910. How long have you been No. 1 Boiler-maker?—For over 30 years.

911. Where did you serve your apprenticeship?—In Hongkong.

912. How many coolies have you got working under you?—About 120.

913. Are they all Cantonese?—Some Cantonese, some Hailams, and there may be one or two Hokkiens.

914. Do any of them smoke opium?—Yes, about 20; but I am not sure.

915. Have you ever smoked opium yourself?—Yes.

916. Do you smoke it now?—Yes.

917. *Dr. Galloway.*—For how many years have you smoked?—I have been smoking for 4 or 5 years.

918. How much do you smoke?—Over a dollar's worth a day.

919. About 1 chee a day?—Yes.

920. What wages do you earn?—Over $100 a month.

921. Do you always feel equal to your work?—Yes.

922 Has the shop foreman ever quarrelled with you as regards your work?—No; I do work which can only be done by myself.

923. Do you find any difference between the work of the opium smokers and the non-smokers?—No.

924. Then you would engage a smoker quite as readily as a non-smoker?—I engage them indiscriminately. So long as a man knows how to do his work, he is all right. I engage them to work, not to smoke.

925. *Chairman.*—How would you feel about it if the Government said they were going to prohibit opium smoking to-morrow?—I think it would be a good thing.

926. Would you stop it to-morrow?—I do not mind.

927. You don't think it would make you ill to stop it?—I stopped it twice before and then went back to it again.

928. How did you first take it?—I picked up the habit in the brothels.

929. *Mr. Jelf.*—Would you find it as easy to get coolies if opium smoking were stopped?—I do not know; I cannot say.

930. You say you don't mind whether a man is an opium smoker or not so long as he does his work: does that mean that there is no difference between the opium smoker and the non-smoker as regards his work?—They do the work the same. They work for 8½ hours. They only smoke after working hours.

931. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Supposing you had two men applying for work, one an opium smoker and the other a non-smoker; which of them would you engage?—Of course I would choose the non-smoker.

932. *Chairman.*—Everybody says that smokers are lazy at their work; is that true?—Yes, some of them are. When I find they are lazy, I do not keep them on.

This concluded WONG TAT's evidence.

CHO YOK HEAN was called.

933. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—CHO YOK HEAN.

934. You are a Hockchiu?—Yes.

935. China-born?—Yes.

936. What is your age?—46.

937. What is your business?—I am manager of the Seong Lim Saw Mills.

938. Is that a Limited Company?—No, private firm.

939. How long have you been Manager?—Over 10 years

940. How many coolies have you got in the Saw Mills?—Together with the Tongkang coolies, altogether over 200.

941. Are they mostly Hokkiens?—All tribes.

942. Which is the most?—Hokkiens.

943. Are there many opium smokers amongst them?—At first there were not so many; at present there are more.

944. Out of these 200, how many would you say smoke opium?—About 30 per cent.

945. Of the tongkang coolies that you refer to, do nearly all of them smoke opium?—More than 50 per cent.

946. If I were told that 80 per cent of all tongkang coolies smoke opium that would be too high a proportion?—That would not be too high in respect of Hokkien tongkang coolies.

947. Among the actual mill coolies there is not so high a proportion of smokers as amongst the tongkang coolies?—That is so.

948. You are not an opium smoker yourself?—No.

949. Have you never been?—Never.

950. Have you any views on the opium habit?—I think the habit is very bad.

951. What are the outstanding points of its badness?—From my experience my coolies when they had not contracted the habit did their work very well; after they contracted the habit they did very bad work.

952. Have you ever discharged anybody solely because he smoked opium?—Never yet. I employ a large number of coolies, and it would be very difficult to get them if I did that.

953. Could you tell, just by looking at him, that a man smokes opium?—When he has had the habit long I would be able to make him out because he would have the "opium face."

954. *Mr. Jelf.*—But in the case of the small smoker there is no difference?—That is so.

955. *Chairman.*—What wages do your coolies get?—Those coolies whose work it is to carry planks get about $20 a month and food.

956. How much do you think that the ordinary opium smoker spends upon opium out of that $20?—Opium smokers start by smoking a small quantity but gradually they increase the amount.

957. From what they have told you do you understand that they must increase their dose?—They are all the same; they gradually increase the dose.

958. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you know any of them who swallow?—Yes, I have seen it myself.

959. Is it chandu or dross that they swallow?—Some swallow chandu and some swallow dross.

960. *Chairman.*—In your opinion is swallowing dross much worse than smoking chandu?—I have no experience, but I have heard that to swallow is far more injurious than to smoke. Opium smokers themselves say that it is more injurious, but they take to it because they cannot afford the quantity to smoke which would give them the same satisfaction.

961. Have you ever belonged to the Anti-Opium Society here?—I subscribed to it formerly but I have never been a member.

962. Is the opinion against the opium habit stronger in Singapore now than it used to be, or is it weaker?—It is stronger now.

963. Are the local Chinese newspapers full of articles against the habit?—Yes, articles appear frequently.

This concluded CHO YOK HEAN'S evidence.

Mr. NG SENG PHANG was called.

964. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—NG SENG PHANG.

965. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

966. China-born?—Yes.

967. What is your age?—51.

968. You are a member of the Chinese Advisory Board, are you not?—Yes, also of the Po Leung Kuk, and I am also a J. P.

969. You are a timber merchant and tongkang builder in Singapore, and also have timber-cutting concessions in Johore on the Endau River?—Yes.

970. How many coolies have you got in the Singapore business?—Timber yard coolies and tongkang men altogether 120.

971. All Cantonese?—Mostly Cantonese.

972. Still talking of the Singapore men, do any of them smoke opium?—Yes.

973. How many?—About 40, mostly amongst the tongkang men.

974. In the Endau concession how many coolies have you got?—At present there are about 300.

975. What are they, Cantonese?—They are Kwangsai, Hakka and Cantonese.

976. Do many of them smoke opium?—Not so many at present; many of them have thrown off the habit. There are about 100 at present.

977. Do you have to supply the opium to these people in the Endau concession?—Yes. I get the opium here but have to pass it through the Johore Government to these men.

978. What wages would those timber cutters in Johore get roughly?—Average about $20 a month per head with board.

979. Are they in several Kongsi houses?—Yes, about 30 in each house.

980. Miles up-country and away from any amusement?—That is so; just like on Rubber Estates.

981. What do the non-smokers do to pass the time when they finish their work?—They gamble, and go to bed very early.

982. I am suggesting that these opium smokers must have some amusement and that is why they take to opium smoking?—The non-smokers have not got any amusements either.

983. What are your own views on the question of the opium habit?—My view is that the opium smoker should be licensed so that the non-smokers will not be able to learn to smoke.

984. You said just now in your own language "no opium, no smoke", does that mean you are going to stop opium?—Those who would be registered would have their photos on the licence and only they would be able to obtain opium.

985. You do not go so far as to say that the Government should prohibit opium smoking to-morrow?—You could not do that. The coolies will suffer very much.

986. But, you want the Government to do it some time?—That is my opinion.

987. In how many years do you think the Government could stop it?—In my opinion one year would be sufficient.

988. The most pronounced anti-opiumist in the world is only suggesting that it should be done in ten years?—The coolies only smoke 2 packets, or 6 hoons, of chandu a day, and, in my opinion, one year would be sufficient.

989. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you know any coolies who swallow?—Yes.

989 (*a*). Do they swallow chandu or chandu dross?—Mostly dross.

989 (*b*). Do you know how much?—I do not know; I guess it is about two or three hoons.

990. Where do they buy it?—I do not know, I have never bought any myself.

991. Why do you employ opium smoking coolies?—I have to take on a few.

992. Cannot you get sufficient coolies without the opium smokers?—No.

993. *Mr. McLean.*—If opium is prohibited will you be able to get enough coolies?—Yes, if everybody does not smoke.

994. *Mr. Jelf.*—But do not you think that perhaps coolies would not come down from China if they knew they could not smoke opium in this country?—The non-smokers will come, and those who smoke will also come because they can easily throw off the habit.

995.—*Mr. McLean.*—If you do not want your coolies to smoke opium why do you take it up the Endau River for them?—I have not taken any chandu for them for many months now.

996. Have your coolies been getting chandu during the last few months?—Yes, they buy it elsewhere.

997. Are there chandu shops on the Endau River?—They can get it at Kluang.

998. But, Kluang is about 100 miles away?—The Head coolies go and buy it.

999. Do you think it is possible they may buy smuggled opium?—I do not know.

1000. It is possible?—I believe not.

1001. *Chairman.*—You say you can stop opium smoking in a year through a certain licence system. I suggest to you that you cannot get the licences out to all the people who smoke opium in less than 2 years?—I meant a year after all the licences are out.

1002. Have you any idea as to how many opium smokers there are in the whole of the Colony?—I can make a guess about Singapore; I do not know about the other places. In Singapore I should say altogether there are about 50,000 or 60,000 smokers.

1003. You do admit that licencing 50,000 or 60,000 will take a very very long time if you have got to examine and see whether everybody ought to have a licence because he is an opium smoker?—That is quite true.

1004. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Of the smokers you have mentioned, where did most of them contract the habit?—It was mostly acquired in Singapore.

1005. *Chairman.*—We have heard that Cantonese do not smoke as much as Hokkiens. Do you think there is any truth in that?—Yes, Hokkiens come first, Tiechius second, Hakkas third, Hailams fourth, and the Cantonese very few indeed.

This concluded Mr. NG SENG PHANG'S evidence.

LIM KIM TIAN was called.

1006. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LIM KIM TIAN.

1007. You are a Hokkien?—Yes.

1008. China-born?—Yes.

1009. How old are you?—44.

1010. What is your business?—Twako owner and stevedore.

1011. How many twakos do you own?—Over 50.

1012. How many twako coolies do you employ?—About 200.

1013. What nationality are they?—All Hokkiens.

1014. Do many of them smoke opium?—Not so many of the twako coolies are smokers.

1015. How many; could you suggest any percentage?—About 20 per cent.

1016. Is twako coolie work heavy work?—Yes.

1017. Are you yourself an opium smoker?—No.

1018. Have you never smoked?—No.

1019. Do you object to your twako coolies smoking opium?—Yes; I do not like it.

1020. Do you think it affects their work at all?—Yes, they cannot keep pace with the non-smokers.

1021. Then, you would like the Government to prohibit opium so that there would not be any of these opium smoking twako coolies?—I should like it; but the coolie class would suffer if Government prohibited opium altogether.

1022. Therefore, you are not for immediate prohibition?—No, I think it should be gradual.

1023. How much do twako coolies earn approximately?—$25 a month and their food; a *Taikong* gets more.

1024. *Dr. Galloway.*—How much can your coolies afford to spend on chandu?—Those coolies who get only $25 a month can only afford to smoke one 3-hoon packet of chandu a day, *i.e.*, 40 cents a day; and they smoke cigarettes as well.

1025. Do they swallow any chandu or dross?—Yes.

1026. Mostly chandu or mostly dross?—Mostly dross.

1027. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—How often do twako coolies go back to China?—Non-smokers once in every year or year and a half; smokers go back less frequently.

This concluded LIM KIM TIAN'S evidence.

WANG MUI TSZ was called.

1028. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—WANG MUI TSZ.

1029. You are a Tiechiu?—Yes.

1030. Born in China?—Yes.

1031. What is your age?—27.

1032. You are a Twako owner?—Yes.

1033. How many do you own?—30, some of these twakos belonged to my father.

1034. How long have you been in Singapore?—I have been for ten years.

1035. How many coolies have you on the 30 twakos?—About 100.

1036. All Tiechius?—Yes.

1037. How many opium smokers amongst the 100?—50.

1038. Are you yourself an opium smoker?—No.

1039. Are the opium smoking twako coolies as good as the others or not?—No.

1040. What is the matter with the opium smoking twako coolies?—They are older men and slow at their work.

1041. Have you ever dismissed one of them because he was an opium smoker?—Never.

1042. Does being a twako coolie require great strength?—Yes.

1043. It is what one might call heavy work?—Yes, they have to lift heavy weights.

1044. Supposing you said you would not have an opium smoker in your employ would you get coolies to work your twakos?—Yes.

1045. Then, why don't you get rid of all your opium smokers; you say they are not so good as the non-smokers?—All the other owners make no distinction, and I do the same.

1046. How much would a twako coolie under you expect to make in a month?—The *Taikongs* get as much as over $30 a month and the coolies get $10 to $20 a month or more.

1047. You mean they make that after buying food for themselves?—Yes.

1048. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are all your coolies from China, and are they *laukhehs* or *sinkhehs*?—They are *laukhehs.*

1049. How often do your coolies go back to China?—Once in 4 or 5 years; some never go back at all.

1050. Why?—Because they earn just enough to pay for their food and their opium.

1051. *Dr. Galloway.*—How much do they smoke?—One or two packets of 3 hoons each.

1052. Do you know any who swallow?—Yes.

1053. What do they swallow?—Dross.

1054. How much?—A small piece.

This concluded WANG MUI TSZ's evidence.

HO SAM was called.

1055. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—HO SAM.

1056. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

1057. China-born?—Yes.

1058. What is your age?—60.

1059. What is your business?—Pattern maker, United Engineers.

1060. How many men have you in your gang?—About 15.

1061. All Cantonese?—Yes.

1062. *Dr. Galloway.*—Are they all skilled workmen?—Yes

1063. How many of them are smokers?—Two or three.

1064. Are you a smoker yourself?—No.

1065. *Chairman.*—Have you never smoked?—I have coquetted with a pipe; but I never acquired the habit.

1066. Would you turn a man out because he was an opium smoker?—If he is a new man who comes to me to ask for work, I will ask him if he is a smoker or not. If he is a smoker I will not take him.

1067. But supposing he was a smoker and did not say he was; you could not tell from his appearance?—I admit I could not tell.

1068. *Dr. Galloway.*—Are the opium smokers in your shop worse workmen than the non-smokers?—I cannot say; some smokers work all right also.

1069. How much do these workmen under you make on the average?—About $2.20 or $2.30 a day.

1070. How much would they spend on opium?—I do not know; that is left to the man's own desire; I never enquire from him.

1071. Do you despise them because they smoke opium?—I do not like opium smokers.

1072. Have you any friends among opium smokers?—Yes, I have, but I could not interfere with them.

1073. But why don't you cease friendship with them?—(Witness laughs).

1074. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you know any people who swallow opium or dross?—Yes, I know there are people who swallow.

1075. Do you think many people swallow?—Yes, those who have not got enough money to buy chandu do.

This concluded HO SAM's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Fifth Meeting.

MONDAY, 10TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. G. E. CATOR was called.

1076. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—GEOFFREY EDMUND CATOR.

1077. You are a member of the Malayan Civil Service?—Yes.

1078. How long have you been in Malaya?—Since 1907.

1079. In your time what has been your principal work?—District work; I was in Brunei for a long time, which corresponds to district work.

1080. You were also Acting Resident, Labuan?—Yes.

1081. In those far-flung portions of British Malaya, did you see any noticeable abuses in the way of the smoking of opium?—No, I did not.

1082. Do you think that opium smoking has had any connection with crime, in your experience out here?—There was no evidence to that effect in Brunei and Labuan, where the amount of crime is exceedingly small.

1083. What is your present appointment?—I am Commissioner of Trade and Customs, and Superintendent, Chandu Monopoly in Johore.

1084. You have only recently taken up that post?—Yes, I took it up on the 15th September, last.

1085. You will be able to give this Committee the figures in regard to the Chandu Monopolies in Johore?—Yes.

1086. Do the figures in the possession of the Chandu Monopolies, Johore, show that the sales have been increasing in recent years, or decreasing?—Decreasing. The sales were extremely high about 1911; they then gradually decreased until the boom of 1919-1920, when they went up: in 1921 and 1922 they decreased.

1087. 1911 and 1921 were census years, and you are, therefore, able to give the consumption per head of the Chinese adult male population for those 2 years. Can you give us the figures?—I have not worked the figures out, but the consumption in 1911 was 492,529 tahils, and the consumption in 1921 was 301,047 tahils. In 1911, the Chinese male population was 57,024, and in 1921 the Chinese male population was 79,066.

1088. Can you give us the figures of adult males?—I cannot, without reference to the Census Report.

1089. Have you worked out how much that represents per head of the male population?—I am afraid I have not.

1090. You will refresh your memory with the figures that you supplied to this Committee?—In 1911 it was 9·4 tahils per annum per Chinese adult male, and in 1921 it was 4·4 tahils for the same.

1091. That looks like an enormous drop; but in between you admit that it had risen?—Yes. In 1919 it was 538,670 tahils and in 1920 it was 583,285 tahils. Those were the two largest consumptions we have had.

1092. 1920 was the absolute record year?—Yes.

1093. What are the principal regulations concerning the use of chandu in Johore?—The Johore Chandu Enactment is on the same lines as that of the Straits Settlements. There have been, until recently, two kinds of licences, to sell by retail for consumption off the premises, and "on and off" licences, that is to say, to keep a chandu smoking shop and to sell by retail for consumption off the premises. Recently, a third form of licence has been added, which is an "on" licence only, *i.e.*, to keep a chandu smoking shop only. That third form of licence is at present only going to be applied in certain selected areas, that is to say, in Johore Bharu, Batu Pahat and Muar, and there the right to sell chandu by retail is, during 1924, being let out by tender.* So that, in those areas there will only be two kinds of licence, the "on" and the "off" licence, the "on and off" licences being confined to the less developed districts.

1094. That is, the town limits of these three places?—Yes.

1095. You say tenders are being called for?—Tenders have been received and accepted.

1096. Can you give us the idea of the Johore Government in putting them up to tender instead of licensing pure and simple as in the case of the Straits Settlements?—The idea of the Johore Government was that the number of licences in the towns was excessive and out of all relation to the requirements of the population. They, therefore, decided to reduce the number of licences. Further, I think, they had in mind ultimately the establishment of Government chandu shops in those areas.

1097. In the three townships you have mentioned, what difference will this tendering make in the number of the "off" licence shops?—In Johore Bharu it will reduce the number of "off" licences from 19 to 2; in Muar from 20 to 2 and in Batu Pahat from 16 to 2.

1098. Have you any figures for these smoking shops of the two descriptions?—Yes, I hand in a table.

1099. In this table the halves in the totals reflect the fact that licences are issued half-yearly?—Yes.

1100. Have you a copy of the regulations for these shops?—Yes; I hand in a copy of the Chandu Enactment together with an amendment slip; and here are the original rules which were made under the Enactment of 1911, which have since been modified.

1101. As to the price at which chandu is sold, is it one uniform price throughout the State of Johore?—Yes.

1102. Is it the same price as in Singapore?—It is.

1103. As to imports of chandu, only the Superintendent of Government Monopolies may import?—No; licensees may import from Singapore with the authority of the Superintendent. In Muar, Batu Pahat, Mersing, Cucob and Kota Tinggi, the licensees obtain direct from Singapore and not from Johore Bharu.

1104. That is for geographical convenience only?—Yes.

1105. Apart from that, no private individual in Johore may import chandu?—That is so.

1106. May a private individual export chandu?—No.

1107. Raw opium?—No.

1108. May the Government of Johore import raw opium or not?—I cannot say, but, in fact, it does not.

* Appendix LX.

1109. Nobody in the State of Johore, as far as you know, has any special reservations as regards the price of opium?—No.

1110. Are these smoking shops on this list regularly inspected by officers of the Monopolies?—They are inspected by officers of the Monopolies, but until recently the inspection has not been regular. The position has been strengthened now by making all Customs officers and Superintendents of Customs, Assistant Superintendents of Chandu *ex-officio*, and they have the power to inspect.

1111. *Mr. Jelf.*—And the Chinese Protectorate officers inspect also?—Yes.

1112. *Chairman.*—The hours for sale and to consume on the premises are from 7 A.M. to 10 P.M. Do you think it is necessary to have such long hours?—I should say it probably is. The reason is that in Johore the smoking shop licences are not well divided, there may be 3 grouped in one village and no more for several miles. The coolies come in after their work, they have some distance to come, and I do not think it would be reasonable to close down substantially earlier than the present hours.

1113. But why open at 7 o'clock in the morning?—I do not think it necessary to open so early; I was thinking more particularly of the hours at night.

1114. You hold no strong brief for opening as early as 7 A.M.?—No.

1115. You say there may be 2 or 3 shops in a village and no other shop for miles around. Why 2 or 3 shops in a village; why not only one?—As far as I know, there is no reason why there should not be only one in a village; but the fact remains that licences have been given out in this way. We are doing our best gradually to reduce the number.

1116. Speaking in your official capacity, do you think you would have any difficulty in obtaining enough Government servants to run enough Government shops for Johore?—I believe I could obtain the necessary staff.

1117. The table you have put in shows 461 at the present moment of the "off" and the "on and off" licences together. You would not have any difficulty in obtaining 461 Government servants to run 461 shops?—I understood the terms of reference to mean retail shops. You are now referring both to smoking shops and to "off" licences. That practically doubles the staff I had in mind. I was considering the question of retail shops only.

1118. Would you have any reasons against the Government taking over the "on and off"?—The objection would be the difficulty of administration. The taking over of retail shops would, comparatively speaking, be not difficult; the taking over of the smoking shops as well would involve the opening of shops at places where retail shops would not be necessary, and the result would be increased difficulty in administration, increased difficulty in obtaining or guarding supplies of chandu, and increased difficulty in accounting for receipts of money.

1119. But no difficulty in getting a Government officer to take charge of an "on and off" shop?—That I would not like to answer right away. I had not contemplated the question from the point of view of whether the smoking shops should be taken over by Government. I had gone into the matter from the point of view of retail shops. Personally, I think there would be, but I have not gone into the question.

1120. It is pretty clear, from what has come out in this enquiry, that we want to get a little better control over the dross than exists in the Colony at any rate. What proportion do you get back from your present "on and off" licensees?—The proportion should be 10 per cent of the chandu purchased.

1121. What is the relation between dross produced by chandu and the weight of the chandu? I would suggest to you that the dross produced by the smoking of chandu is one-half the weight of the original chandu. Is that about right?—I believe so but I should not like to affirm it or deny it.

1122. I put it to you that the Government servant in charge of a smoking shop will probably return you a higher percentage of the dross produced on his premises than a non-Government servant; what do you think?—I think that is probable.

1123. Dross is of value?—It is.

1124. And is much sought after for purposes of re-preparation or for swallowing, I understand?—That is so.

1125. We have been told that it is much more injurious to smoke the re-prepared, and infinitely more injurious to swallow the dross itself, than to smoke chandu. It is therefore desirable to get as high a percentage of the dross back to the Government as is possible?—I agree.

1126. *Dr. Galloway.*—You will also agree that the amount of dross left depends very much on the individual smoker. Some smokers will leave a very large amount of dross of a very strong nature; others will leave practically a dry ash?—Yes.

1127. *Chairman.*—I want to put to you as regards the "off" shops only; do you think if they were Government shops they could manage to get back any proportion of the dross from the people who came and purchased from them?—Yes, the proportion would be very small; there would be people who would sell back a proportion of their dross.

1128. What price are you willing to give for the dross?—We give at present $4.50 for first class dross and $1.50 for second class dross per tahil.

1129. *Mr. Jelf.*—What do you do with it?—We drop it into the sea.

1130. *Chairman.*—Except from the smoking shops there is not much return of dross?—No.

1131. And from the smoking shops, it is rather a matter of suasion and of looking after the retention of their licences than anything else?—Yes.

1132. I suggest that you do not give enough for your dross?—My experience is not sufficient to enable me to give a definite answer.

1133. Your experience is that you are not getting much at the present price. Do you think price has anything to do with the fact that you are only getting back that little?—Certainly; if we offered more we would get back more.

1134. *Mr. Jelf.*—Your figures show that there has been a reduction in consumption of about 50 per cent between 1911 and 1921. To what cause do you attribute that?—Chiefly to the rise in price.

1135. Could you give me the price in 1911?—I think it was then something in the neighbourhood of $5 and now it is $12.

1136. You have said that a great deal of opium is imported direct from Singapore. All those places you have mentioned are, I think, on the coast. That system was introduced when there were very few roads in Johore, and there is no particular reason why it should go on now?—No, except as a matter of convenience.

1137. Would it be more convenient, now that you have got roads to almost every place in Johore, to continue the present system or to pass everything through the Monopolies in Johore Bharu?—I think it would facilitate inspection and control if everything were passed through Johore Bharu. I should, however, prefer not to centralise distribution at Johore Bharu. It would, I consider, be better to establish chandu offices under Government control in the chief town in each district. These chandu offices would obtain their supplies from Singapore on requisition by the Assistant Superintendent for the district and retailers would purchase from them.

1138. Supposing the Government prohibited the importation of opium, has not Johore special facilities for smuggling?—Johore has got an extremely

long coast line and a coast line on the west coast which is full of creeks and small rivers all inter-connected, which would be, and are, extremely difficult to patrol.

1139. *Mr. McLean.*—Can you say whether there is very much smuggling at present?—I cannot say definitely.

1140. *Mr. Jelf.*—The Chinese population is, if I recollect right, about one-third of the total population of Johore. Do you consider that nationalities other than Chinese smoke opium?—I have not got any evidence to that effect.

1141. Have you ever heard of much swallowing of opium in Johore, as opposed to smoking it?—No, I have not.

1142. During your residence in Brunei, did you come across opium smoking by other than Chinese?—There was a very small amount by some of the up-country tribes, Dusuns and Bisayas; but not to any serious extent.

1143. *Mr. McLean.*—Is it not the case that until last year there was a Malay Officer in charge of the Chandu Monopolies in Johore?—Until last year the Protector of Chinese was also Superintendent of Government Monopolies.

1144. He was a Malay Officer?—Yes. My predecessor Mr. F. E. TAYLOR assumed duty as Superintendent, Chandu Monopoly in addition to his duties as Commissioner of Trade and Customs on 1st January, 1923.

1145. How much chandu may a private person have in his possession in Johore without a licence?—7½ tahils.

1146. Do you know how much a private person in Singapore is allowed to have?—I do not know; but I see the Enactment in Johore provides for 3 tahils.

1147. *Mr. Jelf.*—Then why is he allowed 7½ tahils?—That is allowed by rule and the reason is this. There are a number of chandu shops on estates where it is strongly suspected that chandu is being sold on credit and the price deducted from wages—the truck system. It was decided to cancel all those licences, and that will be done next year. To avoid the difficulty of coolies eternally having to leave the estate to go down to a village to buy chandu, the amount of chandu which one man is allowed to have in his possession was increased.

1148. *Chairman.*—There is provision for the State Secretary to grant special permits to people other than adult male Chinese to buy opium. Are those permits frequently issued?—Only to the Principal Medical Officer; apart from that, as far as I know, there is no other such permit issued.

1149. That does not apply then to any Malays in Johore who may wish to smoke?—No.

1150. If a Malay wished to smoke, he would have to get a permit from the State Secretary in order to enable him to buy the chandu to smoke?—Yes.

1151. *Dr. Galloway.*—But there is nothing definite in the Ordinance or in the Rules prohibiting the sale of chandu directly to a Malay?—Yes, it does appear in the Ordinance.

1152. *Mr. McLean.*—What class of Government servant would you put in charge of Government shops?—An officer of the class of a clerk.

1153. Would he be a Malay?—Personally, I should prefer Chinese.

1154. How many Government servants would you require for all these shops?—For each shop you would require a keeper, a salesman and two watchmen

1155. How many would that be altogether; can you give a rough number?—Take altogether 200 shops, including smoking shops; that would be 400 of the clerk class and 400 of the watchman class.

1156. And would it be easy to get 400 Chinese in Johore?—We should have to get them from Singapore.

1157. Could you get them easily from Singapore, do you think?—My information is that there is not likely to be any difficulty as to staff, and, judging by the number of applications I received for appointments in Government service when I was in the Secretariat here, I should say there is no difficulty in obtaining as many of the clerk class as we should require. I am assuming that these Government shops would be opened gradually and not simultaneously.

1158. *Mr. Jelf.*—Is it not the policy of the Johore Government to employ its own nationals in the Clerical service and other Government employment?—That is so; my answer to the previous question was "personally I should prefer Chinese"; my answer was made subject to the policy of the Johore Government.

1159. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you wish to say anything about the registration of the opium smokers and the fixing of a maximum limit to the amount a man can buy?—It is a matter in which I have had extremely short experience and which I have not dealt with from the point of view of an expert at all; but so far as Johore is concerned, if it were possible to introduce registration and limitation elsewhere, it would be possible to introduce it in Johore, so long as it was done slowly and carefully and step-by-step.

1160. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you mean by that district by district?—District by district, beginning in the developed districts, and, as the country opened up, gradually spreading.

1161. *Chairman.*—But, what would the first step, the "only one that costs", be?—I do not think that the first step would be taken by the Johore Government. I said, step by step, but I meant to say that it would not be possible to introduce a system over the whole of Johore and hope to make it effective in the matter of a few months. You could, for instance, introduce registration of smokers in the town in Johore Bharu or Muar, to begin with, and gradually, as your staff grew, and as your staff grew accustomed to the work, extend the system.

1162. Then the poor fellow who came on the "bust" from up-country to Johore Bharu could not get any opium at all because he would not be registered in Johore Bharu?—No, he would have to buy in his own district. I do not understand why people should come on the "bust" to the towns; they would have the shops in their own districts from which they could buy.

1163. *Mr. Jelf.*—Supposing a man came to Johore Bharu on a holiday, say, during the Chinese New Year; he would not be allowed to smoke?—As long as he is allowed to carry 7½ tahils on him, there would not be any difficulty.

1164. But would he be allowed under this registration scheme?—I cannot say.

1165. *Chairman.*—I am getting at this; you might licence district by district; but I say you may register straight off for the whole State by giving the smoker the right to purchase chandu anywhere if he produces his pass; you may do that?—To issue to each smoker a pass on which he could purchase elsewhere?

1166. Only those who have cards would be allowed to purchase; that I quite understand?—I personally should have thought that the only way would be to register each man to purchase at such and such a shop. That is the only way I can see in which you can keep any control over what he purchases.

1167. I am afraid, you are confusing the two terms, registration and licencing. Mr. WILSON said they were one and indivisible. I think that they were divisible?—I agree with Mr. WILSON.

1168. *Dr. Galloway.*—The one is the natural sequence of the other?—I agree.

1169. Have you had many complaints as to the method of packing chandu?—No, I have not.

1170. Your 3-hoon packet in a bamboo leaf, have you had any complaints of short weight in regard to them?—No; we have not, but you must remember that the main part of the licensees obtain theirs direct from Singapore and the complaint would not come to me.

1171. At the same time you think probably that a more accurate way of packing might be better than a bamboo leaf?—Yes, I imagine that the system could be improved upon.

1172. *Mr. Chan.*—You gave us certain figures of the quantity of opium sold year by year. Do these figures include the opium imported direct from the Singapore Monopolies?—Yes, the amount imported by licensees as well as the amount imported into Johore Bharu.

1173. *Chairman.*—And the sales would be about equivalent to the consumption; the stocks in the hands of licensees would remain constant?—Yes.

1174. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are there any Kangchu rights for selling chandu still existing in Johore?—There are none existing.

1175. *Mr. McLean.*—Will it be any more difficult to introduce Government shops in Johore than in Singapore or the Federated Malay States?—It would be somewhat more difficult.

1176. Not much more difficult?—No, I do not think it would be seriously more difficult.

1177. *Mr. Jelf.*—Why would it be more difficult?—It would be more difficult partly because the policy of the Johore Government is to recruit its staff from the natives of the country and it would take some time to train the required staff.

This concluded Mr. CATOR's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Sixth Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 12TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE was called.

1178. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LOKE CHOW THYE.

1179. What is your occupation?—Tin miner.

1180. What is your age?—51.

1181. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

1182. China-born or Straits-born?—Straits-born.

1183. You are an officer of the Anti-opium Society in Selangor?—Yes, I am the President.

1184. You are also President of the Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Selangor Miners' Association?—Yes.

1185. How long have you been an officer of the Anti-opium Society?—About 12 years.

1186. And you have been a member of that Society for how long?—About the same period.

1187. What is the membership of the Anti-opium Society in Selangor at the present time; about how many?—Over 300.

1188. Have you held many meetings in the recent past on the opium question?—Yes.

1189. Are you yourself an advocate of immediate prohibition of opium or of gradual suppression?—Gradual suppression.

1190. Do you know anything of the opium position in China at the present time?—Yes.

1191. Do you know that it has been said by a distinguished anti-opiumist that China is at present growing twice as much opium as all the rest of the world put together?—I saw it stated in the papers.

1192. Do you believe it?—I cannot say.

1193. It is a very important point. It was Sir JOHN JORDAN who said that about a month ago. I presume he is the leading British advocate of the prohibition of opium and he is also one of the most experienced Britishers in regard to China. That is what he says, and what was said at Geneva was, at any rate, that China was growing more than all the rest of the world put together. Are you prepared to accept anything like that?—From what I saw in the papers recently, it would appear that they had to grow poppy in China in order to pay the army.

1194. That does not look as though the general feeling in China was very strong against the opium habit, though, does it?—The Government themselves are very strongly in favour of the abolition of opium altogether and it is considered illegal to either plant the poppy or smoke opium in China. The law is there, but it is infringed.

1195. Do you agree that the law in China as regards the prohibition of opium is a dead-letter?—That may be.

1196. Do you think all the opium that is now grown in China is consumed there, or do you think some of it is being exported to other countries?—I think most of it is consumed there, because, for the reason that it is an illegal thing to sell, those who smoke opium can only get it at a very exorbitant price. Not only do they grow opium in China, but drugs, other than opium, are still being smuggled into China.

1197. From where?—That I cannot say.

1198. If China is a bigger producer of opium than all the rest of the world put together, there is no need to smuggle any more in?—I do not admit that more opium is grown in China than in all the rest of the world.

1199. You are not willing to accept that?—No.

1200. *Mr. Jelf.*—But you do admit that smuggling into China goes on?—Yes, smuggling of deleterious drugs.

1201. *Dr. Galloway.*—My suggestion to you is that we should treat deleterious drugs and opium as two distinct entities on quite different footings, they should not be mixed up?—I agree.

1202. *Chairman.*—I suggest that it is not difficult to smuggle opium from China into British Malaya?—That is so.

1203. I have in mind the fact that it is not necessary to run the risk of detection in the large ports; it is quite possible to bring it in through the small creeks on the western side of the Malay Peninsula?—Yes, that is so.

1204. If this Government prohibited opium and China still grew opium, would it not be necessary to examine every article brought into the country and the person of every immigrant into the country to see that opium was not secreted in any article and not carried on the person?—If opium is sold in China dearer than in these parts, there would be no inducement for it to be smuggled into this place. I can prove that opium is sold in China dearer than we are selling it in the Federated Malay States.

1205. I wonder what kind of proof you can give as regards that?—The price of opium in the Federated Malay States is about $13 a tahil. In Canton, where the raw opium is sold, the price is between $5 and $6 a tahil; but that is for inferior quality. The ordinary smoker has to take 3 times as much of that kind of opium as of the opium he can get here to satisfy himself.

1206. But that is not the price that is given in the proceedings at Geneva this year. There it is shown as $2 to $3 per tahil?—My information is from people who have recently come from China.

1207. If you are going to attempt to keep smuggled opium out of here, search must become more rigorous than it is at present. Do you think the Chinese like the present methods of search?—Of course it will be a nuisance to those people who have to undergo the search.

1208. There is a certain amount of resentment at the present searchings?—Yes.

1209. There is a certain amount of corruption in connection with the search at the present time, and, as time goes on towards suppression and search becomes more rigorous, it will be applied in a corrupt manner in order to make money by leaving people alone; is not that so?—Even without prohibition I believe such corruption goes on at present.

1210. Any members of the Anti-opium Society or any anti-opiumist who came into the country would be liable also to the most rigorous searches. Are they prepared for that?—I think so. If a man is honest, he is not afraid of being searched. We have to go through the Customs House everywhere.

1211. To indicate the amount of possible searching, I would tell you that we have had figures given to us for Chinese immigration and emigration here, and we judge that the China-born part of the population turns over completely in something like 7 years. Would you agree with that?—Yes.

1212. Do many of the Straits-born Chinese smoke opium?—There used to be a lot, but I think it has now decreased considerably.

1213. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you think that that is entirely due to the propaganda of the Anti-opium Societies?—I think so, and especially by stopping smoking in the brothels and in private houses and clubs. The Straits-born Chinese generally contracted the habit in the brothels.

1214. By propaganda a strong anti-opium feeling exists among the Straits-born Chinese?—Yes.

1215. *Chairman.*—How many China-born members are there in the Anti-opium Society in Selangor?—I cannot tell you right away.

1216. Are the members mostly Straits-born?—Yes.

1217. Do many women and non-adults smoke?—I think many Chinese women in Selangor do smoke opium.

1218. Old women or young?—Middle-aged women.

1219. Cantonese ladies, for example?—Yes.

1220. When you say many would you suggest a percentage?—It is very difficult to give a percentage.

1221. Out of 100 women, how many women smoke?—I really cannot say.

1222. Many Chinese ladies amongst your acquaintances?—Very few.

1223. Among non-adults, do many smoke?—Not that I know of.

1224. Then the habit is practically confined to China-born adults?—Yes, the majority of smokers are China-born, and the great majority are adults.

1225. What are your views on the principal adverse effects of opium smoking as practised in the Malay Peninsula?—Opium smokers generally cannot work or do as good a day's work as non-smokers; and it makes it difficult for them to pay their way with the present high cost of living.

1226. Is that your own experience as an employer of labour?—Yes.

1227. You are not, in fact, solely quoting the Anti-opium Society's pronounced opinion; you are speaking as an employer of many thousands of coolies in your time?—That is so.

1228. Have you ever got rid of a man solely because he was an opium smoker?—If I could get a non-smoker to take his place, I would dispense with the opium smoker.

1229. *Dr. Galloway.*—You cannot always get non-smoking coolies to replace the smokers. In other words, the supply of coolies is not always up to the demand: is that so?—Twenty odd years ago, when we first got the coolies in, we got healthy coolies into the mines. Six months later they contracted the habit of opium smoking. In those days they could get opium easily; the mines supplied them with raw opium and there was no chandu monopoly. They cooked the opium and it was sold very cheaply in comparison with the present price. In the case of those, especially, who live in the jungle and not near the towns, having no other amusements, they pass their time smoking opium.

1230. *Chairman.*—Would not you do the same?—No, I know it is bad, so I would not do it.

1231. I suggest to you that in the days when gambling facilities were recognised and when all over the States there was more in the way of relaxation for the coolies than there is now, there was probably less opium smoking amongst them than there is now?—I do not agree with that.

1232. As to your measures which would result in eventual suppression, what are they?—My suggestion is that all opium smokers in the State—I am only referring to the place I come from—should be registered so that those who do not smoke will not be licensed after a certain time.

1233. Are you backing Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme* ?—Yes.

1234. Have you examined that scheme exhaustively?—Yes, I have a copy of it here.

1235. Do you think it is a workable scheme?—Yes, I think so.

1236. Do you think it can be made effective?—I think so.

1237. Would you hold that even if it is not really effective it is bound to be beneficial?—Yes, it is bound to be beneficial.

1238. Registration and licensing of smokers; do you admit that that is an almost unpardonable interference with the liberty of the subject?—No; there are other places, such as the Netherlands East Indies and Formosa and Rangoon where smokers are licensed.

1239. You do not know whether in each of those places the measures are absolutely effective?—I know that they are very effective in Formosa.

1240. You do not think it is an interference with the liberty of the subject?—No, I do not think so.

1241. Don't you agree, really, that if we are going to be logical at all we should register everybody who wants to buy his *Stengah*† ?—That is altogether a different thing. Opium is very injurious to a man's health and is classed as a poison; and I believe there is a law existing that poisons may not be sold to any person unless specially prescribed by a doctor.

1242. *Dr. Galloway.*—I thought we had agreed that we should keep the question of drug actions and that of opium actions separate?—Yes, but is opium a poison or not?

1243. I have never known a death from opium smoking. I think that for all practical purposes we should keep opium by itself. Did you recognise any difference between the nature of the population in Formosa and the nature of our population. The immigrants into Formosa are very few; they are a fixed population?—Yes, that is so.

1244. So far as I can make out from figures, 85 per cent of our adult male Chinese are immigrants and cannot be called a stable population. Do you think that that makes any difference in the difficulties of registration?—It does increase the difficulties.

1245. *Chairman.*—How many smokers would you have to register and licence, under Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme, in the Federated Malay States?—Of that I could have no knowledge until the registration was effected.

1246. You are not prepared to hazard any guess as to how many opium smokers there are in the Federated Malay States?—I think you are in a better position to know that than myself.

1247. *Mr. Jelf.*—Has not the Anti-opium Society got any figures of those who smoke?—No; how could we get them?

1248. *Chairman.*—Would you say there are a very large number—many thousands?—There used to be a great number, but it is very much reduced.

1249. Then, if the number is very much reduced, why take any further measures. With reduction going on, will it not die out?—I think that Government should take some steps to eliminate the supply of this poison.

1250. *Dr. Galloway.*—But there is such a thing as demand. If there was no demand for the stuff, it would not be supplied?—Yes, but if you have the registration system the demand will not be increased. Only those who

* *See* Appendix LXXII. † Half Whisky and Soda.

were smokers would be allowed to smoke until their death, and the non-smoker would have no inducement to acquire the habit. If you do not limit the supply, naturally the number of smokers will increase.

1251. But are we supplying more than the demand?—If anybody can go and buy chandu, naturally the supply is greater than the demand.

1252. From what you said a few minutes ago, I gather that at the time you spoke of, 20 odd years ago, you thought that a large number of coolies acquired the opium smoking habit here. Do you think that that still obtains?—I still think that the majority of opium smokers here acquire the habit after they come to this place.

1253. Is that because they have more money to buy chandu than they had in China?—Quite so; they get a better wage here, whereas in China they could not afford it.

1254. You still think that a large number of the smokers among the coolies contract the habit here. We have a very useful table here, the result of an examination of 6 ships from China during November of this year. The total number of adult deck passengers was 2,987 and the number of opium smokers among those was 585: the percentage among the *laukhehs* was 31 per cent and the percentage among the *sinkhehs* was 13 per cent?—Those *laukhehs* might have contracted the habit before they returned to China.

1255. Quite so; but they did not drop it in China. And then, as regards the 13 per cent of *sinkhehs* coming down addicted to opium, so far as we have been able to get the figures; I think that is rather more than the average for the whole of the Federated Malay States and Straits Settlements?—Why not try and obtain figures over a longer period—say 6 months?

1256. I admit that the data are insufficient, but they give you an idea of the prevalence of opium smoking at present in China. While opium is so largely used in China as at the present moment, can we do anything towards suppressing its use here?—Yes, registration of the in-coming immigrants.

1257. *Chairman.*—At any rate, there are a great number of smokers in the place at the present moment; we are agreed on that?—Yes.

1258. It will require a large staff to register those, apart from issuing licences for the amounts they may buy?—Yes.

1259. And one-seventh of them will have to be re-registered every year if the population turns over once in 7 years?—That is so.

1260. So that until the habit dies out, quite a large staff will be required to run the thing?—Yes.

1261. Then, all that staff will not be Europeans, like myself, or high class Chinese, like yourself; there will be more *chintings*?—Yes; but if they have to come and get their licences I do not see why you require more *chintings*.

1262. *Dr. Galloway.*—There will be more smuggling?—Yes.

1263. *Chairman.*—There will also be a very large class of informers against the people who are breaking the registration law grow up and "planting" will become common. They will "plant" a pipe in an innocent man's establishment and then come and say that that man, who, perhaps, has never smoked in his life, is a smoker?—But it is not an offence, because they are allowed to smoke and they have only to get a licence.

1264. That is true, but it is an offence to drive a motor car if you have not got a licence?—But if that licence is easily procurable, I do not see why there should be any trouble of that sort.

1265. But you do not mean to suggest that informers and *chintings* and the lower order of Chinese are incorruptibles. I am suggesting to you quite definitely from very vast experience of the question that the amount of corruption that will arise with this registration and licensing is the most

damning factor in it?—If they can get their licence easily, I do not see why there should be any trouble.

1266. You are going to make a relaxation into a crime; don't forget that?—In what way?

1267. What are the penalty clauses in Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S system. In a form of legislation which savours of interference with the liberty of the subject, the most important features are the penalty clauses. Would you let us know under Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme what sort of punishments are you going to impose for breaches of the regulations. Are you going to send a man to gaol the first time, or the second time or the third time?—Why should a man who can easily get his licence smoke without a licence?

1268. *Mr. Jelf.*—But if he is ashamed of smoking, he would be ashamed to come and ask for a licence?—If he had a craving for the habit he would be obliged to come for his licence.

1269. And if he does not?—He would not be able to get his smoke.

1270. And if he is found out smoking?—He cannot get his opium without a licence.

1271. But supposing he is found smoking?—(No answer).

1272. *Chairman.*—Do you know any one of the leading Chinese in the Federated Malay States who smokes opium?—Yes.

1273. Will he do all these things that you say. Will he come willingly to the place which is known as the place of registration of these infamous people who smoke opium?—I think so. I am sure he is sorry now that he has acquired the habit.

1274. Don't you think that, being a rich man, he would prefer not to come, knowing that he could buy opium on the quiet?—I do not think he will commit such an offence. He has only to come and get himself registered.

1275. *Dr. Galloway.*—He might send a servant to be registered?—That is another point. You should register only those who require opium. If you registered everybody who came forward, many would make a business of it.

1276. *Mr. Jelf.*—How would you know a man who required it?—By examination: I can tell every smoker.

1277. *Chairman.*—If I give you a parade of 100 Chinese of the lower classes, can you pick out the moderate smokers?—I can, every time.

1278. *Dr. Galloway.*—What would be the limit that you would put on a moderate smoker?—1 to 2 chees a day.

1279. *Mr. McLean.*—Would it be the same allowance for all smokers?—That, of course, would depend on the man's position.

1280. What do you mean by his position?—What he has been accustomed to.

1281. How would you know how much he was accustomed to?—By the look of the man.

1282. *Mr. Jelf.*—You say that opium is a poison; but the only thing you have said as to its bad effect is that opium smokers are lazy: so that, anything that makes a man lazy is poison?—Not only that; it has an injurious internal effect.

1283. Assuming a hoon a pipe, how many pipes would you consider a moderate smoker?—About 10 pipes a day.

1284. What would you consider a moderate drinker of European liquors—whisky-sodas?—3 *stengahs* a day.

1285. If two men came to you, one of whom was a moderate opium smoker—10 pipes a day—and the other a moderate whisky drinker, which would you engage?—I would engage the whisky drinker for preference.

1286. Then you think opium is more harmful than alcohol?—Very much more.

1287. *Chairman.*—To the Chinese?—To Chinese or to any other nationality.

1288. *Mr. Jelf.*—Even to a moderate smoker, say one who smokes 5 or 6 pipes a day?—Yes.

1289. *Mr. Chan.*—Is there any tendency on the part of the opium smoker to increase his dose?—The tendency is very great: a man who may be a moderate smoker this year will be a heavy smoker next year if he has the means to buy the opium.

1290. *Mr. Jelf.*—But if he is a salaried man and his salary does not increase he cannot increase the dose?—That is so.

1291. *Mr. Chan.*—So that his dose is limited by his means or his will power?—Yes.

1292. It is not the same with the drinker, is it?—No.

1293. *Mr. Jelf.*—If opium was prohibited in this country, what effect would it have on the labour coming from China. Would it curtail it?—I do not think it will affect the immigrants at all.

1294. Although in those chance ships from which figures were obtained 20 per cent were smokers?—Once they know in China that opium cannot be got unless they have a licence and that after a certain time they would not get a licence, I do not think the opium smokers will come here. At the same time I do not think it would affect the labour supply.

1295. *Chairman.*—Did you join that confederacy of mine-owners 15 years ago to say that they would not employ an opium smoker?—Yes.

1296. Why did that drop out?—Things, after a certain time, got lax; not because they could not get labour.

1297. In fact, you got tired of being good?—Oh, we did a lot of good at that time; many opium smokers gave up the habit and were cured. It is the same with everything Chinese, they do not complete what they have set their hand to.

1298. I suggest that that confederacy, as I call it, never was effective at all; that it was mere eye-wash; that, in point of fact, not one of the members of it ever sacked a coolie because he was an opium smoker. I suggest that they did not carry into effect their excellent intentions?—The intentions were carried into effect to a certain extent.

1299. The ordinary Chinese trader of any description is not going to cut his own throat unless all his fellow-traders cut their throats at the same time?—It does not follow: the people are not all under the same conditions.

1300. Does the purse come before any form of sentiment with the Chinese?—With some people it does.

1301. *Mr. Chan.*—That is the case with some people of other nationalities as well?—It may be.

1302. *Chairman.*—Talking of your registration and licensing; what are you going to do about the permits of those who go back to China?—They would have to surrender them.

1303. Who is going to see that they do surrender them?—Even if they do not surrender them, they will be useless to other people.

1304. Not if they have only got a photograph on them; that will not stop the use of the licences by other people. My point is this. We have said that we have got to keep out smuggled opium under this system of registration by much more rigorous searchings. But I suggest that we have also got to go in for much more rigorous searchings in order to make quite certain that we get the permits of those going back to China back again. Would you agree with that?—Why rigorous searchings? If there is smuggling at present, without registration, there will be smuggling just the same. Registration will not increase smuggling.

1305. Is it not essential for the success of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM's scheme, to get this surrender of the permits from the people who are going back to China?—In that scheme it is provided that if a man does not go for his supply for 7 days his permit will be cancelled.

1306. This is a permit in the possession of a person which can be put to improper use by handing on to somebody else, because a blurred photograph is not sufficient to identify a person by. Surely it is essential to the success of the scheme that you must be certain that everybody who holds a permit is in Malaya and not in China?—If there was a photograph on the permit, I do not think it could be misused.

1307. Do you think you could ever identify a *sinkheh* by his photograph?—I think in 75 per cent of cases a man could be identified by his photograph. It would be difficult to identify from a very old photograph; but with the constant change in the population there would have to be fresh photographs every 7 years.

1308. If you have not got the permits back again, you are steadily mounting up to an enormous number of registered smokers. I consider that surrender of his permit by an emigrant is absolutely essential to the success of that scheme. How would every shop-keeper in Malaya know that a certain person's permit had been cancelled by his absence from Malaya or for other reasons?—If we make it a point that the permit holder must come and get the opium personally, then the permit would be of no use to any other person.

1309. Is that going to be part of this scheme?—I think so, in order to make it effective.

1310. What about the poor man *in extremis* who is very ill indeed and who cannot go and buy it himself. You agree that there would be a certain amount of unfairness in that?—Yes.

1311. *Dr. Galloway.*—The ordinary working coolie has not the time to go to the shop and get his opium?—In that case the permit would be of no use.

1312. *Chairman.*—You know there are mines right "at the back of beyond". Are those mine coolies coming down a great number of miles through jungle paths to the nearest opium shop to get their supplies of opium personally?—They would have to do it once a week, or that period could be modified to once a month.

1313. *Mr. Jelf.*—How often do mine coolies get their wages?—Once a month.

1314. Then how do you propose to carry out sections 5 and 15? Section 5 is:—"Permit holders shall be allowed to purchase for one week's consumption at a time", and 15:—"If a permit holder fails to purchase chandu for 7 days, the permit shall be cancelled". I suggest that those two sections are quite unworkable in very many cases though they may be all very well in a town?—In a town the coolies would get their supply practically daily.

1315. How about a distant mine. Take the Rahman Hydraulic Mines in Upper Perak for instance. How could those coolies come down every week to get their supplies?—One week is only a suggestion; it could be amended to one month.

1316. *Chairman.*—Then you must allow hoarding: if you allow a month, you will have to allow six months?—What is the difference in that if he has a permit and he takes it legally. If his permit allows him a chee a day, if he prefers to come down once a month, he could buy 30 chees. If he is going to hoard it for 6 months, you write down on his permit that he has purchased his supply for 6 months.

1317. *Mr. Jelf.*—And he is going to lock that up in his mining *kongsi* for himself?—Yes, for his own use.

1318. His friends would not come by night and take it away?—I do not think so. Talking of the coolie, he could not afford to hoard for 6 months.

1319. *Chairman.*—The coolie must be dependent on the "advancer" for his supply of opium?—That is so.

1320. And no matter what truck laws there may be in the Federated Malay States, he must be dependent on the "advancer". As long as opium is obtainable by the coolies, the "advancer" must look after the supply?—Yes.

1321. Therefore, the "advancer" really becomes the representative of a whole lot of these permit holders?—It is against the law for the "advancer" to supply in kind; he must pay cash to the coolies.

1322. My point is this. I mean that these coolies up in the back lands have no relaxation at all; they have a rotten time, really, and they must have a certain amount of amusement. It is not to the advantage of the developing miner to let the coolies go down to the town and be away from the mine. Therefore, these people must either go without opium or they must have special arrangements made for them?—Yes.

1323. You admit that if you are going to permit the town coolie to obtain his opium, the up-country coolie is deserving of far better treatment than the town coolie—he is doing development work and the town coolie is not. Is that so?—Yes, that is so.

1324. Special arrangements are, therefore, absolutely necessary in regard to the distant population?—I quite agree.

1325. Having studied this subject, and Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM's paper, I am inclined to think that these special arrangements, which I am perfectly satisfied are necessary if we are going to be just at all, are going to wreck that scheme: that is my impression?—In what way?

1326. This is one of those interferences with the liberty of the subject which must either be applied to every individual without making these exceptions, or it is of no value at all. There are more of the people that I have mentioned, who will require special arrangements made for them, the up-country coolies, in the Federated Malay States than those who live in the towns and villages. Therefore, you have got to make more exceptions to the rules than those to whom the rules are applicable. For that reason I say "wreck that scheme"?—Of course, it is not an easy question and we shall have to think a lot how to regulate it.

1327. Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM has put up this scheme for criticism, so you will understand that these questions and your answers are in the nature of criticisms of that scheme?—Yes, I understand.

1328. I still insist that this is a grave interference with the liberty of the subject, and, therefore, requires the consent and the goodwill of the vast majority of the population affected in order to make it effective in operation. Do you agree with that?—They know it is a bad thing; if the Government would only be willing to help a way could be found.

1329. This thing not only wants the goodwill of the China-born Chinese even more than the Straits-born Chinese, but it wants steady and persistent

help to the Government to carry out successfully an interference with the liberty of the subject such as this is. Would you agree with that?—Yes.

1330. I myself want to probe what the extent of the anti-opium feeling is amongst the Chinese population that is affected by this habit. Is it an opinion that can keep at fever heat for the whole length of time that is required to make Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme effective, or not?—I am quite confident that it will be a success. It is my hope that this thing will be eliminated gradually.

1331. *Mr. Jelf.*—What do you mean by gradually?—Let the old smokers die out, and do not register any new smokers.

1332. *Chairman.*—Is *a laukheh* going to be registered or not; supposing on his previous visit he was a smoker?—The *laukheh* should be registered.

1333. *Mr. Jelf.*—How long do you think this would take?—Could you name a period of years for all the old smokers to die out?—One generation. I take the age of the majority of smokers as 30; if they all lived up to 60, it would take 30 years.

1334. You would not register any *sinkheh*?—No, I would not.

1335. It does not matter if he was smoking opium in China?—The object of our Association is to prohibit all new-comers from smoking. If you allow fresh registration, it will never come to an end.

1336. Then, if you are going to be logical, you must refuse to allow the *laukheh* to be re-registered?—(No reply).

1337. *Mr. McLean.*—How would you know if a man was a *laukheh* or a *sinkheh*?—*Laukheh* means a person who has already been here who goes back to China and then returns to this place: he would be a *laukheh* and not a *sinkheh*.

1338. *Mr. Jelf.*—What paper would he have by him to show he was a *laukheh*?—He would have the number of his original licence.

1339. Would he ever remember the number of his licence?—It would be his duty to remember it.

1340. It would require a tremendous number of books and a very large staff?—In spite of that, it is worth doing.

1341. *Chairman.*—We have been told that the Hokkiens smoke much more than the Cantonese; is that your experience?—I cannot say.

1342. With regard to the question of the surrender of the licence when a person is going back to China, Mr. HO SIAK KUAN, who is one of the leading Chinese in the Peninsula, suggested that the employer should be made responsible for the surrender of the licence of the coolie who was returning to China from his employ. Are you willing to agree to that?—I think that is a good suggestion to make it effective.

1343. Do you think employers would be willing to undertake still further responsibilities?—If they are willing to help this scheme, I do not see why they should not; there is no trouble in that.

1344. What we want to get at is how much trouble, and how much trouble over a long time, are those that are keen willing to take, and how much trouble can they make those who are not keen take. Do you think the influence of the Anti-opium Society is enormous, or not?—I think it is.

1345. Not only for talk, but for work?—It depends on what kind of work. I think they are willing to help the Government in every way to suppress this.

1346. That is the 200 or 300 in the Anti-opium Society?—There would be any number if we carried on propaganda work to join the Association.

1347. Supposing you could have a referendum amongst the China-born Chinese in Selangor, shall we say; if you could refer to every one of them and they were allowed to vote for suppression of opium or otherwise, which way, do you think, the vote would go?—For suppression.

1348. Do you think it would be a vote by a large majority?—Yes.

1349. A two-thirds majority, like a Company requires when it is going to make a big move?—The Chinese people do not take interest in this sort of thing.

1350. They do not take enough interest to do anything active in this matter?—They know it is a good thing, yet they are not sufficiently energetic to do things and carry them out effectively.

1351. But this question of the suppression of opium is far more than interviews with the highest in the land where you talk and you suggest that you are going to make it effective. If you are going to make the suppression of opium effective, you have undoubtedly got to have the goodwill of 90 per cent of the Chinese here. Have you got that, or can you acquire that?—Why require so high a percentage? I daresay even the smokers themselves would be agreeable to this system.

1352. That is to say, they would even sign a memorial for getting it?—I do not know about that.

1353. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You are President of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Mines. Do you think that the majority of the members of these two associations would agree if the Government took strong measures to suppress the smoking of chandu?—They have unanimously passed a resolution to that effect.

1354. Are there any smokers amongst the members of those associations?—There are one or two, but they repent of having acquired the habit.

1355. *Dr. Galloway.*—We have had a good deal of evidence showing that there is a strong feeling as to the superiority of the non-smoker over the smoker; and I think it is safe to say that there has been a steady decrease in the consumption of opium per individual during the last few years. Don't you think that if the present system were simply continued and tightened up a bit, especially if the feeling that a non-smoker is better than a smoker in all the industries were strengthened, that in a very short time that would be sufficient to extinguish the opium?—But you must cut the supply at the source. If you allow it to come in, you cannot expect that it will be eliminated.

1356. There I differ from you. I look at it purely from the point of view of demand. If there were no demand, there would be no supply?—I have already given the answer to that. The supply is greater than the demand.

1357. But the supply is not more than the demand; it simply meets the demand and no more. Your plan is to interfere with the supply; my plan is to interfere with the demand?—I think both things will have to work together.

1358. Do you think that in the present condition of China, we have very much chance of success in suppressing opium. Put in another way, don't you think that our opium position here is exactly the same as in China. If opium smoking is plentiful in China, it is also very common here?—If they cannot get opium so easily here, I do not think the demand will increase.

1359. Assuming that the supply of opium were very much diminished, would not there be a risk of morphia and such drugs coming in?—But by registration we do not prohibit them; we still give them opium. If they can get opium, they need not go in for such kinds of drugs.

1360. But you are putting difficulties in the way of their getting opium?—No difficulties.

1361. I think you must admit that all this registration is a difficulty—a very great difficulty?—I do not think so.

1362. Do you know many who swallow opium or dross?—I know that the lower class coolies do.

1363. Is it a very common habit?—When they have not got the money to buy chandu, they have to go in for swallowing dross.

1364. Then you think it is purely a question of the cost of chandu?—Yes.

1365. *Mr. Chan.*—Are there any other Anti-opium Societies in the Federated Malay States?—Yes, there is the Perak Anti-opium Society. There used to be one in Singapore and one in Penang.

1366. *Mr. Jelf.*—Are not the two in Singapore and Penang practically dead now?—Yes, so I have heard.

1367. *Mr. Chan.*—Do you know the membership of the one in Ipoh?—I have no idea.

1368. Is there one in Negri Sembilan?—Yes.

1369. *Mr. Jelf.*—I see that section 19 of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme says,—"No permit shall be issued to new consumers except immigrant labourers". So he proposes to go on issuing permits to coolies, apparently?—I think by that is meant that new-comers must have it certified that they have acquired the habit already. Those who have already acquired the habit in China and come here must have it certified that they have acquired the habit. The point of that is that if the scheme is applied to immigrant labourers it will adversely affect the supply of labour.

1370. *Mr. Chan.*—Would not that wreck your scheme, unless you limit the registration of new-comers to a certain period?—I, personally, think that we ought to have a limit of time.

1371. *Chairman.*—You will report to your Society that you have been here and given evidence, I presume?—Yes, and I shall be obliged if you will let me have a copy of the report of my evidence.

1372. Certainly; you shall have it soon, and we trust that you will show it to your Society?—Yes, I shall do so.

This concluded Mr. LOKE CHOW THYE'S evidence.

Colonel J. H. TYTE was called.

1373. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—JOHN HOWARD TYTE.

1374. You have been in Malaya 22 years?—Yes.

1375. You are Inspector of Prisons, Straits Settlements, at present?—Yes.

1376. For how long have you been Inspector of Prisons?—2 years.

1377. You have had a census of opium smokers recently taken in the Criminal Prison in Singapore?—Yes; I hand in a summary* of the census.

1378. You have to deal with cases of prisoners who do not carry out their allotted tasks?—Yes.

1379. Do you have many appeals from Chinese prisoners that they cannot do their allotted task because of the compulsory abstention from opium?—No, not as a rule, because the prison routine makes allowances for these people. Every man, when he comes into the prison, is examined by the doctor and if he is found to be suffering from the effects of opium he is given special treatment and light labour.

1380. Does the special treatment and light labour go on for a long time?—Usually, not for a long time; 2 or 3 weeks.

1381. And after that period he can do the ordinary hard labour of rigorous imprisonment?—Yes.

1382. Has the excuse of opium smoking or opium eating been offered to you by races other than Chinese for not being able to do their task?—I can only remember one case, that of a Northern Indian, a man from the Punjab. His was an exceptional case and I was rather interested in it. He was a man who came to prison twice during the last 2 years, each time for some petty theft, and his reason was simply that he stole to get money to buy opium. He was really in the clutch of the habit.

1383. *Dr. Galloway.*—He was a swallower?—I expect he was. Each time that man came in he refused to do any work at all and had to be locked in a separate cell for 10 days or a fortnight.

1384. Did he require any medical attention during that time?—Yes, he did.

1385. *Chairman.*—Will you sketch the method by which this census was taken?—On receipt of your letter I called up the officers in charge of the main halls of the prison. There are 4 of these officers. I explained to them very carefully exactly what was wanted. At muster time, when all the prisoners are mustered in the halls before or after food, the officers in charge of the halls, with their assistants and interpreters, went round to each man in turn explaining what was wanted. It was explained to them carefully that there was no question of penalty or punishment and that this information was required by Government. The figures so obtained are, in my opinion, fairly accurate; much more so than those taken when prisoners are first admitted to prison, as then they frequently deny smoking opium because they are afraid of possible consequences.

1386. *Mr. Jelf.*—I see you have taken the census of 1,000 prisoners?—That was purely accidental. There happened to be another 1,000 prisoners and vagrants in the Criminal Prison on the day of the census.

1387. Among these 225 smokers out of the accidental 1,000 that you examined, do you find that there is any difference really in the amount of work got through between the smoker and the non-smoker?—I could not give you a definite answer to that. Some of these are men who possibly smoke one pipe or eat a very tiny quantity per day, while others are really addicted to the habit.

* Appendix XXII.

1388. If there was a difference, you would know it?—We know it at once in the confirmed cases.

1389. In those 225 cases, how many would you say, quite roughly, were confirmed cases?—From what I have seen of them, I should judge that very very few are confirmed cases—what one would call a "sot". Probably not more than 1 in 20 are physical wrecks, as far as I can judge from appearances.

1390. *Dr. Galloway.*—In the early part of your evidence you spoke of the men suffering from the effects of opium. Is it not rather from the effects of stopping opium?—That is quite right.

1391. In the average case you give no assistance?—I believe the average case may be allowed, for a day or two, a tiny piece of opium. It would depend on his physical condition.

1392. How long is the average case unfit for work?—About a week to 10 days; seldom longer, and often less than a week.

1393. When they go back to work, are they quite as fit as the non-smokers?—That, again, is very difficult to say. There are so many other factors.

1394. Taking it roughly all round, they do their day's work?—I can say this, that I have known one or two cases of confirmed smokers who suffered severely when they first came into the prison and who, after a month, have been able to do a good day's work.

1395. What I want to get at is that there was no permanent physical deterioration?—No, not so far as I could tell.

1396. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Can you say how many opium smokers die in prison because of having no opium to smoke?—Very very few; I could get the figure for you.

1397. *Dr. Galloway.*—I expect you would not find a single one. You might find a man suffering from advanced phthisis or some such disease who might collapse on the stoppage of his opium in spite of treatment?—I cannot remember a single case during my 2 years.

1398. *Mr. Jelf.*—When a man is admitted to prison, do you ask him, as an ordinary routine business, whether he is an opium smoker or not?—Yes, we do.

1399. Then, having that knowledge before you, unless in very exceptional circumstances, you do not make any difference in the work and diet as between opium smokers and non-smokers?—That depends entirely on the doctor. The doctor, after his examination, tasks a man.

This concluded Colonel TYTE's evidence.

Mr. THAN CHIAN was called.

1400. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—THAN CHIAN.

1401. What is your occupation?—Saw mill owner and timber merchant; Chop Sin Chai Hin, Beach Road.

1402. What is your age?—42.

1403. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

1404. China-born?—Yes.

1405. How old were you when you first came here?—14 years of age.

1406. How many times have you been back to China?—3 times.

1407. How many coolies do you employ in Singapore?— About 200.

1408. How many saw mill coolies and how many tongkang coolies?—100 coolies in the saw mills and 100 tongkang and timber yard coolies.

1409. Do many of them smoke opium?—About 30 per cent.

1410. Of both classes, or is it a higher percentage among the tongkang coolies?—The tongkang coolies do not smoke so much as the saw mill coolies.

1411. Of what tribe are these coolies, mostly?—They are a mixed lot, Hokkiens, Khehs, Cantonese and Hailams.

1412. Which are the most?—Mostly Hokkiens.

1413. Are you yourself an opium smoker?—No, I am not.

1414. Have you never smoked?—Never.

1415. Do you find that the opium smoker works as well as the non-smoker?—Since I have been in business I have never liked to engage opium smokers; but as I require coolies I have to engage opium smokers as well as non-smokers. I find that the smoker wastes time.

1416. You have never dismissed a man for smoking opium?—Yes, some for coming late to work. Sometimes I have given opium smokers a month in which to get rid of the habit and then return to work.

1417. Can you tell a moderate smoker by looking at him?—No, only old smokers.

1418. And these that you dismissed were the "sots"?—Yes.

1419. Do you have many complaints from your headmen about the effects of opium smoking on the results of their labour?—No. I have given instructions to my head coolies when they want to engage coolies not to engage opium smokers.

1420. But if they did engage opium smokers, you would not interfere?—I would not interfere.

1421. Is there a strong feeling amongst your friends against opium smoking?—Yes.

1422. Would you say it is a disgrace to be an opium smoker?—Yes.

1423. Have you got any friends at all who smoke opium?—Yes, acquaintances.

1424. Do these acquaintances make efforts to conceal from you that they are opium smokers?—Yes; I never smoke with them.

1425. Have you heard of any of your coolies swallowing chandu or chandu dross?—Only dross; when they have not the money to buy opium they swallow dross.

1426. Is swallowing dross common amongst your coolies?—I do not know. I have heard that those who have not the money to buy opium swallow dross.

1427. Do you think it would be more harmful to swallow dross than to smoke a pipe of opium?—Yes, I have heard that swallowing dross is more harmful.

1428. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You say you have been to China 3 times; when was the first time?—18 years ago.

1429. And the last time?—About 3 years ago.

1430. When you went there the first time, did you see many people in China smoking opium?—Yes, many.

1431. And the last time, how many did you see; the same as 18 years ago?—Not so many. There were no more opium shops.

1432. *Chairman.*—No more opium?—In my district there were no more opium shops. I do not know about opium, as I do not smoke myself; but I heard they had stopped opium.

1433. You heard talk that there was no cultivation of the poppy when you were last there?—No. Recently I have heard that there is a good deal.

1434. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are you a native of Amoy?—Yes.

1435. Is there any poppy planted in Amoy?—I heard of it, but whether it is true or not I do not know. I did not see it. Three years ago, when I was there, there was none.

1436. *Chairman.*—Do you want this Government to prohibit opium smoking?—It would be a good thing.

1437. But if there is a lot of opium cultivated in China, we cannot stop the smoking of opium here?—That is so. Some people in Singapore are afraid to go back to China because they are afraid they would not get opium there.

1438. *Dr. Galloway.*—You are referring to 3 years ago?—Yes.

This concluded Mr. THAN CHIAN'S evidence.

Mr. TAY SECK TIN was called.

1439. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAY SECK TIN.

1440. You are a clergyman, I think?—I was formerly.

1441. When you gave evidence before the Opium Commission in 1908, you were the Reverend TAY SECK TIN?—Yes.

1442. Are you Straits-born?—No, China-born.

1443. You are a Hokkien?—Yes.

1444. How long have you been in the Straits?—27 years.

1445. What is your age now?—52 years.

1446. Are you an officer of the Anti-opium Society in Singapore?—Yes.

1447. What are you, Secretary or President?—Secretary.

1448. How many members are there in the Society?—Formerly there were a few hundreds; there are about 100 left.

1449. Have you had any meetings in the recent past?—Yes, a few days after we received the invitation from the Secretary of this Committee.

1450. Previous to that, when did you have your last meeting?—We have had no meeting for a long time now.

1451. At this meeting that you had on the subject of the invitation from this Committee, how many people were present?—5 or 6.

1452. Did you send a circular round to the members saying that there was a meeting?—No, we advertised the fact in the papers.

1453. What action did this meeting decide to take; merely to send you as a witness?—Yes, only a few people attended and I was asked to come here.

1454. Are your feelings on the subject of opium as strong now as they were 15 years ago?—About the same.

1455. Are you an advocate of the immediate prohibition of opium?—No, not all at once; fix a time limit.

1456. What sort of time would you fix, how many years?—In my opinion, 5 years would be sufficient.

1457. How are you going to get prohibition in 5 years. What measure are you going to take to achieve it in that time?—The Government should reduce the quantity of opium gradually and stop it entirely in 5 years.

1458. What about the smokers; would they like that?—If the Government wants to prohibit, they would have to stop it.

1459. But you would hope that all the smokers died in 5 years?—No, all the opium smokers cannot die within 5 years.

1460. You agree they are not likely to die in 5 years?—Some would die, some not.

1461. You agree that some would still be living at the end of the 5 years. What are you going to do about them when there is no more opium?—If the Government gives notice of its intention to prohibit opium within 5 years, the opium smokers will try to get rid of the habit before the expiry of that period.

1462. Supposing the Government prohibited my tobacco at the end of 5 years. Will I get rid of that habit, do you think?—If you cannot get the tobacco, how are you going to smoke?

1463. My suggestion is that the opium smokers will get smuggled opium if the Government does not allow any licit opium to come in?—If they smuggle or break the law, the Government will have to find a way to stop it.

1464. Would you believe it if I told you that China is cultivating twice as much opium as all the rest of the world put together?—I do not believe it.

1465. The most pronounced anti-opiumist in the world. Sir JOHN JORDAN, said that about a month ago in London?—I do not know.

1466. *Mr. McLean.*—Have you ever heard of Sir JOHN JORDAN?—Yes.

1467. *Chairman.*—My point is this. While China is cultivating so much opium, is it much use for us to take any steps here. Should we not wait for China?—The Government of China is not able to control the people and so is unable to control poppy growing.

1468. If so much poppy is grown, the opium habit will take hold of an enormous number of Chinese in their own country?—From what I have heard, very few of the people coming from China are smokers. At present they smoke secretly.

1469. Do you say then that the habit here is acquired locally and not in China?—At present there are very few opium smokers coming from China.

1470. Of 10 smokers in Singapore now, in your opinion how many acquired the habit here and how many in China?—One in China and nine here.

1471. Are you in favour of registering and licensing opium smokers?—Yes.

1472. Do you think you could make it workable?—Yes, if the Government wanted it.

1473. But there are hundreds of thousands coming in from and going out to China each year. What are you going to do about them?—Those who pass through here can take out temporary licences.

1474. Do you agree that there is more smoking amongst Hokkiens than there is amongst Cantonese?—Yes.

1475. You used to work amongst the Tanjong Pagar coolies. Did you continue that right up to the time you retired?—Yes.

1476. You said 30 per cent of Chinese adult males smoked, in 1908. Do you think there are more now?—About the same.

1477. You said in 1908 there were 60 per cent of the coal coolies at Tanjong Pagar who smoked. Has that gone down or up?—There are not so many now.

1478. What harm does opium smoking do to their work?—They are not so strong as the non-smokers.

1479. But if you take away their opium, what do you think the coal coolies will turn to?—That is why we must give them time to get rid of the habit.

1480. Do you think they would find it very difficult and very painful to break off the habit?—They would be able to do it in a few days.

1481. *Mr. Jelf.*—What would you call a moderate smoker; how many pipes a day?—Amongst coolies, one 3-hoon packet a day.

1482. And a man who smokes 3 hoons a day works less well than the man who does not smoke?—That is so.

1483. Do you think that most smokers smoke to excess, or most smoke moderately, say one 3-hoon packet a day?—The coolies mostly smoke one packet or a little more, because they have not got the means to buy more.

1484. Therefore, most coolies are moderate smokers?—Yes, because they have not the means.

1485. Fifteen years ago, in your evidence before the Opium Commission, you said that most smokers smoked to excess?—Yes, formerly opium was cheaper than it is now.

1486. Do you think it is any good our doing anything in the Straits Settlements if China does not alter?—If the Government knows that the opium habit is injurious to people, Government should find a way of prohibiting it. It is only temporarily that the Chinese Government is unable to prevent poppy growing, owing to the Revolution.

1487. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are all the Chinese social associations in Singapore in favour of opium smoking or against it?—They are against it stronger than before.

This concluded Mr. TAY SECK TIN'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Seventh Meeting.

FRIDAY, 14TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. G. G. MUSSELL was called.

1488. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—GEORGE GEOFFREY MUSSELL.

1489. How long have you been in the service of the Government Monopolies?—Since 1910, when the Government took over the Farms.

1490. What did you join the Monopolies as?—Supervisor, Preventive Service.

1491. And then later you become Assistant Superintendent of Chandu and Liquors Revenue, I think?—No, I was acting Head of the Preventive Service in 1911, and I was appointed Supervisor, Liquors Department, in the same year. I was Supervisor, Liquors Department, until the 27th of last month.

1492. At the present time you are also acting Head of the Preventive Service?—Yes.

1493. For how long have you been acting as Head on the present occasion?—Since the 27th of last month.

1494. *Dr. Galloway.*—There are two sides to your service, a preventive and a secret service?—I have been on the preventive service for a few weeks only now, and have not got solidly into it; but we have special revenue officers doing secret work as well.

1495. You are practically on the preventive side?—Yes.

1496. What is the size of your force?—Approximately, 10 Supervisors, 10 Assistant Supervisors and about 140 to 150 Revenue Officers.

1497. What we used to call *chintings*?—Yes.

1498. What is the class of man you employ in the ordinary rank and file of your service?—We have got all kinds, Malays, Chinese and Indians, among the revenue officers.

1499. What class, do you think, suits you best?—From my own knowledge of the work, Chinese are the best.

1500. Are they the least amenable to suggestion, the least corruptible, of the whole lot?—I do not think so.

1501. You think there is a great deal of that goes on and you are unable to prevent it?—We have some cases at times, but it is very difficult to prevent it; the temptations are so great.

1502. And you treat them very harshly when they do come to your notice?—Yes.

1503. Are you quite satisfied with the class that you have got?—As far as it goes at present, we have some very good men, and we have some bad men as well. We try to weed out the bad ones whenever we have a chance to do so.

1504. Have you any complaints of extortion or abuses of any sort from passengers?—Of late we have not had any.

1505. There are some classes of men in your service who are naturally more polite and deal with the passengers more reasonably than others, are there not?—Yes.

1506. Who are the most obnoxious to the passengers?—I think the Malays are more polite than the Chinese to the passengers.

1507. Do the police act in co-operation with you in any matters?—Yes, in all matters.

1508. Do you happen to know anything of the cost of the preventive service at present?—I could not give you the figures at present.

1509. Anything approximate?—I could not; I will get them for you.

1510. How much chandu did you detect during 1923?—I shall find out and send you a return after the year ends.

1511. Have you seized a large amount of drugs in 1923?—Very little in 1923. I shall send you a return as to that also.

1512. Who are the chief offenders as regards the smuggling of chandu?—Chinese.

1513. Where is the source of supply?—China.

1514. Which part of China?—Amoy. Most of the stuff we get comes from there.

1515. What proportion does the chandu you seize bear to the total smuggled in?—Not more than 10 per cent I think.

1516. Are you always able absolutely to distinguish contraband from licit chandu?—Yes.

1517. You have your own methods?—Yes.

1518. What is the strength of the contraband chandu, compared to our own?—I will enquire and let you know.

1519. If our own chandu were put up in special copyright tubes, as it were, would it help you in seizing contraband chandu?—It would help to a certain extent.

1520. You say most of the contraband chandu comes from Amoy. Are you quite sure there is not a considerable quantity smuggled in through Siam and Burma, from Yunnan, for instance?—I do not think there is much.

1521. Is there a strict watch kept upon the Railway and upon vessels coming from Siam?—Yes; we have people watching all round the stations.

1522. Do you know of any that comes from anywhere else?—We have a little at times from Europe.

1523. Any from Persia?—We have seized nothing from Persia. Of course, the stuff that we seize on the ships coming from Europe might be from Persia.

1524. If the Chinese opium traffic were controlled as our Indian opium traffic is, would there be any trouble as regards smuggling, do you think?—It would be much easier for us. I do not think there would be any smuggling at all.

1525. Would you think the same proportion of seizures stands as regards drugs as you told us of chandu, viz., 10 per cent, or do you think more drugs come in and they are more difficult to detect?—I do not think there is much of drugs coming into Singapore at present; they are not much used here.

1526. If a strict policy of suppression were instituted here, do you think it would increase the quantities of smuggled opium?—Yes, it would.

1527. Do you think you would be able to cope with that with your ordinary force?—Impossible.

1528. In Singapore?—No.

1529. I know you are not a Federated Malay States Officer; but, looking at the east coast of the Peninsula, do you think it would be possible to put a preventive force upon that coast sufficient to keep opium out?—Impossible, whatever the number of men.

1530. You still think that the chief danger centre would be China?—Yes.

1531. Have you anything to tell us about supervision of opium smoking shops at all? Have you anything to do with them?—I visit them occasionally.

1532. Are they visited by the Health Officer?—Yes.

1533. Regularly?—I could not say regularly.

1534. Are they, in your opinion, sanitary?—I could not answer that.

1535. Do you think so or do you not think so? Are they clean?—Some of them are clean.

1536. You think that something more might be done to make them sanitary?—Some could be made cleaner and more sanitary.

1537. Do you enquire into the matter of dross?—No.

1538. You make no enquiries whatever as to dross?—No, the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, sees to the dross.

1539. I thought it was a part of the duties of the preventive service to enquire into this matter of dross and obtain as much of it as they could?—The Assistant Superintendent receives all the dross from the smoking shops. They are supposed to send in a return every month.

1540. Those returns are always very considerably under what they ought to be?—Yes, they are.

1541. And is there no attempt made to raise the return?—Mr. BIRSE, the Assistant Superintendent, does all that.

1542. *Chairman.*—You said you were trying to weed out the bad ones. Do you find that "the bad ones", as you describe them, are the most brilliant revenue officers?—They are not very brilliant; one or two of them might be very smart.

1543. You agreed with Dr. GALLOWAY that it would be of assistance to have the Government chandu packed in tubes. I should like you to develop that in some manner or other and tell us where, from the point of view of the preventive service or the detection of smuggling, the advantages of packing in tubes come in?—At present they can open our packet and put in contraband chandu and close it up again. They could not do that with specially sealed tubes. That is one advantage. Another is this. At present they can open our packages and mix contraband chandu with our own and sell it as our own. The sealed package would obviate that.

1544. Why cannot they do that with the tubes?—The Dutch tubes that I have seen are specially sealed. There would have to be a special machine to seal these tubes.

1545. But take the latter part of your answer; as to mixing it with contraband chandu and selling it as Government chandu. I really do not quite follow, if you buy a big enough sealed pot, why you cannot mix that

with a lot of illicit chandu. I believe in Java they have the big pots?—I have only seen the small tubes that they have in Java; I was referring to those.

1546. The tube is merely a thin zinc envelope, I believe?—Yes, sealed at the top.

1547. Would you tell us what the advantages of the tube system are?—At present they keep our packets and pack them with contraband; they can do that quite easily. If the opium was packed in tubes they would not be able to do that, because in that case they would have to break the seal.

1548. *Dr. Galloway.*—In what sort of packages does the opium from China come in?—In tins and bladders.

1549. Which can be easily broken down and the contents packed in Government receptacles?—Yes; but our pots are sealed.

1550. Yes, but after a pot has been emptied a man may fill it with anything?—That is so.

1551. How are your pots sealed?—With sealing wax and the Government seal.

1552. Is the seal easily counterfeitable?—No.

1553. *Chairman.*—Then the purchaser of one of these pots in which contraband chandu has been put would be a party to the crime?—They could not very well put the contraband in these pots. I was referring to the 3-hoon and 4-hoon paper packets. The earthenware pots are sealed.

1554. Then if you put the contraband chandu into a counterfeited bamboo leaf with a counterfeited printed Chinese label, the purchaser can have contraband chandu landed on him without his knowledge?—Of course he could.

1555. But, in fact, directly he smoked it he would know the difference and he would probably go back and murder the shop-keeper?—It all depends on the quality of the chandu. It might be of good quality.

1556. Do you know of any cases where contraband chandu has been passed by your people as good quality chandu?—We have had bad qualities and good; not extraordinarily good.

1557. Have you ever had contraband chandu tested by a smoker?—No; very likely Mr. TAYLOR might have done that.

1558. I suggest to you that the tube system is a very costly innovation. Do you think that the advantages, generally, would compensate for the cost?—I do not think so.

1559. *Mr. Jelf.*—Have you ever had any cases of Malay or Indian smugglers?—Yes, we have had a few cases of Indians, and a very few Malays.

1560. At the Opium Conference at Geneva, the Netherlands representative said—"There was not much smuggling going on and no big seizures had been effected. When the opium had been farmed smuggling had existed, but since the establishment of a monopoly no important seizures had been recorded". Have you any observations to make on that?—I think he is wrong.

1561. Have you any reason to suppose that there is a great deal of smuggling?—I would not say a great deal; but there is smuggling.

1562. Why do you say he is wrong?—Because I have arrested cases leaving Singapore for the Dutch islands. We have caught them leaving Singapore with contraband for the Dutch islands.

1563. *Mr. McLean.*—Have you ever seized any contraband chandu on ships coming from the Dutch East Indies?—Yes, we have seized the Government chandu there in tubes.

1564. Not Chinese chandu?—No, not Chinese chandu. We have had several cases of imports from the Dutch Indies.

1565. *Mr. Chan.*—What salaries are paid to the rank and file of your Service?—They run from $20 a month, the lowest, up to $35 a month, the highest.

1566. And do they get any bonuses in case of seizures?—Yes they get a reward when they seize any.

1567. What is done with the opium and chandu that is seized by your Department?—It is sent to the Opium Factory.

1568. And there destroyed or prepared for use?—That I cannot say.

1569. Can you give me the amount of fines imposed and paid with regard to contraband chandu, say during 1923, or for any particular year?—I shall find it out for you and send you a return.

1570. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You say there are Chinese and Indian smugglers, but very few Malays. Besides these, have you detected any Japanese or Europeans smuggling opium?—Not Japanese: there have been some cases of Europeans, but very few.

1571. *Chairman.*—Do you mean there have been some cases of Europeans carrying it in their baggage?—Yes, there have been isolated cases.

1572. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You said just now that all the smuggling from China is from Amoy. Is there any from the northern parts of China, Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin or Hankow?—I cannot say.

1573. Have you seized any from those places?—Mostly all on Amoy ships.

1574. From where are morphia and cocaine smuggled into Singapore?—From Europe.

1575. Is there any smuggling of *bhang* besides chandu?—Yes, quite a lot.

1576. Of what nationality are the smugglers?—Malays, mostly.

1577. Any Indians?—Some, but very few. They are mostly Malays.

1578. *Mr. Jelf.*—What, exactly, is *bhang*?—Indian hemp.

1579. It is the same as *Hashish*?—Yes.

1580. *Mr. McLean.*—Where does the *bhang* come from?—Mostly from Siam.

This concluded Mr. MUSSELL's evidence.

Mr. TAN POW TEK was called.

1581. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAN POW TEK.

1582. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

1583. Straits-born?—Yes, born in Singapore.

1584. What is your age?—39.

1585. Where were you educated?—At the Anglo-Chinese School, Singapore.

1586. And what is your profession at the present time?—Commission Agent.

1587. You are also a Petition Writer, I understand?—Yes, at times.

1588. And in your past career you have been a Schoolmaster?—Yes, at St. PAUL'S, Seremban and Towkay TAM YONG'S private school.

1589. How long were you at St. PAUL'S?—Over two years; and from 1908 to 1911 at the private school.

1590. You are a member of the Selangor Anti-Opium Society?—I only joined it this year.

1591. Where were you in 1908?—In Seremban.

1592. Can you tell us anything about the membership of the Selangor Anti-Opium Society; about how many?—At present there are about 60 Committee members.

1593. The only active members would be the committee members?—Yes.

1594. How many meetings have you attended of the Anti-Opium Society?—I am sorry, I have not attended any. Up to the present whenever they had a meeting I had other meetings in Klang to attend.

1595. Do you know by hearsay how many meetings they have had this year?—From the circulars I have received I gather 3 or 4 meetings.

1596. Did they send you any reports of what happened at the meetings?—The proceedings were usually published in the Malay Mail.

1597. In what language would they conduct their meetings, in Chinese or in English?—I think in Cantonese; I know most of the members are Cantonese.

1598. Are they mostly Straits-born or China-born?—I should say their numbers are equal.

1599. Are there any influential committee members who are China-born?—I think so.

1600 Could you give me an instance?—Mr. CHONG YOK CHOY; one of the Trustees of LOKE YEW'S Estate.

1601. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Is Mr. CHOO KIA PENG a member?—I am not sure.

1602. *Chairman.*—Does Mr. CHONG YOK CHOY take a prominent part in the activities of the Society?—Personally I have no idea as to his activities. I have seen his name in the papers occasionally in this connection and I know that he is an old member.

1603. In this year's reports, for example—you say the reports of the meetings were published in the Malay Mail, and, therefore, presumably, they mention the speakers—have you seen Mr. CHONG YOK CHOY'S name as one of the speakers?—No, I cannot remember his name in connection with the last meeting.

1604. The point of my question is this. This is a China-born habit which is going to be squashed by Straits-born people if the constitution of the Anti-Opium Society is mainly Straits-born. Do you now catch the drift of my question? What I mean is this; the Straits-born Chinese would not necessarily have any considerable influence with the China-born Chinese; would you accept that?—Because the China-born Chinese cannot talk English they naturally fall behind.

1605. It is not a question of knowing English; it is a question of nationality. You are trying to found a nationality which is known as "Babas". You treat that as a nationality down here; you have different customs. Now, if the Straits-born are purely going to be the educators of the China-born, and the Straits-born have not this habit and the China-born have, I say the efforts of the Straits-born are almost nullified from the start?—I do not quite understand your question.

1606. The Straits-born stick to themselves; they do not mix very much with the China-born?—Some of them do, I think during the last 12 years, since the Revolution in China, they have mixed quite a lot in the Federated Malay States.

1607. The Anti-opium Society of Selangor is aware that you are giving evidence before this Committee?—Yes.

1608. In fact, the Anti-opium Society nominated you to give evidence?—Quite so.

1609. Do you hold strong anti-opium views?—No, moderate.

1610. Have your views against opium increased in recent years or decreased in strength?—My views have increased in strength.

1611. Are you an Advocate of immediate prohibition of opium in Malaya?—I am in favour of its being done gradually.

1612. How many years would you allow to get rid of it?—Say 10 to 15 years until these opium smokers died out or abandoned the habit of smoking. It is impossible to make them shake off the habit all at once.

1613. You think it is quite feasible to suppress opium smoking in Malaya in from 10 to 15 years?—Yes.

1614. What are the steps you propose to take to suppress opium in that time?—First of all, get the smokers registered in order to have control over the consumption.

1615. How far would your registration go; merely register the fact that a certain person is a smoker of opium? Is that as far as it goes?—Yes, according to my suggestion, the smoker must be recommended by a certain club in order to get a licence; otherwise they will tell lies. If I am a big smoker, I may ask my friend to send in an application in order to help me to get more opium. That will not do. We want recognised clubs to take the responsibility of recommending.

1616. Are all the Chinese Clubs, Guilds and Associations absolutely incorruptible?—To some extent the clubs may be relied on. When they are registered, I think the Government can have confidence in these clubs.

1617. Unless the Government can rely throughout on every single club I would not suggest to the Government that they should use them?—I do not want the Government to rely on all the clubs, but only on a selected few; just sufficient to control this opium.

1618. *Dr. Galloway.*—Would you not like to change the word "club" and substitute for it "Society" or "Association"?—Yes, I mean Societies and Associations.

1619. *Chairman.*—Then the Government would accept the certificate of any one of these approved associations that a certain person should be allowed to smoke opium?—Yes, that is my suggestion.

1620. Then would these associations say how much opium that particular person was allowed to smoke?—I think there must be some restriction. We should not leave the matter entirely in the hands of these associations.

1621. *Dr. Galloway.*—But they could easily tell how much the man was accustomed to smoke and then they could leave it to Government to say how much that man should be allowed to smoke?—I am doubtful on that point. I am not sure if the Government should not fix a limit.

1622. *Chairman.*—We will assume "the bearer of this letter should be approved as an opium smoker and allowed to purchase his usual quantity of one chee a day". Would that be the form of recommendation your association would give?—About the quantity I cannot exactly say whether the recommendation of the Association should be taken as final or whether the Government should fix a certain limit.

1623. You are aiming at suppression in 10 or 15 years. Now, is this man who joins the register to be allowed to smoke at least as much as he did when he joined the register right away until he dies?—That would depend on the man's wish. It may be that after registration he may hate the scheme and decrease his consumption or abandon the habit.

1624. You say it is very easy to get rid of the habit?—At least when we put the scheme on trial we shall be able to watch the progress of it and see the effect.

1625. Yes, but do you think yourself it is easy to break off this habit?—I think it is.

1626. Does that coincide with what opium smokers have told you or is that merely your own speculation?—Opium smokers have often advised me not to smoke. They have told me that they have contracted the habit because they were earning easily and subsequently they have repented of having contracted the habit.

1627. Then that means that it is very difficult to break off the habit?—I do not think so; I have known many people who have given it up. But when they see opium before them they are tempted to re-commence the habit.

1628. You have told us things which make me think that it is rather difficult for smokers to break off the habit. Therefore, your hope is that the little shame that comes after registration will cause them really to reduce the habit. I suggest that that will not follow at all?—There must be some difference in the future. It will be evident when registration is in force.

1629. But not reduction out of the hearts of the smokers; out of compulsion, perhaps. You have suggested to us that some reduction in opium smoking will follow as the result of a system of registration—that is to say, as the result of putting your name in the register and being permitted to smoke opium. I say there will not be any reduction following from that. Do you agree with me or not?—I do not.

1630. You bring in a register, say, on the 1st January 1924, and you close the register on the 30th June 1924. What about the opium smokers who are not here and are, therefore, unable to register in between these two dates?—If they can get the recommendation of the Association, the Government must give them a licence to buy opium.

1631. These associations are going to lend enormous assistance to the Government by being the intermediaries between the smoker and the Government. Do you think they can go on doing that over the whole of the 10 or 15 years that you have been talking of?—I have made enquiries and all these associations are in favour of this anti-opium movement.

1632. They are in favour of the movement; but are they in favour of actively working in connection with it?—For the sake of saving the Chinese I think they will have no objection. They will help.

1633. It is not a matter of objection; it is a matter of extraordinary keenness; it must be?—In my case, I am now the President of the Chinese Young Men's Society, and I think I can influence the members of that Society, to help.

1634. *Dr. Galloway.*—They are prepared to make an effort and a continued effort towards the suppression of opium?—Yes.

1635. *Chairman.*—I suggest there would not be an association after 5 years of continued effort?—Then, there are many other societies and associations which would help, and many guilds as well.

1636. In the matter of public spirit amongst the Chinese, give me an instance in the past during your life-time of steady and continued active effort by the Chinese lasting over a period of ten or fifteen years?—That is very difficult to answer. I quite admit the Chinese are good at the beginning and weak at the end; but when urged on by others, they must continue.

1637. You mean there will be a rivalry amongst these various associations to give the greatest amount of assistance to the Government in this matter?—Yes, there will be.

1638. In this paper that was sent to me by Mr. CHAPMAN, you have referred to gambling. I put a query against that. Have the Chinese associations solidly assisted the Government, ever since Government suppressed gambling in the Federated Malay States, to continue the effective suppression of it?—So fas as I know the *Siah Huis* have done it.

1639. *Dr. Galloway.*—What proportion of the total number of clubs do the *Siah Huis* represent. Are they as numerous as other clubs?—I think they are in the majority now. The old conservative clubs are dying out.

1640. *Chairman.*—With the assistance of these *Siah Huis* and of the opinion of the Chinese, do you think that gambling has been effectively suppressed in the Federated Malay States?—They do not gamble openly or in most clubs. There may be secret gambling. I cannot speak about that; but in my experience, gambling has been reduced.

1641. Gambling has been reduced, and it is going on in secret you say. That is what will happen to opium smoking?—It may happen, but where will they get the opium from?

1642. From China?—Then keep a strict watch on China. I agree that there must be very strict supervision over Chinese importation of opium.

1643. Do you know anything of the present position in China with regard to poppy cultivation and with regard to opium smoking?—I have never been to China in my life, but I have friends coming from the various Provinces, and they say the planting of poppy is not according to Government sanction. Ex-soldiers, for purposes of their selfish gain, plant without the Government's knowledge and order.

1644. Do you think it is any good for us to take suppressive measures here if China is in the position of not being able to effectuate her own measures?—I think China ought to be requested to make restriction effective.

1645. In how many years, do you think, China will be able to make the prohibition of poppy cultivation effective?—That I cannot say. When the Government is put in order a proper Government will control that.

1646. When do you think they will have a proper Government in China?—I am not a prophet; I cannot tell.

1647. *Mr. Jelf.*—If we wrote to the Government of China, to whom would we write?—I think there is no Government now, but you should write to both the Peking Government and the Canton Government.

1648. *Dr. Galloway.*—Are you of opinion that if poppy cultivation were suppressed in China we would have no difficulty in suppressing its use

here?—I think so. If they suppressed poppy cultivation in China we could easily suppress it here. It is against my conscience for this Government to restrict and China to get the benefit. Let China make a promise to suppress it.

1649. But China has made many promises and has not kept one?—(No answer).

1650. *Chairman.*—It is reported in the newspapers that China is producing twice as much opium as all the rest of the world put together; would you believe that?—I do not think so.

1651. Here is a cutting from the press. Having read it, and knowing Sir JOHN JORDAN by reputation, don't you think he would make the best case possible for China in regard to opium?—I know he is a good friend of China, no doubt, and so are Dr. MORRISON and many others, but I cannot admit that China is producing double the quantity of all the rest of the world put together.

1652. Sir JOHN JORDAN is not only a friend of China but he is the leading spirit on behalf of China against opium. Do you, therefore, think he would paint the Chinese opium position blacker than it really is?—I am sorry I am not in a position to say that. I am in the dark with regard to quantity.

1653. In the letter you sent me you write:—"The whole world is to-day, as it was 16 years ago, lively on the opium question". Is the whole world livelier now than it was?—That does not mean every nation; it means all places where these people live.

1654. Do you really say that in Malaya the feeling is stronger against opium than it was when you were 23 years of age?—Yes, as the Chinese are getting more enlightened. The ignorant, illiterate and uneducated people have nothing to say. Those who are enlightened usually advocate the abolition of opium.

1655. The *Siah Huis* that you have talked of have very noble motives; but are they going to do much in the way of relaxation for a mining coolie 10 miles beyond the nearest main road?—Even if they did not, when opium is stopped for the smokers there must be some amusement or recreation provided for them instead.

1656. Now, then, take a mining coolie with 300 others in a *kongsi* which is 20 miles from the nearest town and which is only reached by a bridle path through the jungle; what form of amusement is that coolie going to have in that *kongsi*?—Provide them with a piece of ground where they can play some Chinese games.

1657. Has the ordinary *sinkheh* mining coolie ever played a game in his own country?—Games have not yet been introduced to them.

1658. Have you any conception of the type of people who come here to be mining coolies?—Yes.

1659. You have never been to China; I have. You do not know the sort of places they live in in their country. You have no conception of conditions in China?—Only from hearsay; what I understand from my friends. They say they are hilly and very secluded places. Of course, they do not have recreations like Western nations; but if we give them a fair chance I think they will take to some other recreation.

1660. You suggest here that the Government should completely control the opium trade; that is to say, you are in favour of the Government having the retail and the smoking shops in their own hands?—Yes.

1661. What are you going to do for the poor people who are thrown out of employment, who are at present making their livelihood by this awful traffic in opium?—They have licences for six months only and it is not binding on the Government to renew those licences.

1662. I suggest that you would be writing petitions for the opium shopkeepers in Klang in a few months after we took such action?—But they would have no claim. Their licences need not be renewed after six months.

1663. At the next expiry of their licences you would simply let those licences die and you would give these people nothing in the way of compensation?—But they have no promise from the Government that their licences will be continued.

1664. And the Chinese will never appeal to the bowels of compassion of the Government by any chance?—They will naturally do that, but there is no hope for them.

1665. You would think that the Government would be doing no injustice to them at all by merely letting these licences die?—In doing things for the future we must take our lessons from the past. Take the case of the opium farmers. When that was stopped they agitated from 1907 to 1909 and then the agitation died out.

1666. But the opium farmers were very rich while these people are at the bottom of the social scale making a small amount of money on which to keep themselves and their families?—For that reason they are more easily rooted out. The opium farmers were more able to agitate because, with their millions they were able to employ a lot of lawyers to plead their cause.

1667. But you don't suppose that the Government's compassion is in any way relative to the number of lawyers the other people hire. There is no connection between the two things. As a Senior Member of this Government I say that if a person felt it necessary to hire 10 of the principal lawyers in Singapore to get at the compassion of Government, I should think he had got a very poor case?—I agree.

1668. *Dr. Galloway.*—What proportion, numerically, does the educated class which you mentioned as forming the *Siah Hui* Associations, bear to the ignorant coolie?—One in a hundred.

1669. I think it is one in a thousand. What right have the *Siah Huis* to say that Chinese do not want to smoke opium when they are only a very small proportion of the population?—I think those who are enlightened must be a model to the ignorant ones.

1670. Exactly, but they have no right to put themselves forward as being the spokesmen of the bulk of the population. They are representing their own opinions, not those of the other 999?—In that case you must bring opium smoking coolies to give evidence also.

1671. *Mr. Jelf.*—In your statement you say "I lay facts and experiences"; I do not see any fact in your statement setting out what harm opium smoking does?—Mentally and physically.

1672. What harm mentally and physically does it do?—A smoker cannot reason so well as the non-smoker.

1673. How do you know?—I am a Chinese and I mix with these people. I have relations and friends who are smokers.

1674. If you met a stranger could you tell if he smoked opium or not?—I think in most cases I could.

1675. Do you consider that a moderate smoker smoking, say 5 or 6 pipes a day, does himself any harm?—The harm is invisible; but morally, mentally and physically it does harm.

1676. Does smoking one pipe a day do any harm?—Not so much as smoking frequently.

1677. What would you call "frequently"?—That means more than once, and continuing smoking.

1678. How many doses of opium would you call "frequently"?—Say 4 or 5 times a day.

1679. Do you smoke cigarettes or tobacco?—I smoke the Burma Cheroot.

1680. How many cigars of that description do you smoke a day?—4 or 5.

1681. You think that is all right?—Yes, I have never increased that.

1682. Suppose to-morrow Government says there is to be no more tobacco; would not you be angry?—I do not think so: I can easily abstain from it.

1683. *Chairman.*—In order to be logical, when we have registered these opium smokers we must register the people who want to buy whisky-sodas?—I am not referring to liquors.

1684. *Mr. Jelf.*—Would you rather have a Chinese drinking whisky or brandy than one who smoked opium?—Both are equally bad.

1685. Then if we stopped opium we should stop whisky and brandy also?—I am not prepared to answer that.

1686. I say that to a moderate smoker, opium is a pleasure and not harmful; to the moderate drinker liquor is not harmful; to the heavy smoker of opium it is harmful; to the heavy drinker of liquors it is harmful?—I think you may be right.

1687. Moderate smoking is not really harmful any more than moderate drinking of whisky or brandy is harmful. Do you agree to that?—Yes, in my opinion the harm is proportionate to the dose in both cases.

1688. *Mr. Chan.*—Do you mix much with the China-born Chinese socially?—I do.

1689. Have they expressed any opinion as regards registration of opium smokers?—Yes.

1690. Would they be willing to submit to registration?—I have made private enquiries and I think they have no objection.

1691. Then why did you say that they would "hate" the scheme?—They will hate the scheme when they find it is difficult for them to go many miles to get opium, and when, presumably, their photographs will be required on the licence and they will have to be recommended through a society or association and have to pay a certain fee when they want to smoke more than a certain amount.

1692. They would not like the inconveniences. That is different from hating the scheme itself?—They would blame the scheme for the inconveniences.

1693. *Chairman.*—The China-born Chinese that you mix with, are they all Hokkiens?—I mix with all kinds. I speak all the principal dialects used in Malaya.

1694. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are any of the members of the Chinese Young Men's Society opium smokers?—Very few; not so many as in other clubs.

1695. Are the smokers old members or new members?—They are old members.

1696. If an opium smoker wants to join as a new member, would you allow him to do so?—Yes, it is not a rule of the club that an opium smoker may not be admitted as a member.

This concluded Mr. TAN POW TEK'S evidence.

TIONG CHU TENG was called.

1697. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TIONG CHU TENG.

1698. What tribe are you?—Hakka.

1699. What is your occupation?—Timber yard owner at Sedili, Johore.

1700. Are you China-born?—Yes.

1701. What is your age?—50.

1702. How old were you when you first came here?—19.

1703. Have you ever been back to China?—Never.

1704. Do you smoke opium?—No.

1705. Have you never tried it?—Yes, only for fun.

1706. And you did not like it?—I only smoked in the company of friends.

1707. How many coolies do you employ?—Over 200.

1708. To what tribes do they belong?—Cantonese and Khehs.

1709. Any Hokkiens?—Only a very few Hokkiens and Tiechius.

1710. Are there any opium smokers amongst the coolies?—Yes.

1711. About how many amongst the 200?—About 100.

1712. How far from the nearest village is your timber yard?—About half a mile.

1713. What wages do your coolies earn?—Between $30 and $40 a month; out of this I deduct, for their food, $8 a month.

1714. From where do they get the opium to smoke?—From Kota Tinggi.

1715. Do you find that the opium smokers work less well than the non-smokers?—Yes.

1716. Are your coolies *kung-sz-kungs*, (on daily wages) or piece-workers?—They work on the share system.

1717. Have you ever got rid of a man solely because he was an opium smoker?—No.

1718. Do you want the Government to prohibit opium smoking?—I would like it; but when I supply my coolies with less opium they grumble.

1719. Do you think it would be a good thing for employers of labour if the Government stopped opium?—Yes, because when the Government stop opium the coolies can save their money and buy useful articles they require.

1720. Would the employers of labour make more money if there was no opium?—Yes, because if the coolies did not smoke opium they would buy more goods from the towkay's shop and the towkay would thus make more profit.

1721. As a matter of fact, you make more money out of your shops than you do out of your trade?—Opium smokers, when they stop smoking get stronger, work harder and earn more money; that benefits the employer as well.

1722. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do any of your coolies swallow?—Yes, they swallow dross.

1723. How much?—After smoking their packet of chandu, they swallow the dross.

1724. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do any of your coolies get ill because they have no money to buy opium?—My opinion is that when they cannot get opium they malinger.

1725. Have any of your coolies died because they did not have the money to buy opium?—No.

1726. Have any of your coolies given up the habit of opium smoking?—Yes.

1727. In how long a period?—It takes over a month.

1728. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you think your coolies would stay with you if they could not get any opium?—If it is prohibited generally, and they cannot get any opium, they will stay in spite of that.

This concluded TIONG CHU TENG'S evidence.

Mr. TAN KHEAM KEAT was called.

1729. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAN KHEAM KEAT.

1730. You are Labour Contractor, Singapore Harbour Board?—Yes.

1731. You are a brother of the late Mr. TAN KHEAM HOCK?—Yes, I am his younger brother.

1732. Are you Straits-born?—Yes.

1733. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

1734. What is your age?—51.

1735. How long have you been Labour Contractor to the Singapore Harbour Board?—For 22 years, in partnership with my brother.

1736. And you yourself have been Labour Contractor since Mr. TAN KHEAM HOCK's death?—Yes.

1737. How many coolies do you engage for the Harbour Board?—About 2,500 Chinese. Coal coolies 1,500, and cargo coolies 1,000.

1738. Do many of the coal coolies smoke opium?—Yes.

1739. Would you hazard a guess as to how many in 100 smoke?—About 60.

1740. How many among the cargo coolies?—About 40 per cent.

1741. To which tribes do the coal coolies belong?—Hokkien, Hockchia and Hockchiu.

1742. What are the cargo coolies?—Kauchiu, Tiechiu and Hokkien.

1743. Not many Cantonese and Khehs?—No; only about 30 Kauchius.

1744. Do you think opium smoking has been increasing among the coal coolies?—Yes.

1745. Has it been increasing among the cargo coolies?—No.

1746. What do the coal coolies earn on an ordinary day?—If they work hard, they can earn $3 a day, day and night shifts.

1747. How many hours does each shift represent?—They work 2 hours in the morning, 2 hours in the evening and 2 hours at night.

1748. Would you call a coal coolie's work heavy physical labour?—Yes, I think it is the hardest work in Singapore.

1749. What about the 60 out of the 100 who smoke opium; how do they do their work?—They work very well. I do not think they could work so well if they did not smoke opium.

1750. Is cargo coolie's work very heavy work?—No, it consists mainly of trucking.

1751. What would a cargo coolie earn in a day?—Cargo coolies work on monthly wages; they get their food and $12.50 a month.

1752. These opium smokers among the coal and cargo coolies, are they mainly what you would call small smokers or are they excessive smokers?—Mainly small, only 3 or 4 3-hoon packets a day, and some only 2 packets.

1753. That is, from 9 to 12 hoons a day?—Yes; if they earn more, they smoke more, and when there is less work they smoke less.

1754. Then that looks as if the habit did not get a very strong hold on them?—The desire to smoke is very strong.

1755. Would you call that 9 to 12 hoons a day moderate smoking?—Yes.

1756. Have you got any personal friends who smoke opium?—Yes.

1757. Have you got any heavy smoker friends?—Not here, I know some in Penang.

1758. What would you call a heavy smoker; how much a day?—A heavy smoker would be a man who smoked half a tahil a day.

1759. Are your own personal feelings opposed to opium or you do not mind?—I am opposed to it.

1760. Strongly opposed to it?—Yes.

1761. Do you want the Government to prohibit opium smoking?—I think it is very hard to prohibit.

1762. Do you mean very difficult to carry it out or very cruel on the smokers?—It would be very hard to abolish.

1763. According to you, your coal coolies would not be able to work so well?—Yes.

1764. What objections have you to moderate opium smoking? A man who smokes only 2 packets a day, for instance; what harm, do you think, that does to him?—If he does not satisfy his craving, it makes him very weak and his eyes water.

1765. *Mr. Jelf.*—But a coolie who was accustomed to smoking say 3 packets a day would be just as good as anybody else?—Not the same.

1766. He would not be so good as the man who does not smoke at all?—No.

1767. *Dr. Galloway.*—If he does not get enough to smoke, does he swallow?—Yes, he swallows dross.

1768 Are there many smoking coolies who swallow?—Yes, when they have not enough money to buy opium, they swallow dross.

1769. *Chairman.*—What do the non-smokers do by way of amusement?—They smoke Chinese tobacco and cigarettes.

1770 Amongst the cargo coolies, do you pay the same to an opium smoker as to a non-smoker?—Yes, they all get the same.

1771. Have you ever had to get rid of any coolie solely because he was an opium smoker?—No.

1772. Does the foreman keep on coming to you with complaints and to say you ought to get rid of certain people because they are smokers?—No, never; as long as they do their work, I do not mind.

1773. Do any of your mandors smoke?—Some.

1774. They would be rich men, relatively; they would be able to smoke quite heavily?—No, not rich men; they get about $30 or $40 a month only.

1775. These mandors who supervise and who smoke opium, do they do their supervision any worse than the ones who do not smoke opium?—No, just the same. They take two-hour shifts.

1776. You would not notice any difference in the quality of work?—No.

1777. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you say the non-smoker is better than the smoker?—Yes, he is better.

1778. What is the difference between them?—The smoker cannot keep up the pace.

1779. *Dr. Galloway.*—Why do you employ opium smokers?—They come like this; we cannot pick and choose.

1780. Why not? Have you not enough men to pick and choose from?—No.

1781. If the opium smoking men were cut off, would there be enough labour?—No.

1782. How much would there be short?—About 60 per cent.

1783. As 60 per cent of your men are smokers, that means that your labour force now is just sufficient, with smokers and non-smokers, to serve your purpose?—Yes.

1784 *Mr. Jelf.*—Can you tell the difference between an opium smoker and a non-smoker?—Sometimes, if he is a heavy smoker.

1785. *Chairman.*—If a man smokes 3 hoons a day, you would not be able to tell?—Opium smokers are mostly very thin.

1786 Some opium smokers are very fat also?—Only rich men; not among the coolie class.

1787. Do you suggest that the thinness is caused by the fact that these men go short of food in order to buy opium?—Yes, they prefer to have more opium.

1788. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You say your coolies change every 2 hours, and 60 per cent of them are smokers. Suppose you changed a gang once in every 4 hours; would the smokers be able to stand it?—No.

1789. Would the non-smokers?—Among the coal coolies, even the non-smokers would not be able to stand it. The cargo coolies could work 4-hour shifts.

1790. *Dr. Galloway.*—But the cargo coolies do work 4 hours at a time?—Yes, 4 hours in the morning and 4 hours at night.

1791. *Chairman.*—Do you know if any of your coolies go in for morphia injection?—No, I have never seen any.

1792. Do you think the opium-smoking habit has any connection with crime?—It leads to stealing only.

1793. In the *kongsi* do the opium smokers steal from the non-smokers?—No.

1794. *Dr. Galloway.*—How many men have you living in those coolie houses at the Docks?—About 150 in each.

1795. Have you had many rows and had to call in the Police to quell disturbances there?—Never.

1796. *Chairman.*—And in those houses, smokers and non-smokers are mixed up?—Yes.

1797. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do many coolies drink European liquors?—No, very few.

1798. *Chairman.*—Do they drink much Chinese wine?—Yes, *Samsu.*

1799. Do any of them ever get drunk on *samsu*?—I have not seen any.

1800. Have you got any suggestions as to the way in which the Government should prohibit the use of opium—what they should do?—As regards China-born Chinese, I think it would be very difficult. As regards the Straits-born, you could keep the habit down by registering.

1801. Why do you make a distinction between the China-born and the Straits-born?—Because the Straits-born are living here and many youngsters take to the habit, whereas the China-born come from China where they have already acquired the habit.

1802. Do you think a good many of these people from China have already smoked before they come here?—Yes.

1803. Quite a good proportion of them?—Yes.

1804. And you think it would be very difficult, perhaps impossible, to apply this system of registration to the China-born?—Yes.

1805. As a Straits-born yourself, would you support a proposal that all Straits-born smokers of opium should be registered?—Yes.

1806. To have one man smoking without a licence who is a Chinese, and another one, who is also a Chinese, having to procure a licence, would not that cause trouble, to make a distinction between the China-born and the Straits-born?—I do not think there would be any trouble.

1807 Do you think they are quite different races, the Straits-born and the China-born?—No.

1808. *Mr. Jelf.*—And yet you would distinguish between them, you would licence Straits-born smokers and not licence China-born smokers although they are really quite the same?—Yes. My idea is that by registering the Straits-born you would decrease the number of smokers.

1809. And you would leave the China-born alone?—Yes.

1810. *Dr. Galloway.*—But there are very few Straits-born smokers?—About 10 to 20 per cent.

1811. You refer to Penang?—Yes.

1812. *Mr. Jelf.*—That is to say, 10 to 20 per cent of grown-up Straits-born Chinese smoke opium?—Yes.

1813. *Chairman.*—Have you many friends among the China-born?—No.

1814. What we are told is that the Hokkiens smoke a great deal more than the Cantonese. Is that true, do you think?—I think that smoking amongst the Hokkiens is more common than amongst Cantonese.

1815. *Mr. Jelf.*—I am not sure whether we have got your answer right about the percentage of Straits-born smokers. Do you mean that of the opium smokers in the Colony 10 to 20 per cent are Straits-born Chinese, or, of the Straits-born Chinese in the Colony 10 per cent to 20 per cent are smokers?—I mean the latter.

This concluded Mr. TAN KHEAM KEAT'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Eighth Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 19TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

TAY HO LIAN was called.

1816. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAY HO LIAN.

1817. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

1818. China-born?—Yes.

1819. How long have you been in the Straits?—25 years.

1820. You are a licensed smoking shop keeper?—Yes.

1821. Is the licence in your own name?—Yes.

1822. How long have you had a licence?—For a few months only.

1823. Who was the keeper of that shop before you took it over?—Ho THIAN CHOK.

1824. Was he a relation of yours?—Yes, he was my cousin.

1825. Is Ho THIAN CHOK alive?—Yes, he has gone back to China.

1826. Did you pay him anything for the right of applying for transfer of the licence?—I gave him some money for the furniture.

1827. How much did you give him?—I gave him $400, and I let him off a debt of $2,200.

1828. Did you pay any tea-money to the owner of the shop?—Tea-money of $2,200 was paid by the previous owner.

1829. What is the rent of the shop?—$50 a month.

1830. Where is it situated?—At No. 3, Beach Lane.

1831. You lent the other man the $2,200 for the tea-money?—Yes.

1832. So that, if I took away your licence to-day, you would be $2,600 down; is that right?—Yes.

1833. But then, that is rather a lot of money to risk when you have only got a licence for 6 months?—That is the usual custom of the trade.

1834. You risk the $2,600 with your eyes open with only a 6 months licence to go?—I know I will get a fair deal out of the Government.

1835. You do know then that these licences are not permanent?—So far as I know, if we do nothing wrong the Government will not cancel our licences.

1836. Supposing the Government decides, whether you have done anything wrong or not, to take back this licence, say at the end of June next year. What is it that you expect the Government to do for you?—I expect to get my $2,600, which I have sunk in the business, back from the Government.

1837. Have you any reasons to offer why the Government should not cancel your licence?—I can give many reasons; here they are. Should the Government cancel our licences, a great many of us who have borrowed money to put into these shops will not be able to pay our debts. The restriction imposed in 1920 caused many chandu shops to be auctioned, and if further restriction were to be imposed the results would be very bad for the chandu shops. At that time there were about 400 or 500 chandu shops; I now hear that the Government is going to reduce the number to 50 or 60. If that is so, they will suffer more trouble.

1838. *Dr. Galloway.*—What will be the "more trouble" if the number of shops are restricted?—A good many of the opium shop keepers are widows, and, if they are deprived of their means of livelihood, they will be unable to find any other.

1839. *Chairman.*—Are you in favour of suppressing opium smoking?—I think it would be a good thing.

1840. Are you an opium-smoker yourself?—Yes.

1841. How long have you been smoking?—Over 20 years.

1842. How much do you smoke in a day?—1 tahil.

1843. Are all the assistants in the opium smoking shops opium smokers —Yes, all of them.

1844. Do you think the assistants can get other employment if they have not employment in the smoking shops?—I cannot say.

1845. What do you think?—It is not certain whether they can or not.

1846. But it is not certain that they cannot?—I cannot say.

1847. How many assistants have you in your shop?—There are 4 men, including myself.

1848. You said it would be difficult for the opium shop keepers to pay their debts. You only had to borrow $400 to get into this shop?—I still owe $2,000 which I borrowed from Mr. TAN SIAN CHENG.

1849. Really you are merely the nominee of this gentleman you have just mentioned?—No, I am not.

1850. Does the interest you pay him depend on the profits of the chandu smoking shop, or not?—I pay him $20 a month as interest.

1851. Do you know if any of the people you are representing here have also borrowed money from the same gentleman to start their shops?—Not that I know of.

1852. Did he know what you were borrowing the money for?—When he lent me the money he did not know what I was going to do with it.

1853. Are you a relation of his?—We come from the same home town.

1854. *Dr. Galloway.*—Besides the $2,600 which you have sunk in your business, what capital have you for carrying on with?—About $600 or $700.

1855. What is your daily turn-over?—About 100 3-hoon packets.

1856. Have you any idea, among the Chinese new-comers to Singapore, how many are smokers?—60 or 70 out of a hundred.

1857. What do you do with all the dross in your shop?—I return it to the Government Monopolies.

1858. How much dross, compared with the amount of chandu you sell, do you return?—I sell back to the Monopolies 10 tahils a month.

1859. What are your monthly purchases of chandu from the Monopolies?—Over 2,000 3-hoon packets.

1860. Is that all the dross that is produced from that?—Yes, that is all.

1861. Is there any dross swallowing in your shop?—Very little.

1862. Are you one of the signatories of this petition?—Yes.

1863. The third reason why registration of opium smokers is not feasible, given in this petition, is—'With the opium growing that is carried on on such an extensive scale in the various provinces of China, the suppression of opium smoking here is almost impossible". For what reason do you say that opium growing is carried on on an extensive scale in China. How do you know?—I got that from the newspapers.

1864. *Chairman.*—What are the wages of your 3 assistants, altogether?—$36 a month for the 3 men.

1865. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Have you a family?—Yes.

1866. Where does your family stay?—They stay above a spirit shop.

1867. What does your family consist of?—A wife and 3 children.

1868. What are your expenses for the month for your family?—$60, not including rent.

1869. Do you pay any rent?—No, I am the principal tenant of the house and I sub-let the ground floor to the spirit shop.

1870. What is the price of 1 tahil of chandu?—$12.

1871. You say you smoke 1 tahil a day. If you smoke $12 worth a day, the cost will be $360 a month: and, including the family expenses that will amount to $420 a month. How are you able to spend so much when in your opium shop, selling 100 3-hoon packets a day you make a profit of only $4 a day?—I make $6 or $7 a day; and I get some money for the dross I return to the Monopolies.

1872. How much do you get for the 10 tahils of dross which you return to the Monopolies?—$45.

1873. Your monthly income is about $200; how do you meet the rest of your expenses?—I am in partnership with a man who has a contract for tapping rubber on an estate in Pontian, Johore.

1874. *Dr. Galloway*:—What income do you derive from that partnership?—$220 to $230 a month.

1875. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon*:—How long have you had this partnership?—Since the 19th of the second moon of last year.

1876. You have been smoking about 20 years. When did you begin to smoke 1 tahil a day?—Only since 3 or 4 months ago, because I was ill.

1877. When does your lease at Pontian expire?—In six months.

1878. What are you going to do after the expiration of that lease; how can you afford to continue smoking 1 tahil a day?—I may be able to do without so much if I am in better health.

1879. Do you hand all the dross over to the Government?—Yes.

1880. Can you sell any dross in your shop?—No; I keep some for my own consumption.

1881. *Chairman*:—Do you sub-let any portion of the house in which you have the smoking shop?—Yes, I sub-let the upper floor for $31 a month.

1882. Do you give your assistants any food?—No; they make a little money from tips from the customers.

1883. *Mr. McLean*:—How many pipes do you get out of a 3-hoon packet?—4 or 5.

1884. *Chairman*:—I work out that you smoke 133 pipes a day. What about it?—That is right.

This concluded TAY HO LIAN'S evidence.

BOEY IAM THOON was called.

1885. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—BOEY IAM THOON.

1886. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

1887. China-born?—Yes.

1888. Are you a smoking shopkeeper?—Yes.

1889. What is the address of your smoking shop?—15, North Canal Road.

1890. How many is it licensed to accommodate?—24.

1891. How many customers do you get in a day?—Between 30 to 60.

1892. Are they nearly all Cantonese people who come to your shop?—No, all tribes of Chinese come.

1893. What are your purchases from the Government Monopolies in a month?—From 2,000 to 3,000 3-hoon packets a month.

1894. How much dross do you sell back to the Monopolies?—6 tahils a month.

1895. How much do you get for that?—$27.

1896. What is the rent of your shop?—$110 a month.

1897. Do you sub-let any portion of it?—Yes, the upper floor.

1898. For how much?—$38 a month.

1899. So that the smoking shop costs you $72 a month in rent?—Yes.

1900. How many assistants have you got?—One.

1901. What wages do you pay him?—$10 a month and food.

1902. That will be about $18 a month all in?—Yes.

1903. Are you an opium-smoker?—I am not a regular smoker: some times I play with it.

1904. How much capital have you sunk in your shop?—About $3,700.

1905. What is that for?—I bought over the right of the shop from another person.

1906. Supposing you want to return to China to-morrow to see your relations, what are you going to do about your shop?—If I should go back to China to-morrow, if I can find a trustworthy relative to take care of the shop for me I will put him in charge; if I cannot, I will sell the rights.

1907. In the first instance, will the Superintendent of Government Monopolies accept your nominee?—If he refuses, I will not return to China.

1908. Are there plenty of buyers?—Yes.

1909. How would you get into touch with the buyer; auction?—A lot of customers who come to smoke in my shop are well-to-do people and they sometimes make overtures to me.

1910. Are your customers the type of people who could pay you $3,700 down?—The amount is not certain.

1911. How much do you think you would get for the rights?—I think I could get $3,500.

1912. This man who is willing to pay you $3,500, how does he know that he will be acceptable to the Superintendent, Government Monopolies?—He would ask the Superintendent first.

1913 Supposing the Superintendent, Government Monopolies cancelled your licence; what about your $3,700?—I will have to bear the loss.

1914. He could cancel it at the end of any six months?—At the end of 3 months.

1915. Do you take out a fresh licence every quarter or every half year?—Every quarter.

1916. What do you pay for the licence?—$36 a quarter.

1917. Tell us a little more about this $3,700; to whom did you pay that?—To BOEY KIT SUN.

1918. He was the previous licensee?—Yes, and he was my relative.

1919. What happened to him?—He has gone back to China.

1920. Had you that $3,700 of your own at the time?—Part of it is borrowed money.

1921. Whom did you borrow from?—From HO WING CHONG; he is a pawn-broker, and has a sundry shop in Kampong Glam.

1922. What interest do you pay him?—12 per cent.

1923. He has got no share in your profits?—No.

1924. How do you make this business pay? Your margin of profit I make out to be the difference between $135 takings and $114 expenditure, that is $21 a month?—That is so.

1925. Then it is not a very profitable trade?—There are some good months when I sell about 4,000 packets.

1926. Are there any lines of profit that you have not told us about?—No.

1927. Nothing like taking a little bit out of a packet and making 2,000 Monopolies packets into 2,500 packets given in the shop?—No.

1928. Supposing there were any intention to cancel your licence, what is your view of the position?—I shall be deprived of the only means of livelihood I have.

1929. How long have you had this smoking shop?—About 3 years now.

1930. How old are you?—35 years.

1931. What did you do before you had this shop?—I worked in a pawn-broker's shop.

1932. I suggest to you that Mr. HO WING CHONG is really the owner of your smoking shop?—No, I am the *towkay* of that shop.

1933. Why can't you go back to pawn-broking?—I have not sufficient capital.

1934. But I understood you to say you were only an employee in a pawn-broking shop?—Yes.

1935. Then, why can't you go back and become an employee again?—Because there are no vacancies.

1936. Are you a married man?—Yes.

1937. How old were you when you first came here?—19 years of age.

1938. Have you been back to China?—No.

1939. Where is your wife?—In China now. She may return here in two years' time.

1940. But you are strong enough to find other employment supposing this employment were not open to you?—I am not strong.

1941. Do you tremble every 3 months when you go to get your licence renewed for fear it should not be renewed?—There was no need to tremble because I have not done anything wrong.

1942. But you know that it is in danger at the end of every 3 months?—The Government will not cancel the licence if I have done nothing wrong.

1943. What did you get in return for the $3,700 you paid to BOEY KIT SUN?—All I got was the furniture and goodwill of the shop.

1944. The goodwill consists in the "good will" of the Superintendent, Government Monopolies that he will re-issue the licence?—When he sold me the shop KIT SUN had to see the Superintendent, Government Monopolies first before I gave him the money.

1945. As a matter of fact, the furniture and fittings are worth perhaps $100?—About $200.

1946. So that really if anybody wanted to compensate you they would only expect to pay you about $200?—It will be very hard on us if they only give us that.

1947. Do you know if the landlord took any tea-money from anybody for this shop?—Yes.

1948. Not from you?—No, from the previous owner.

1949. Do you know how much he paid?—I do not know how much.

1950. *Dr. Galloway.*—You say that in a good month you might sell 4,000 packets. Which months are the good months?—The first 7 months of the year, Chinese reckoning.

1951. Your best month is probably the Chinese New Year month?—Yes.

1952. And gradually it gets less and less as you get further from the New Year?—Yes, that is so.

1953. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you supply the opium smoking pipes, lamps, oil, etc.?—Yes.

1954. Then how much oil have you got to supply with each 3-hoon packet of opium?—It costs me about 30 cents worth of oil for 100 3-hoon packets of chandu consumed.

1955. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is there any swallowing of dross in your shop?—No.

This concluded BOEY IAM THOON'S evidence.

TEO LYE HI was called.

1956. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TEO LYE HI.

1957. Are you a Hokkien?—No, Tiechiu.

1958. Are you China-born?—Yes.

1959. What is your age?—48 years.

1960. How long have you been in the Straits?—27 years.

1961. How many times have you been back to China?—4 or 5 times.

1962. Are you a family man?—Yes.

1963. Any children?—8 children.

1964. Where is the family, in China or here?—Some in China and some in Singapore.

1965. You have got an "off" licence to sell chandu?—Yes.

1966. At which shop?—The licence bears the name of SUN LI HING CHAN TEO LYE HI, but the chop is operated as THIAM SIAH.

1967. Where is it situated?—No. 217, Rochore Road.

1968. In the same shop do you do any other trade than sell opium?—Yes, I also have an "off" licence for spirits.

1969. Which is the more profitable?—They are about the same.

1970. Then if I wanted to take one of your licences away you would not be able to say which?—That is so.

1971. How many packets of chandu do you buy in an ordinary month from the Monopolies?—About $3,500 worth of chandu per month.

1972. How much profit do you make on that in a month?—A little over $200.

1973. You do not get any dross to sell back to the Monopolies?—No.

1974. What is the rent of your shop?—$180 a month.

1975. Do you sub-let any of it?—No, I live upstairs myself.

1976. Do you have to keep any assistants?—Yes, I have 4 assistants.

1977. How much do you pay them a month?—$72 a month and food for the 4 of them.

1978. That will be about $105 for their wages and food, calculating $8 a month for food?—Food costs me $12 a month for each man.

1979. How long have you had a chandu licence?—I have had a licence to sell chandu in my name for 6 or 7 years, but I have never taken charge of it myself.

1980. Who was in charge of it?—KHO CHOON SONG managed the business for me. He has just gone back to China.

1981. How much capital have you sunk in the business?—Over $10,000.

1982. *Dr. Galloway.*—What does that $10,000 cover?—I put in $7,000 or $8,000 on spirits alone.

1983. Where did the other $2,000 or $3,000 go?—In opium.

1984. Whom did you pay it to?—I keep it for buying opium and also for allowing credit.

1985. Who was in the business before you?—SUN LI HING CHAN.

1986. What did you pay that man for the business?—Over $5,000.

1987. Is that in addition to the $10,000 you have just mentioned?—No, the $10,000 is my floating capital.

1988. Did the previous owner have a licence for spirits as well as for chandu?—Yes.

1989. Was he any relation of yours?—Yes, he was my relative. He went back to China and I bought the business over from him.

1990. Had you $5,000 of your own then or did you have to borrow it?—Part of it was my own money.

1991. How much was your own?—I had $3,000 and borrowed $2,000.

1992. From whom?—TEO BA TAN. He is also a relative of mine.

1993. What interest do you pay him?—12 per cent.

1994. If your licence were cancelled and all the opium you had in stock were bought back at cost price, that would be quite fair?—It would not be fair.

1995. What would be fair then?—To compensate me for all I have spent on the shop and further to compensate me for the loss of the earnings which I would have made.

1996. You say you have had these licences for 6 or 7 years; what was your trade before that?—I was a coolie contractor for rubber estates.

1997. If you lost the chandu licence you would still keep the shop open for the sake of the spirit licence, I suppose?—Yes.

1998. But you would not be making quite so much profit?—That is so.

1999. What you meant just now was that you wish Government to compensate you for the profit you would not be able to make?—Yes.

2000. You came here as the result of a meeting of opium sellers?—Yes.

2001. If the Government did decide to take away your licence, do you want to say anything more about it?—It would not be fair for the Government to take away our licences.

2002. You wish to say it is unfair and if the Government insists on it you want some compensation; that is what you came here to say?—Yes, Government should compensate us.

2003. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Is opium suppression, in your opinion, a good thing?—It is a very good thing if it is carried out without any loss to anyone.

2004. What do you think is the Chinese public opinion? Do they like opium to be suppressed or not?—Chinese public opinion is in favour of suppression; but how are you going to suppress opium when China is producing a great deal more than the British Government supplies?

This concluded TEO LYE HI's evidence.

Mr. C. H. SANSOM was called.

2005. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—CHARLES HENRY SANSOM.

2006. You are Commissioner of Police, Johore?—Yes.

2007. When did you join the Police force of the Federated Malay States?—In 1905.

2008. How long have you been in Johore?—3 years.

2009. *Mr McLean.*—If the sale of Government opium is restricted, do you think there will be very much smuggling into Johore?—Yes, I do.

2010. Do you think the smuggling will come direct from China or through Singapore?—My information is that at present there is a certain amount of smuggling direct from China. That will probably increase.

2011. Can you say how the smuggling from China is carried out?—I can only tell you what the information is. I have never been able to verify it or the reverse. The information is that it is carried down on ships from Hongkong and, as they come somewhere off Pengarang or Cape Roumania, they drop it over and a boat comes along from Pengarang to pick it up.

2012. Do you think it is possible to smuggle in that way?—Certainly.

2013. How could this method of smuggling be prevented?—By an efficient and very strong preventive service.

2014. *Mr. Jelf.*—Is there any preventive service in Johore at present?—To all intents and purposes, none. There is one man in Batu Pahat who has given a certain amount of time to it.

2015. That is not under you but under the Customs?—Yes.

2016. *Mr. McLean.*—I believe some Chinese junks come direct to Mersing?—Not a great number, but some come direct to Mersing and also I am informed to Kuala Sedili.

2017. Will it be possible for them to smuggle opium?—Yes.

2018. *Mr. Jelf.*—Whom do you believe to be the Agents in Johore for smuggling of the kind you describe, Chinese, Japanese or Malays?—I think mostly Chinese.

2019. *Mr. McLean.*—Are there any other ways in which smuggling might be carried on direct from China?—They might go direct to any of the small creeks on the West coast. The west coast is one net-work of small creeks which are almost impossible to control effectively.

2020. *Mr Jelf.*—By Cucob?—From Sungei Pulai at the very South right up to Batu Pahat.

2021. *Dr. Galloway.*—Might you not continue that right up to Province Wellesley?—I do not think that the country is as difficult further North where the country is more developed.

2022. *Mr. McLean.*—There is at present no communication along the West coast by road?—No, not South of Batu Pahat.

2023. *Dr. Galloway.*—Looking at the East coast of the Peninsula would you think it possible to keep a sufficient preventive force to prevent smuggling upon that coast?—It would be easier there; not so difficult as on the west coast.

2024. Then, I suppose when the opium is dropped overboard for either of those places you have mentioned there is no difficulty whatever in getting it into the country?—At present there is nothing to prevent it.

2025. *Chairman.*—What would be about the total coast line of Johore?—I could not tell you, it is mostly coast line, of course.

2026. *Mr. McLean.*—You have not yourself taken steps to prevent smuggling?—No.

2027. *Mr. Jelf.*—That is not your job?—No.

2028. *Mr. McLean.*—Have you ever come across any smuggled opium?—I, personally, have not, but I know of two definite cases where, at any rate, non-Government chandu was found by the Police; one was at Sungei Rengit, 16 miles from Batu Pahat, in August last, where I believe, Indian and Chinese chandu pots were found, and we obtained a conviction.

2029. *Dr. Galloway.*—Who were the responsible parties for the smuggling in that case?—Chinese.

2030. In fact, you think smuggling is practically all done by Chinese?—I should say Chinese and Japanese, myself.

2031. *Mr. Jelf.*—You mentioned Pengarang; that is very largely Japanese owned. Would the presumption be that the smugglers in that case were Japanese?—Very likely, but I have nothing on which to base the statement.

2032. *Dr. Galloway:*—Have you had any knowledge or experience of drug-running in Johore?—Only *ganja*.

2033. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Of what nationality are the people who smuggle *ganja*?—Indians.

2034. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you think it would be possible to organize a preventive service which would stop smuggling on the West coast?—It would be possible, but I think you would want a very strong force, and the only way to do it, I should imagine, would be to have a big fleet of motor boats and steam launches.

2035. *Chairman.*—And the further they got from headquarters the more corrupt the preventive service would become?—Yes, I agree.

2036. *Mr. McLean.*—And I take it they would have to search every ship that came in on the West coast and every person who came in on the West coast?—Oh yes, because chandu is very easy to smuggle.

2037. *Chairman.*—To get such a service up to the mark would require a great deal of European supervision?—Yes, I think so.

2038. Would it be possible to get plenty of Europeans for that supervision?—I am not in a position to say; they could not be got locally in Johore at any rate.

2039. Do you know roughly how many European officers there are in Johore?—I do not know.

2040. I suggest it would require the whole lot of the European officers there to be turned on to the supervision of the preventive service to make an effective preventive service?—Yes.

2041. *Mr. Jelf.*—The ingenuity of smugglers is very great, is it not?—Yes.

2042. Can you tell me the most extraordinary form of smuggling you have ever come across?—I have never come across any.

2043. Have you ever heard of any curious cases?—Yes.

2044. Would you like to tell us about it?—It may be quite a yarn; but it was reported to me that they were feeding turkeys with chandu outside Johore bringing them in and then carefully collecting their excrement; I am not certain if that is true.

2045. *Chairman.*—Is Johore a thickly populated country?—In places, not generally speaking.

2046. You could find Chinese miles from civilization all on the outskirts of Johore, I suppose?—Yes.

2047. One of the terms of our reference is the question of the possibility of introducing a system of registration and licensing of smokers, and incidentally, the smokers are referred to in another part of the reference as obviously being the Chinese adult male population. Would you think yourself competent to introduce a system of registration of Chinese adult males in connection with opium smoking in Johore?—No, I should not like to do it.

2048. Do you think it would be feasible to register and licence every opium smoker in Johore?—No, I do not.

2049. That is to say you think it could not be made effective?—Not with the present staff.

2050. Or anything that you can see in the near future?—That is so.

2051. You understand what is implied by that. In the two systems, the registration and the licensing, a man would have to be registered first and every time he went to make a purchase he would be either a coupon holder or a book holder in which the purchase would have to be registered at the time he made it. I suggest that the Chinese population of Johore is, when we talk of the back lands, rather scattered and that the supervision of the shops up country would require to be very strict indeed in order to ensure that the system was made effective?—I do not think you could supervise in the distant places.

2052. Take a town, for example, take Johore Bharu. Assume that there was no emigrant population. With a population like that and a ring fence round it, do you think you could introduce a system like that?—Yes.

2053. Now I remove the ring fence, and there are coolies, when they get their holidays visiting Johore Bharu in considerable numbers. Do you think you could make it effective then in Johore Bharu so that nobody from outside could buy opium?—It might be done in Johore Bharu.

2054. Supposing you did that, these people who are just down for the day, men who have just had their wages, they would have to have a purely temporary permit or go without opium?—That is so.

2055. Can you give temporary permits, do you think, to every immigrant adult Chinese male into Johore Bharu?—You could, but the amount of labour would be very great and all your permits would be forged within ten days whether they were temporary or permanent.

2056. Where do you get the idea that they would be forged so quickly?—From the example of the rubber coupons.

2057. Would you say, still talking of Chinese adult males, that the Chinese adult male visitors to Johore Bharu, would, say, in the course of a month, amount to a considerable number or not?—Yes, they would.

2058. Then, the issue of temporary permits and the re-collection of those permits as they came in and went out respectively, would result in an enormous amount of licencing work?—Yes.

2059. If you do not get the temporary permit back, the temporary permit will be passed on to another visitor?—Yes.

2060. But one of the things about a system of this nature is that there must be no passing on; they must be individual. That means, either photography, or, that with which you are so familiar, finger prints. If you are going to make an individual licence, you must make that either with the photograph or the finger print; you cannot think of any other system?—No finger print is the only efficient way of doing that.

2061. It would be idle to think of photographing people for the sake of temporary permits in Johore Bharu if they were only there just for the day and going back to the mine at night?—Yes.

2062. I cannot suggest that opium smoking should be looked upon as more than a social offence myself. Would you say that in anything that is at the utmost a social offence like that, the enforcement of finger prints would be popular?—I think it would be very unpopular among the better class Chinese gentlemen, certainly.

2063. But then, what about your police experience? As the finger print system is applied more to real criminals than anything else, don't you think it is putting opium smoking in rather a serious category if you associate finger printing with it?—Yes, I do not think they would like it.

2064. Finger printing is not popular?—No.

2065. It is well enough known to the Chinese and other nationalities down here that when you make your finger print impression there is a certain stigma attaching to it. It is usually done under compulsion?—They are beginning to learn to take finger prints in civil matters now.

2066. For example?—Promissory Notes, Land Transfers, etc.

2067. So that really the original stigma of criminality has disappeared or is disappearing?—It is disappearing.

2068. Of course, you would say yourself, comparing a licence which had a photograph with one which had finger prints, that the photograph was not in the same street as finger prints for purposes of identification?—Yes, I agree.

2069. But supposing you were using the finger print system in connection with a system of this description and it was necessary for a licensee at a shop, say, in Sedili, to have to deal with these licences; would he have to be a finger print expert or not?—He would certainly have to have experience and training in finger prints.

2070. Could he acquire a useful experience without going through an enormous training?—Yes, there is not a great deal in it. He would pick it up in a fortnight.

2071. What I mean is, is it possible to have a little knowledge of finger printing that is not a dangerous thing but is really a valuable thing?—A man could get a rough working knowledge, which would not be a dangerous thing, in a fortnight.

2072. The chandu shop-keeper would not be chosen for his knowledge of finger printing, but for other reasons?—He could pick up all that he would require in a fortnight.

2073. When people went back to China or left Johore for another Administration it would be essential to get back these permits under this system. Supposing the permits were valuable to hand on to other people; that would involve searching these people for them as they left the country, would it not?—You would either have to collect them or put a term on them at the end of which they would expire.

2074. *Dr. Galloway.*—Do you think that a great stumbling block to working out the registration system would be the movement of coolies from one State to another and from one part of the State to another part of the State?—Yes, that would make it very difficult indeed.

2075. And that would mean a very large number of registers?—Yes.

2076. If you come to think the whole subject out, it means simply an enormous staff; practically a staff prohibitive in cost?—Yes, that is so.

I know that on many of these very distant mines and plantations big employers of labour, although not licenced, do sell chandu to their coolies, and it is difficult to find fault with them.

2077. *Mr. McLean.*—Those would be cases where there is no chandu shop within a good many miles?—Yes.

2078. *Dr. Galloway.*—And it would be Government chandu, of course?—Oh yes, licit chandu.

2079. *Mr. McLean.*—For purposes of identification is it sufficient to take a single thumb print or the impression of all the fingers and thumbs?—A single thumb print is sufficient.

2080. *Mr. Jelf.*—If the registration is going to be in the least effective every depôt for selling chandu must be able to compare the licence presented with the register?—All the seller can do is to compare the licenced person's thumb print and the thumb print on the document he produces and that document may be a forged document.

2081. Then, if there is any doubt, it would have to be referred to a central register?—Where is your doubt going to arise until you come to the register? Every one of them has got to come to the register.

This concluded Mr. C. H. SANSOM's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Ninth Meeting.

FRIDAY, 21ST DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

KOEH THENG was called.

2082. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—KOEH THENG.

2083. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

2084. China-born?—Yes.

2085. You are a retail opium shop-keeper?—Yes.

2086. How old are you?—60 years.

2087. Have you a wife and family?—Yes.

2088. In Singapore?—Yes.

2089. You are the holder of a retail shop licence, where at?—No. 64, Queen Street.

2090. Is the licence in your own name?—Yes.

2091. How long have you had a licence as a retailer of chandu?—For about 13 years.

2092. Have you been back to China in those 13 years?—I have never been back to China.

2093. What do you also sell at this shop, No. 64, Queen Street?—Nothing else; only chandu.

2094. How much chandu do you sell in a month?—About 11,000 to 12,000 3-hoon packets and about 600 3-chee pots.

2095. Do you keep any assistants?—I have one assistant.

2096. How much do you pay the assistant?—$30 a month and food in addition.

2097. What is the rent of your shop?—$50 a month.

2098. Do you sublet any part of it?—No, I live upstairs with my family.

2099. What fee do you pay for the licence each month?—$6.

2100. What profit do you make on your sales in a month?—About $450 to $460 a month.

2101. Is that your nett profit or gross profit?—Gross profit.

2102. But I thought you made 4 cents profit on a 3-hoon packets?—Yes, about 4 cents; but I lose a bit on exchanging copper coins for silver and notes: I have to pay 2 cents on a dollar.

2103. That makes a good deal more than $450 a month; it makes $480 on the 12,000 3-hoon packets alone?—When they buy a big lot at a time, I make less profit.

2104. Do you get any complaints about the contents of the packets being under weight?—Yes.

2105. Many complaints?—Yes, many.

2106. If there is more in a 3-hoon packet, you get no complaint; you only get complaints when there is less?—That is so.

2107. How long have you been in this particular shop?—I have been in that house from 25 to 30 years.

2108. You rented the house even before you had a licence?—Yes, previously it was a smoking shop.

2109. Did you keep it when it was a smoking shop?—Yes

2110. Why was the licence for a smoking shop taken away?—I asked for it to be taken away because a smoking shop yielded less profit.

2111. Supposing you lost your licence now for retailing, what about it?—I expect compensation.

2112. How much?—Last month I was offered $7,500 for the goodwill of my shop.

2113. Why did you not take it?—Because I thought I was too old to do any other work.

2114. But you might live on the $7,500?—I spend $300 a month on chandu for myself alone.

2115. Do you smoke nearly a tahil a day?—Yes, about a tahil.

2116. You must be smoking all day long?—A tahil is not very much; it does not necessitate smoking all day long.

2117. How many pipes do you get out of a tahil?—About a hundred smokes.

2118. What do you do with the dross from your own smokes?—I swallow the dross.

2119. Are you very often ill?—No, I am not.

2120. How many children have you got?—2 sons and 1 daughter.

2121. *Dr. Galloway.*—For how long have you smoked?—For 38 years.

2122. *Chairman.*—Have you had any children since you started smoking?—Yes, all my children were born after I started smoking.

2123. How much did you begin with?—Between 1 and 3 chees a day.

2124. What were you doing then?—I was a sundries shop keeper.

2125. Did you ever smoke in China?—No, I did not smoke in China; I was only a boy there.

2126. How old were you when you came here?—18 years old.

2127. Was smoking prevalent in your village when you first came here?—Yes.

2128. *Dr. Galloway.*—How many men in a hundred smoked in your village when you were there?—About 40 to 50. At present 60 per cent. of the people in my village smoke.

2129. How do you know?—I have many relatives and friends coming from there who tell me so.

2130. Do many of your customers swallow the dross, or do they hand it back to you?—Almost everyone of them swallows the dross, because they cannot afford to buy sufficient chandu.

2131. What class of people buy from you?—Rickshaw pullers, coolies and shop-keepers.

2132. *Chairman.*—Mostly Hokkiens?—Yes, mostly Hokkiens.

2133. Do you believe that more Hokkiens smoke than Cantonese?—Yes, there are more Hokkien smokers than Cantonese.

2134. Are there more Tiechius than Cantonese who smoke?—Yes, more Tiechius than Cantonese.

2135. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do many Hailams smoke?—There are Hailam smokers.

2136. *Mr. Chan.*—How old are your sons?—My eldest son is 15 years old and the younger one is 12.

2137. What do you spend, a month, for their education and maintenance?—About $25.

2138. Do you think it is right for you to spend $300 a month on opium for yourself, and only $25 on your children?—There is no other way, since I have taken to this habit.

2139. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are there any Straits-born Chinese among your customers?—Very few.

2140. *Mr. Jelf.*—Are there any women among your customers?—Yes.

2141. What class of women?—Middle-class women.

This concluded KOEH THENG'S evidence.

LIM IONG PHUAN was called.

2142. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LIM IONG PHUAN.

2143. What is your age?—57 years.

2144. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

2145. China-born?—China-born.

2146. Are you a married man?—Yes.

2147. Have you any family?—I have about 15 dependants.

2148. Are you an opium smoker?—Yes.

2149. What are you, a retail shop keeper or a smoking shop keeper?—I am a retail shop keeper at No. 112, Lavender Street.

2150. How long have you had that shop?—For 8 years.

2151. Was that an opium retail shop before you took it over?—Yes.

2152. Did you pay anything to the out-going licensee?—$1,500.

2153. Supposing your licence was taken away now, what do you expect? You don't expect to get $1,500 from anybody else, do you?—I do not know what I will do; it is left to the Government.

2154. You have been sent here as part of a deputation. What did the people who deputed you say you should ask for?—They told me to come and appeal to your bowels of compassion.

2155. How many packets of opium do you sell in a month?—From 8,000 to 9,000 3-hoon packets and about 200 3-chee pots.

2156. What profit do you make on those sales?—About $350 a month.

2157. What rent do you pay for the place?—$50 a month.

2158. Do you sublet any of it?—No.

2159. Have you any assistants?—Yes, 2 assistants.

2160. How much do you pay them?—It costs me $80 a month, including their food.

2161. And the licence fee is $6 a month?—Yes.

2162. Have you any other expenses?—Yes, miscellaneous such as oil, transport, etc., amounting to about $40 to $50 a month.

2163. How much do you smoke?—8 or 9 chees a day.

2164. How many pipes is that?—I have never counted and I cannot estimate.

2165. How much does your opium-smoking cost you a month?—About $300 a month.

2166. How can you afford that?—I have other businesses. I build twakows and keep a shop with materials for building *atap* houses.

2167. Then, if you have got other businesses, it does not matter about this opium?—Personally, I am not much concerned about it; the others are more concerned. I do not depend on it for a living.

2168. Do you live over the opium shop?—No, I live in Chop BAN LEONG.

2169. Have you ever been back to China?—I have been here 30 years and have never been back to China.

2170. Are you married to a Straits-born woman?—Yes.

2171. *Dr. Galloway.*—Have you any children?—Yes, 5 sons and 1 daughter.

2172. Do you swallow any of your dross?—No.

2173. Do you know if many of the people who buy from you swallow dross?—I am unable to say; I do not know.

2174. What do you do with your own dross?—I give it away.

2175. *Chairman.*—Why don't you sell it to the Government Monopolies?—I keep a retail shop; I cannot sell dross to the Monopolies.

2176. *Dr. Galloway.*—What do the people whom you give it to do with the dross?—They swallow it.

2177. How long have you smoked?—14 or 15 years.

2178. Have you ever been ill?—I began to smoke opium on account of my eye trouble when I was 45 years old.

(The eyes, especially the right eye, show signs of old iritis D. J. G.).

2179. *Chairman.*—Have you had any children after you started smoking?—One of my children was born after I took to opium-smoking.

2180. *Dr. Galloway.*—How much would you expect to get for your business if you sold it to-day?—I think it is worth $4,000.

2181. Has the business increased since you bought it?—Yes, it has doubled in volume.

2182. Is that from new smokers coming to buy or increased purchases from old smokers?—There are more people living in that locality now.

2183. Are there very many young men, beginners, who buy from you?—Yes, many.

This concluded LIM IONG PHUAN'S evidence.

KOEH POON SENG was called.

2184. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—KOEH POON SENG.

2185. To what tribe do you belong?—I am a Hockchia.

2186. What is your age?—43.

2187. Are you China-born?—Yes.

2188. How old were you when you first came here?—16 years old.

2189. Have you ever been back to China?—Yes, twice.

2190. Are you a married man?—Yes.

2191. How many children have you got?—6 children.

2192. You are a smoking shop-keeper?—Yes, at No. 119, Victoria Street.

2193. How long have you been, a smoking shop-keeper?—For about 10 years.

2194. Always in the same premises?—Yes.

2195. Was that a smoking-shop before you got the licence for it?—Yes.

2196. Did you buy the right from somebody else?—Yes.

2197. For how much?—I spent about $4,000 to get the right of that shop.

2198. What happened to the other man; did he go back to China?—Yes, he has gone back to China.

2199. How many packets of opium do you sell in a month in your shop?—From 4,400 to 4,500 packets a month.

2200. How much profit do you make on those 4,500 packets?—About $260 to $270 a month.

2201. What do you do with the dross?—I sell it back to the Monopolies.

2202. All of it?—Yes, all of it.

2203. How much do you sell a month to the Monopolies?—About 12 tahils.

2204. What do they give you for it?—$54.

2205. What is the rent of the shop?—$80 a month.

2206. Do you sublet any portion to it?—No, I live upstairs with my family.

2207. Have you got any assistants?—Yes, two assistants.

2208. What wages do you pay them?—$60 a month including food.

2209. You have to pay $12 a month for the licence?—Yes.

2210. Have you any other expenses?—Yes, about $30 a month.

2211. Do you smoke any opium yourself?—Yes.

2212. How much a day?—My mother and I smoke about $5 worth of chandu a day.

2213. That is about $150 a month. You have given us expenses amounting to $332 a month and receipts to $314 a month?—I also keep two rickshaw depôts.

2214. Do you own any rickshaws yourself?—Yes, 5.

2215. Are you a *Siong Thau*?—No; I pay a *Siong Thau* a dollar a month per 'rickshaw.

2216. Supposing the Government decided to take away your licence; do you expect compensation?—I leave it to the Government to deal with us in a fair way.

2217. Do you hope you will get anything?—Of course.

2218. How much do you hope you will get?—It is worth $7,000 now.

2219. Could you find a buyer to-morrow for $7,000?—I was offered $8,000 last year.

2220. What were you told, as a deputation, to say to us?—What they have in their petition is about all they want to say.

2221. But we do not think there is very much in that petition; we have read it. Who wrote it?—I do not know who wrote it. Another shop-keeper brought it to me and I signed it.

2222. Did you read it?—I read it roughly.

2223. You do not know what is in it?—I did not understand all of it.

2224. You just looked at it and put your chop on it?—I just glanced at it.

2225. Then, if I examined you on it, you would not know whether I was telling you what was in it or not?—That is so; I do not know all that is in it. I was unable to read all of it.

2226. You are not a very good scholar?—No, I am not.

2227. What did you start life as here?—When I came to Singapore I rented houses for the purpose of subletting them to others.

2228. How old were you then?—16 years old.

2229. Have you ever been a rickshaw puller?—No, never.

2230. Had you any capital when you came here?—No, no capital.

2231. I do not believe you started life like you say you did?—I inherited my father's business.

2232. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Where did you learn to smoke opium?—In Singapore when I was 21 years old. I had a cough and I took to opium.

2233. Did you cough blood?—No; I suffered from incessant coughing.

2234. *Mr. McLean.*—Did the doctor advise you to take to opium?—No doctor advised me; my friends advised me.

2235. *Chairman.*—Did you teach your mother to smoke?—No, I did not teach my mother to smoke.

2236. Did she smoke before you did?—No, she took to it after I did; she has been smoking for 7 or 8 years only.

2237. *Dr. Galloway.*—What for?—On account of sickness.

2238. What is her sickness?—Rheumatism.

2239. Do many young people learn to smoke in your shop?—There were plenty of new smokers some years ago; there have not been so many during the last few years. Most of them are habitual smokers.

2240. Is there any swallowing of dross in your shop?—No, none.

2241. Do you not get more than 12 tahils of dross from the quantity of chandu you sell?— I swallow some and my mother swallows some.

2242. That is not the question I asked; do you not get more than 12 tahils of dross from the quantity of chandu that you sell?—Yes, there should be more than 12 tahils of dross.

2243. Then, what do you do with the remainder?—My mother and I swallow it. There has been a great deal of bad dross which I am unable to return to the Monopolies.

2244. How much bad dross have you had, compared to the good dross?—(Witness evades the question).

2245. *Mr. Chan.*—Are any of your customers regular customers?—Yes, most of them are regular customers.

2246. Do you remember when they first went to your shop to smoke?—I cannot remember.

2247. Can you tell whether they smoke more now or less?—They smoked more before; they smoke less now.

2248. Do you know the reason why they smoke less now?—On account of shortage of money.

2249. Do any non-smokers go to your shop to pass the time?—Very few.

This concluded KOEH POON SENG'S evidence.

Mr. GEORGE GORDON WILSON was re-called.

2250. *Chairman.*—You remember that on the last occasion we spoke about the excessive consumption in Labuan and you promised to communicate with the Resident there. Have you had any answer?—Yes, I had a letter dated 3rd December, from which the following is an extract:—

> "..... In the first place, there are very few actual Chinese coolies here. They are nearly all artisans with wages rising to $60 per mensem, and market gardeners whose profit it is hard to estimate. Of one thing I am certain, and that is they have money to spend and most of them are heavy opium-smokers.
>
> Secondly, opium-smoking here is by no means confined to these classes. One or two of our wealthy contractors are extremely heavy opium-smokers.
>
> Thirdly, in 1921 and 1922, Labuan had a very large floating population of opium-smokers. In those years some 200 indentured Chinese coolies passed through Labuan every month on their way to Miri. I believe 200 is probably an under-estimate, but you could no doubt obtain the exact figures from the Manager of the Sarawak Oil Fields at Miri, if you think of investigating this suggestion further. They undoubtedly bought chandu while here.
>
> Fourthly, there are the three Straits Steamship boats which come in here twice a month and each of them carries, I should say, some 20 opium-smokers (coolies and passengers) who buy enough opium to keep them going when they come ashore here. Then there are the smaller coasting junks that come in and out, each of which has, no doubt, one or two opium-smokers on board who replenish their stocks in Labuan. I do not say of course that opium is not being smuggled out of Labuan, but I do not think the smuggling in 1921 and 1922 at any rate was as bad as the consumption of chandu per head of *resident* population would lead one to infer.
>
> I do not know how much opium the 650 Chinese in Labuan could *smoke* in a year—but even if they were all coolies (and all opium-smokers, of course) they could on the average afford to buy ¾ of a tahil a month or a total of roughly 6,000 tahils per annum. Of the remaining 2,000 odd tahils sold I should say that roughly 1,000 tahils were bought by passers-by, some 500 tahils were probably bought by our rich Chinese, and the balance probably smuggled."

2251. What is the history of the differentiation in price between Labuan and Singapore?—The price in Labuan was fixed with a view to keeping more or less level with British North Borneo and Sarawak.

2252. Is it essential to maintain that lower price in this one particular Settlement of the Colony?—I should say it is essential that the price in Labuan should follow the price in British North Borneo and neighbouring countries.

2253. Is it the fact that the price in Brunei is the same as in Labuan?—I am afraid I do not know.

2254. You told us that there was a special price for Christmas Island also. Is there any reason for that special price?—Yes, the price was fixed with the Phosphate Company when we started supplying and it was part of the agreement that we should give them at least two months' notice of any change of price, and that there was to be no change of price oftener than once in six months.

2255. What is the date of that agreement?—March, 1910.

2256. Has the price to Christmas Island gone up periodically with the rises in price in the Colony?—It has only partially followed the rises elsewhere in the Colony.

2257. The Christmas Island price now is $5?—Yes.

2258. Apart from agreements, there would be no reason in the case of Christmas Island, such as you mention in regard to Labuan, for maintaining a different price?—Yes, I think there would.

2259. But you cannot smuggle anything from anywhere into Christmas Island?—The reasons are quite different in the case of Christmas Island. If you made the price higher you would have disturbances among the coolies.

2260. But, surely, if you made the price higher under these circumstances, the employer, that is the Phosphate Company, would make the loss up rather than have disturbances among the coolies?—I am afraid you would have the disturbances first before you got the company to take that view.

2261. That is the only reason you can suggest?—I should say it would be very wrong, indeed, to raise the price suddenly from $5 to $12. If raising is comtemplated I should say it must be gradual. The spirit of the whole convention is that the changes should be gradual.

2262. You do not know what the price was before you took over the supply?—The price before was $2.20 per tahil, but the chandu then sold on the Island was much inferior to that of the opium farm.

2263. Then the opium farm price was $3 in 1910 and the Christmas Island price was $2.20. The price in Singapore is now $12 and to Christmas Island is only $5. Therefore, the rises in price in Christmas Island have not been in proportion?—They have not been, the reason being that Christmas Island is an isolated place where coolies have little or nothing in the way of amusement.

2264. How is this special price to Christmas Island made legal?—The Ordinance does not apply to Christmas Island because the notification bringing the Ordinance into operation specially exempts Christmas Island, and this exemption has never been removed.

2265. We were discussing with Mr. MUSSELL the other day the question of packing our chandu in hermetically sealed tubes like the Dutch East Indies. Have you ever seen those tubes?—Yes, often. We frequently make seizures of Dutch chandu.

2266. In your opinion, quite apart from the cost of bringing it in, do you think it would be feasible to introduce a similar system of hermetically sealed tubes into the Colony?—Yes, I think it would.

2267. Can you sketch us the advantages of the system from the point of view of the Superintendent of Government Monopolies?—Yes; first of all the contents would be almost impossible to tamper with, they would be easier to transport without any danger of leakage; there would be no wastage from broken packets and the weight of the contents would be satisfactorily accurate, and accuracy, with our present mode of packing, is practically impossible.

2268. Is there much tampering under the present system?—I think there must be a considerable amount.

2269. Leakage in transport is a very frequent occurrence, I believe?—There is bound to be leakage when you pack the chandu in a dry bamboo leaf which is apt to crack.

2270. Broken packets, under the bamboo leaf system, are quite common?—Yes.

2271. You have a special arrangement for re-importing broken packets from the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States?—Yes.

2272. As to the weight at present, when the packing, I understand, is done by human ingenuity, as opposed to mechanical ingenuity under the

tube system, is there much complaint as to the variations of weight in the bamboo leaf packets?—Yes, there are frequent complaints. There is bound to be a certain variation of weight under our system of packing.

2273. You have watched the methods many times. Some of the people who fill the packets are marvellously skilful, some not nearly so skilful?—I agree.

2274. You would back mechanical ingenuity against human ingenuity for a purpose like that every time?—Oh yes.

2275. Have you seen the filling of the tubes either in Java or Siam?—No, I have not.

2276. *Mr. Jelf.*—Have you any idea of the percentage of breakages in your present system?—I could give figures but not off-hand. Much depends, of course, on the amount of moisture in the chandu. That is another point which would be in favour of the tube system; we could afford to have the chandu softer than at present.

2277. Have you ever recommended the Dutch system to the Government?—The Superintendent tried to get it introduced at the start, but my recollection is that Government considered that it was not worth the expense.

2278. And no recommendations have been made for some time now?—No, Government thought that the opium revenue might not last very long and they did not want to sink a lot of capital on expensive plant. That is my recollection of the matter.

2279. *Chairman.*—From one more aspect, the detection point of view, would it be of value?—I have already said that it would be almost impossible to tamper with chandu packed in tubes.

2280. What is the form of tampering with the present packets?—Licensees can open the packets, take out part of the contents, and sell light; or they may take out part of the contents and add some adulterant to make up the weight.

2281. They can make use of smuggled inferior chandu at the present time by mixing it with Government chandu?—They can make use of smuggled chandu; I would not necessarily say inferior; I do not know that it is inferior from the smoker's point of view.

2282. *Dr. Galloway.*—But it is cheaper, otherwise it would not be smuggled in?— Quite so, but it is not necessarily inferior. Some of the stuff that is coming in from China is very good.

2283. *Chairman.*—Have you any idea of the cost of the plant necessary?—I should not like to mention a figure now; prices have no doubt altered since the recommendation was made before; possibly, it would be a matter of $100,000 or $200,000.

2284. Any other points in favour of the tube system?—There is one more point. We should be able to economize by centralizing packing for the whole Peninsula. At present we have packing departments in Singapore, Penang and Kuala Lumpur. If we had a tube system, no doubt packing for the whole of the Peninsula would be done in one central office in Singapore.

2285. *Dr. Galloway.*—The process would be all mechanical?—Yes.

2286. There would be saving of labour and saving of wages?—Yes.

2287. *Chairman.*—Then, except for the large capital expenditure for the plant, it might turn out that the packing maintenance was less costly under the tube system than at present?—Yes, and there is a further consideration, that of being able to cook the chandu softer. But the Analyst would be better able to pronounce an opinion on that point. If it were possible to pack the chandu softer, that would mean that we would get a certain number of extra tahils from the factory out of the same amount of

raw opium and the saving on that might be very considerable. Then, I should say that if we are going to have Government retail shops, the tube is a much more presentable article for us to sell by retail than the present packets and pots.

2288. *Dr. Galloway.*—Packing the chandu in tubes, of course, as you say, enables you to get more tahils of chandu out of a ball of opium. That would mean a much lower morphine content?—Yes.

2289. Your present morphine content is about 12½?—Yes, approximately.

2290. Don't you think that that is an extremely high morphine content. It is much higher than it used to be?—I think this question would be better answered by the Analyst.

2291. I shall put one or two questions to you and, perhaps, you could get the Analyst to put up a memorandum answering them. One is the present morphine content of our chandu. Next, I should like to know what is the morphine content of No. 1 Amoy smuggled chandu, and also of Dutch chandu?—I shall get you the information from the Analyst.

2292. Another possible saving would be in regard to the tremendous return of bad chandu which you get?—We get back broken packets from the States, not from the shop-keepers.

2293. How long can you definitely say that that chandu will last without becoming fermented or mouldy in a bamboo leaf?—None of that is wasted; it is all re-cooked.

2294. You cannot give any definite answer as to how long it would remain good in a bamboo leaf?—I have always understood that chandu rather improves with keeping.

2295. If it does not go mouldy?—But I thought the Chinese like the mould just as we like mouldy cheese. As far as my experience goes, the small quantity of chandu in a bamboo leaf packet does not ferment or grow mouldy, it merely dries up.

2296. When you are weighing the bamboo leaf packets, do you include the weight of the leaf?—No, we try as accurately as we can to give the nett weight of 3-hoons in a packet.

2297. You make an allowance for the leaf but no allowance for the variations in the weight of the leaf?—We try to give the correct nett weight.

2298. Do you get back as dross 10 per cent of the quantity of chandu you sell in Singapore?—The answer to this question and my meaning in my previous examination (Question 109) is that I get back about 10 to 12 per cent of the amount of chandu sold to the smoking-shops.

2299. There must be an enormous amount of dross missing?—Yes.

2300. *Mr. McLean.*—If all the dross were brought back to you, what percentage do you think you would get?—In the Federated Malay States they claim that one tahil of chandu produces half a tahil of dross; but my recollection of the evidence given before the 1908 Opium Commission is that one tahil of chandu produces about 40 per cent of its weight in dross.

2301. How much do you pay for dross?—$4.50 a tahil for first quality and $1.50 for second quality.

2302. If you increased the price you would get back more?—You would need to pay more than double, $10 or $11 a tahil, I should think, before you made any big difference; and even then I daresay people would prefer to keep the dross instead of bringing it back.

2303. *Mr. Galloway.*—Are you of opinion that most of that dross is swallowed?—I am quite sure none of it is wasted. It is too valuable to be wasted.

2304. *Chairman.*—You will send us a return of dross purchased in due course?—Yes, I will; it is being prepared.

2305. On the subject of certain opium sellers who have appeared before us, we should like a really good business-man like you to explain how these shops can pay their way. I will give you odd details from the evidence of a smoking shop-keeper who seemed to be the most realiable witness amongst the smoking shop-keepers we examined. He showed us profits of $108 and returns from sale of dross $27, that is a total of $135 in a month. He then detailed expenses, interest on borrowed capital, licence, wages, rent, etc., $114, leaving a profit of $21. He was a married man with a family. How is it done?—He did not tell you anything about the profit he made by selling dross to the public.

2306. You think that that is quite a considerable profit on the sly?—Very appreciable indeed. From his evidence I infer that he sold 2,700 packets a month; that is 81 tahils, from which he should get about 36 tahils of dross. On his own showing, he returns to the Monopolies only 6 tahils, leaving him about 30 tahils to sell on the sly, from which he would probably get about $180, or even considerably more, if he sold his dross in small pellets. I made enquiries in Malacca the other day, and I was told that dross there sold in small pellets works out at $12 a tahil.

2307. Is he allowed by law to sell dross?—No; it is prohibited.

2308. *Mr. Jelf.*—But you can hardly ever bring it home to him that he is withholding a quantity of dross?—We do have cases, but it is very difficult to get a conviction because a sale must be proved.

2309. *Chairman.*—Would you say you have cases very frequently?—Not very often, because of the difficulty of getting them to sell.

2310. We gathered from this deputation of opium sellers whom we examined, that retailing the chandu was admittedly not unprofitable; but the smoking shops appeared very unprofitable indeed?—Yes, apparently so.

2311. Is there more competition for smoking shop licences than for retailers' licences?—They prefer retail licences, because retail shops are not required to return any dross. Also if you get a smoking shop licence you have got to comply with certain conditions as to premises; the rent is bigger, you have to supply furniture and so forth.

2312. Would you believe that a retailer in Queen Street was offered $7,500 for the goodwill of his retail chandu business?—It is qnite possible. If the profit of a shop is $1,000 a month, that would not be an exorbitant price.

2313. But this particular one that I have just mentioned only claimed that he made $460 gross profit a month?—$7,500 is bigger than the figures I usually hear of in connection with licences changing hands.

2314. Would you believe that a man was offered for the goodwill of a smoking-shop at 119, Victoria Street $8,000 last year?—No. It seems far too much.

2315. You hear a good deal of what is paid amongst licensees in the course of your official business —Yes, I do.

2316. Would you suggest that the witnesses who have appeared before us have been putting it on the high side?—I think they must have been, especially the smoking shop-keeper just mentioned.

2317. We have had, as you know, pressed on us a system of registration and licensing of smokers by certain witnesses. It is also part of our reference. Supposing it were decided to try that; would it be advisable to try it in the first instance in a selected area, or would it be essential to introduce it all over British Malaya at the same time?—I should say the smaller the area selected, the better.

2318. You go for a selected area?—Yes.

2319. You say the smaller the area, the better. Then, I bring it home to you that assuming, for the sake of argument, it was decided to try this system, the best small area in the whole of Malaya would be the Island of

Singapore?—No, I should say it is the worst, because Singapore is just the place where there is all the migration going on.

2320. Any other objections to Singapore?—It is the biggest place, and the task of registration would be hopelessly unwieldy.

2321. But it is a small area, and it is the best policed area in the whole of British Malaya?—You probably have the most turbulent element in the population here. I am quite sure that if an attempt at registration is made it will be violently opposed by the people whom it is proposed to register.

2322. *Mr. Jelf.*—To whatever tribe they belong?—Yes.

2323. Whether they are heavy smokers or whether they are not?—I should think so.

2324. *Mr. McLean.*—On what grounds would it be opposed by them?—I think they would object to registration: any innovation that might seem to make it more difficult for them to get chandu would be unwelcome.

2325. *Chairman.*—In selecting an area for an experiment of that nature, assuming the experiments were desired to be made, would you take the place where the strongest anti-opium feeling was in existence?—I should say it would be easiest in a place where the smokers were in a very small minority.

2326. Then, if you do not know the number of smokers in any particular place, you cannot make your selection that way?—No, you cannot; I do not think there is one particular place in British Malaya where anti-opium feeling is stronger than in another.

2327. A mainland territory would be more difficult to work than an island?—Not necessarily. I should say a place like Labuan would be the easiest place to start it; it has a small population. It would certainly be a much easier place than Singapore.

2328. You have kindly taken a census of opium-smokers on random days in three shops chosen at random?—I hand in the result* of the census.

2329. You were good enough to take the time analysis also in that census and I gather that the main patronage was between 12 and 1, and after 6 in the evening. Is that roughly right?—I believe those are the favourite hours, although that is not very clearly indicated by these figures.

2330. I make a proposal to you then, in view of this time analysis and the suggestion of Government smoking shops, as opposed to private smoking shops; would you agree that the hours might well be reduced from the present, or not?—They could be reduced, but it would simply drive people to smoke in their own homes or in unlicensed places.

2331. It is rather sentimental, perhaps, but it seems to be proper to consider that these smoking shops should not be open during the hours of normal work?—Any reduction of the hours would be merely a show measure and would not do any real good. Those who wanted to smoke at any other time would smoke elsewhere.

2332. Will you prepare for us a return of the smoking shops and retail shops in each Settlement showing separately the rural and urban shops?—Yes, the return is in course of preparation.

2333. As to the attempt at rationing in 1920 did you really cut the amount that the public could buy down by 10 per cent or not?—Yes, at the start I did. I took the monthly average of the purchases of each shop for the previous 12 months, and deducted 10 per cent. I started on that, but the arrangement did not work at all, and I gradually found I had to yield to the entreaties of the shops to increase a little. There were considerable disturbances in town over the restriction of sales.

2334. *Dr. Galloway.*—What was the nature of the complaints by the shop-keepers?—The complaints came from the smokers as well. The shop-keepers, of course, complained that they had not enough to sell to their customers and the smokers complained that they could not get any chandu.

2335. What did you infer from that?—That somebody was hoarding it.

* Appendix XXXVII.

2236. For what purpose?—It might be to get a higher price or it might be to keep for their own future use in case supplies did run short.

2337. Was there any panic among the smokers?—Yes, there was something like a panic and a good deal of agitation in town.

2338. How long did this rationing last?—For about 4 months; then the attitude of the Chinese got so menacing that we felt we had to give it up. There was a good deal of rowdyism.

2339. *Chairman.*—Did you get any support from the Anti-opium Society?—None whatever. I am quite certain that if any attempt at registration is introduced we will have still worse trouble than we had on that occasion.

2340.—*Dr. Galloway.*—What is your real fear if a licensing or a registration system is brought in?—I am sure there will be riots.

2341. *Chairman.*—Unless you get not only the moral but the active support of the vast majority of the Chinese population?—Yes.

2342. *Dr. Galloway.*—You do not expect to get it, do you?—I do not expect to get it.

2343. Are there any rumours *apropos* of the sitting of this Committee?—Yes, the rumours that have come to my ears are that the smokers are determined not to have registration.

2344. *Chairman.*—Do you think it will be active resistance or passive resistance, from the rumours that you hear?—It is difficult to say; I should be prepared for active resistance.

2345. But, then, we are told the opium-smokers are such physical worms that they would not be able to do anything in the way of active opposition?—I do not know about that. I should not like to be pitted against a mob of opium-smokers.

2346. *Dr. Galloway.*—Passive resistance will take, chiefly, the form of smuggling in as much chandu as they can possibly get?—Yes, they will smuggle in chandu. But, besides that, I should be very much afraid of riots in the town.

2347. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you think if Government sent someone to Formosa or to the Dutch East Indies to study the system of registration of smokers there, it would be a good thing?—I do not think so; so far as theory goes I think we could arrange a system of registration as well as they.

2348. *Mr. Chan.*—Were there riots in those places when registration was introduced?—That I do not know. I understand that the proportion of smokers in the Dutch East Indies is very much smaller than here.

2349. From whom did you hear those rumours of active resistance to registration?—I heard them in my office.

2350. Are you sure they did not come from those people who deal in opium?—That is more than likely.

2351. Would it surprise you if I were to tell you that practically every Chinese who discussed this matter with me was in favour of registration?—That may be so; of course, the information I would get would come from those who were chandu smokers or from the shops.

2352. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you know that there are some unlicensed shops, *Pang kengs*, which exist only for the purpose of smoking chandu or dross?—I know there are many such places.

2353. Have the Government taken any steps to suppress these?—We prosecute whenever we can, but it is very difficult to get a conviction.

2354. *Dr. Galloway.*—Is your preventive force big enough, or do you rely on the Police for the detection of those shops?—The Police and ourselves mutually assist each other. The main difficulty is to prove that the people smoking in these places are not inmates of these houses.

This concluded Mr. G. G. WILSON's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Tenth Meeting.

FRIDAY, 28TH DECEMBER, 1923.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Dr. D. J. GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. LOW TING TENG was called.

2355. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LOW TING TENG.

2356. Are you a Hakka?—Yes.

2357. China-born?—Yes.

2358. What is your age?—44.

2359. How long have you been in the Straits Settlements?—27 years.

2360. Have you ever been back to China?—Yes.

2361. You are a representative member of the Hakkas on the Chinese Advisory Board?—Yes.

2362. How long have you been a member of the Advisory Board?—I was appointed this year for the first time.

2363. A meeting was held about a fortnight ago of the Chinese Advisory Board to discuss the question of opium smoking?—Yes.

2364. Were you present at that meeting?—Yes.

2365. You understood everything that went on?—Yes.

2366. What are your feelings as regards the habit of opium smoking in the Straits Settlements?—If the Government wish to prohibit chandu I think it will be a good thing.

2367. Do you recommend the Government to prohibit the smoking of chandu?—Yes.

2368. Do you recommend them to do it at once or gradually?—It will be better to do it quickly.

2369. Do you think that if Government issued a proclamation tomorrow prohibiting opium smoking they could stop it at once?—No, you could not do it at once; it would have to be done gradually.

2370. In how many years do you think the Government could stop everybody in the Peninsula smoking?—In two or three years.

2371. On what do you base your objection to opium smoking, moral or physical grounds?—There are a lot of bad characters among opium smokers.

2372. Of ten opium-smokers how many are bad characters?—I am unable to say.

2373. *Dr. Galloway.*—Are there more bad characters among opium smokers than among non-smokers?—There are a lot of non-smokers, and so there would naturally be more bad characters among non-smokers.

2374. *Chairman.*—How many bad characters are there among non-smokers can you say?—I am unable to say; I do not know.

2375. Are you an employer of labour?—Yes, I employ over 1,000 men.

2376. On what work?—I have 3 pineapple factories and they are employed in those factories.

2377. Is canning pineapples your principal trade?—I am also a rubber planter at Johore.

2378. Are the pineapple factories in Johore also?—Yes.

2379. Altogether how many coolies do you employ, rubber and pineapple?—More than 1,000.

2380. What nationality are they?—All tribes of Chinese.

2381. You employ only Chinese?—Yes.

2382. Have you got many opium smokers amongst the thousand odd coolies?—About 20 per cent.

2383. Do you think that any one tribe smokes more than any other one amongst your coolies?—Yes, Hokkiens and Tiechius are the heavier smokers.

2384. Do more "out-door" coolies than "in-door" coolies smoke?—More "in-door" coolies.

2385. What wages do the pineapple factory coolies get?—70 per cent of the coolies in my factories are job coolies.

2386. How much do they earn in a month approximately?—The job coolies get $2 or $3 a day, but they do not get work every day; work is uncertain.

2387. Taking the pineapple coolies, is the non-smoker a much better worker than the smoker?—Opium smokers, when I give them work, work very hard in order to get the money to buy their opium; but when I am able to give them work every day they are not such good workers.

2388. Have you ever dismissed a man from the pineapple factory because he was an opium smoker?—Yes, a few.

2389. They were "sots"?—Yes.

2390. Can you tell an opium smoker by looking at him?—Sometimes.

2391. You could not tell a man who only smoked 4 pipes a day?—That is so.

2392. You could only tell those who have the "Yan" (craving)?—Yes.

2393. Then there is an appearance of the opium "sot" on their faces?—Yes.

2394. Talking of rubber estate coolies, do the smokers work much better than the non-smokers there?—Opium smokers put in more working days in a month because they require extra money for their opium. Non-smokers, if they are slightly ill, do not come to work, whereas smokers even if they are a bit ill, come to work in order to earn more money for their opium.

2395. Do you think you would get enough labour if you refused to engage a single opium smoker in the factories and on the rubber estate?—No. 20 per cent of my coolies are smokers; if I dismissed all the smokers I should not be able to replace them easily, but if the Government want to restrict opium smoking, these people will give up the habit and then I will be able to get enough.

2396. What measures do you propose that the Government should take in order to stop the smoking of opium?—The best way is for Government themselves to sell the chandu and not to give licences for retail shops and smoking shops as at present.

2397. Those are the preliminary measures; any other measures?—The second thing would be to register all the smokers.

2398. What do you mean by registering all the smokers?—Each smoker should have a licence on which his photograph would be pasted.

2399. How would you know a man is a smoker if he comes along and says he wants a licence?—I would let every applicant have a licence.

2400. But everybody who smokes will not want to come and take out a licence. Won't they send somebody else instead to take one out for them?—Those who have not a licence will not be allowed to smoke.

2401. What are you going to do to stop them from smoking?—The man who has not got a licence will not be able to get chandu.

2402. But the man who has a licence and does not want all he gets can sell some to him surely?—When a man applies for his licence he will have to state how much he smokes, and he will only be able to buy the amount stated in his licence.

2403. Supposing he says he smokes a tahil a day when he only smokes one chee; he would then have 9 chees to dispose of?—The man who overstates his requirements would have to have the money to buy the amount stated every day; if he bought less, the amount on his licence would be reduced.

2404. But if he is merely a buyer on behalf of people who do not want to come and register, they would supply him with the money to buy the tahil?—There would not be very many cases of that sort.

2405. But licensing a man to smoke will not in itself stop opium smoking?—Gradually the smokers will die and some will go away from this place.

2406. *Dr. Galloway.*—Supposing he cannot get Government chandu; there is a lot of other chandu?—Yes, but the Government will take care of that matter.

2407. *Chairman.*—A man who has not got a licence is found with an opium pipe in his hand, and it looks as though he had just been smoking. What are you going to do with him? Are you going to send him to gaol, and, if so, for how many months?—Government will prescribe the penalties.

2408. But we want you, a leading member of the Hakka community here, to suggest what the penalties should be?—If the Government wants to prohibit chandu they will prescribe the penalties.

2409. A friend of yours who is unlicensed is found smoking; would you wish him to go to prison or would you wish him merely to be fined?—In my own opinion, I think it would be better to send him to prison.

2410. Would not you send the person who was found drinking liquor to prison also?—If the Government want to prohibit liquor, just as America is doing now, it will be for them to prescribe the penalty.

2411. Do you think America is having any luck?—I do not know.

2412. Do you think nobody is drinking liquor in America at the present time?—There must be some people drinking, but the liquor is imported and the American Government is taking steps to stop it. I have seen in the papers about steamers going there with liquor being stopped.

2413. But those that drink in America now are drinking a much worse liquor, because there is not enough smuggled liquor, than they were drinking before America brought in prohibition?—(No answer).

2414. Do you think that the public of the Straits Settlements, just as much as the American public, ask for the prohibition of opium smoking?—I think all the non-smokers would like the prohibition of chandu as also a few of the smokers. All those who do not like it are those who have a financial or vested interest in the trade.

2415. Out of a hundred of the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, how many would vote for the prohibition of opium smoking?—70 per cent or 80 per cent, excluding those with vested interests.

2416. Will that 70 per cent or 80 per cent support the Government strongly if the Government prohibits opium smoking?—Not all, only a portion; those who realise the injuriousness of the habit would back up the Government.

2417. What are you willing to do for the Government?—I myself would surely back up the Government.

2418. Are you willing to inform the Government about every unlicensed smoker who comes to your notice?—Yes.

2419. *Dr. Galloway.*—How far away is your estate in Johore?—9 miles away from Johore Bharu.

2420. Have you much fever amongst your coolies up there?—No, not much; I have my own doctor on the estate.

2421. Which are the better men for work on your estate, the non-smokers or the smokers?—The non-smokers.

2422. Which of them stand out against sickness best?—I do not know.

2423. What are really your objections to opium smoking?—The opium smoker, when he has the craving, is a useless man; he earns his money only to smoke.

2424. But you have just told us that the best coolies in your factories are the opium smokers?—20 per cent of my coolies are smokers. When they get sick they have to take advances to buy opium.

2425. They always pay those advances back; don't they?—No; some die and some leave in my debt.

2426. The reason why you employ opium-smoking coolies is that you must have them to carry on your work; you would be short without them?—I do not like smokers; but some of them learn to smoke after I have taken them on.

2427. Can you get sufficient non-opium-smoking coolies to fill the whole of your requirements in your pineapple factories and on your rubber plantation?—No, I cannot.

2428. You must employ opium-smoking coolies?—Yes.

2429. You stated, in answer to the Chairman, that if Government brings in restriction then you would get sufficient non-smoking coolies. How would you manage that?—The smokers will throw off the habit in two or three years.

2430. Do you not think that restricting opium will prevent many coolies coming here from China?—I do not think so.

2431. Don't you think that a large number of the smokers, if restriction came in, would go back to China where opium is cheap?—It was because they did not have work in China that they came to the Straits What would they do if they went back to China; they would not get work there?

2432. If they cannot get opium here they will naturally go to a place where they can get opium, won't they?—If chandu is prohibited all over the world where will they go?

2433. Then you think that we should prohibit it if the rest of the world prohibits it?—If that can be done it would be the best way.

2434. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—If your opium-smoking coolies earned more money, would they spend more on opium?—Yes; generally opium smokers spend all their spare money on opium.

2435. How many times have you been back to China?—3 times.

2436. When was the last time?—6 years ago.

2437. Were there any opium smokers in China at that time?—Very few.

2438. Twenty-seven years ago, when you left China, were there more opium smokers then than 6 years ago?—There were more smokers then.

2439. How many more?—I can only speak about my village. In my village there were 500 people and, 27 years ago, about 80 or 90 of them were smokers. Six years ago there were only 7 or 8 smokers, and they were old men.

2440. Is the number increasing at the present time, do you think?—I do not know.

2441. Is opium smoking allowed in your village?—According to law, it is not allowed, but they smoke secretly.

2442. *Mr. McLean.*—Would it be correct to say that the chief objection to opium smoking is that it wastes a lot of money?—Yes.

This concluded Mr. Low Ting Teng's evidence.

Mr. TAN KYE KOK was called.

2443. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAN KYE KOK.

2444. Are you a Hailam?—Yes.

2445. China-born?—Yes.

2446. What is your age?—54.

2447. How long have you been in the Straits Settlements?—Over 30 years.

2448. You are a member of the Chinese Advisory Board representing the Hailam community?—Yes.

2449. Are you an officer of the Hailam *kongsi*?—Yes.

2450. Are you the President?—Yes.

2451. How long have you been President of the Hailam *kongsi*?—The President is changed every year. I have been President several times; altogether for 2 or 3 years.

2452. How many times have you been a member of the Chinese Advisory Board?—This is my first year.

2453. You are not an opium-smoker?—No.

2454. You never have smoked?—No, never.

2455. Have you not played with it?—No, not even a pull.

2456. Do many Hailams smoke?—No, not many.

2457. What is your occupation?—Rubber planter and rubber dealer.

2458. Is that the occupation you have followed all your life in the Straits?—No, formerly I was a dealer in piece-goods and a mercer.

2459. What was your occupation when you came here?—I was a coolie employed in a shop.

2460. Do you advise the Government to prohibit opium smoking?—Yes.

2461. Could you get many Hailams to support you in your application to the Government to prohibit opium smoking?—Yes.

2462. Do many of the Europeans' servants smoke opium?—No, very few.

2463. They are all members of your *kongsi*?—Whether they are members or not, every Hailam who comes to the Straits is permitted to lodge complaints at the *kongsi*.

2464. That is the Keng Chius?—Yes.

2465. What are your objections to opium-smoking?—There are various objections:—

(*a*) the day is divided into three parts, 8 hours for work, 8 hours for sleep and 8 hours for meals and rest; but the smoker has no regular hours;

(*b*) opium-smokers are unpunctual; they have to have a smoke before they can do any work;

(*c*) they also ruin their employers' businesses because of their unpunctuality; and

(*d*) they ruin their masters, and they ruin themselves as well.

2466. Has the Hailam *kongsi* ever talked to its members against opium-smoking?—Yes.

2467. Frequently?—Formerly we used to; there was one meeting recently.

2468. Do you lecture on the subject?—No, but I tell everybody that opium smoking is not good.

2469. But you were the principal speaker at this one meeting recently which you have mentioned?—Over a month ago I lectured at the Hailam school.

2470. Were there many people present at that lecture?—Yes.

2471. Out of all the Hailam community, how many in a hundred were at that meeting?—There were only 200 or 300 people present; I should put the number at about 1 in 200.

2472. Did they receive your speech with acclamation?—Yes.

2473. Did you pass any resolutions?—No.

2474. Do you propose that the Government should stop opium immediately or in a period of time?—It could be done in about 1½ years.

2475. How are you going to do it; what measures would you take?—Register the smokers, and issue licences to them on which their photographs would be pasted.

2476. Why would you put the photograph on?—To prevent the licence being of use to anybody else.

2477. What about a man going back to China?—He will have to go and report that he is going back to China.

2478. Do you go and report anywhere now when you want to go back to China?—No, but after smokers have been licensed, those who want to go back to China should go and report.

2479. Supposing a man is in rather a hurry to catch one of these ships and he does not make a report; what are you going to do to him?—If he does not come to buy chandu for two or three months, his licence should be cancelled.

2480. Have you been studying the scheme suggested by Mr. CHIA CHIANG LIM of the Federated Malay States?—No.

2481. Supposing a man who was an unlicensed smoker is found smoking chandu; what are you going to do to him?—Government should pass a law to fine him.

2482. You don't want to send him to prison?—Personally, I would send him to prison.

2483. Then it is a terrible thing to do if it is a crime for which a man should go to prison?—Yes.

2484. What are you going to do about new-comers from Hainan Island who wish to smoke? Are you going to let them smoke or not?—No.

2485. But supposing he is my "boy", and he has gone back to China and he smoked when he was here before; when he comes back again would you let him smoke or not?—In such a case a man should report and say how long he intends to be away. After that when he returns he should get back his licence.

2486. Will your *kongsi* undertake the management of all that for the Government?—Yes; because it is a good cause.

2487. It will take up a lot of time?—It is a good cause and we must try to do our best.

2488. Do you think other district societies would do it for the people of their districts?—I cannot answer for other societies.

2489. But you have mixed with other tribes here; you speak Hokkien?—Yes.

2490. Well, do you think the feeling, that this is a good cause, is as strong with the Hokkiens as it is with you?—I do not know; I cannot say.

2491. Do you know if there are many Hailams engaged in selling opium with licences?—I have made enquiries; there are 4 or 5 smoking shopkeepers and 2 or 3 retail shop-keepers.

2492. You support the Government cancelling all licences and opening shops themselves?—I favour gradual change.

2493. But then, surely, in the case of so awful a thing as opium, you should not allow the livelihood of those who have got licences, to enter into your consideration?—I am in favour of the rules against existing licensees being stiffened considerably.

2494. But supposing the Government decided to take them away, do you think they ought to pay these people anything?—Yes, they ought to.

2495. That is to say, that if we took them away from these Hailams, your *kongsi* would support them and send in a large petition for them to get compensation from the Government?—No, the Hailam *kongsi* would not interfere.

2496. *Mr. McLean.*—Out of ten Hailams in Singapore how many smoke opium?—One in 20.

2497. *Chairman.*—Among Hokkiens, how many?—More than 2 in 10.

2498. *Dr. Galloway.*—If a Hailam goes to Australia do you know how much he has got to pay to enter?—I do not know how much.

2499. They have to pay something, have they not?—I do not know much about it.

2500. How much does the Hailam pay for coming in here?—Nothing.

This concluded Mr. TAN KYE KOK'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Eleventh Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 2ND JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).
The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.
Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. R. F. R. SWETTENHAM was called.

2501. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—ROGER FRANCIS ROSS SWETTENHAM.

2502. You have been in the Federated Malay States Government service since June, 1906?—Yes.

2503. For the last 13 years, with the exception of periods on leave and on military service, you have been Superintendent of the Chandu Monopoly in Kuala Lumpur?—Yes, up to 1921, when I took over the Federated Malay States.

2504. Do your duties as Superintendent cover only Selangor, or other States as well?—Selangor and Negri Sembilan up to 1921, and for the whole of the Federated Malay States since then.

2505. When did the monopoly system come into force in the Federated Malay States?—On the 1st January, 1911.

2506. You hand in returns* showing chandu sales for the Federated Malay States from 1911 to 1922?—Yes.

2507 Do you think you will be able to give us the figures for chandu sales for 1923 by the end of this month, or not?—I think I can; I will do my best.

2508. The Opium Commission of 1908 was given to understand that the import of raw opium into the Federated Malay States approximately represented the consumption in the same period. In 1906, I observe that that import was 5,000 chests. Converted at 1,000 tahils of chandu per chest that would give you 5,000,000 tahils as compared with sales of 2½ million tahils in 1911. Have you any observations to offer on that?—My opinion is that these tables in the Report of the Opium Commission of 1908 for the Federated Malay States may actually represent the amounts imported into the Federated Malay States and the Colony; they may be true records of that, but, owing to the difference in price between the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, the Colony being about 50 per cent higher than the Federated Malay States, I think that this return does not show the correct sales in the Federated Malay States. What actually happened was that a considerable quantity was smuggled into the Colony by private individuals from the Federated Malay States; therefore, the figures showing the imports into the Federated Malay States are not a true return of the amount consumed in the Federated Malay States.

2509. The last column of this return which you have just handed in shows an enormous decrease of consumption in the period covered. The consumption in 1922 is little more than one-third of that in 1911. Have you any observations to offer on that?—I put that down to the continual rise in the price and the effects of the slump combined. I would also add that the Chinese population in 1921, in the Federated Malay States was less than in 1911; there was an actual decrease in the population.

* Appendix VIII.

2510. This is a return of the imports of bulk chandu from the Colony How do you reconcile the sales in 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914 with the imports of bulk chandu?—By the fact that Perak made all their purchases in Penang, and the return I sent to you for those years, of bulk chandu imported, only represented that imported for Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Ulu Pahang.

2511. Raw opium is not imported into the Federated Malay States now?—No.

2512. Chandu is imported from the Straits Settlements and packed in packets and pots in Kuala Lumpur?—Yes.

2513. Is that packing in Kuala Lumpur done for the whole of the Federated Malay States or only part of it?—The whole of the Federated Malay States, excluding the East Coast of Pahang.

2514. The East Coast of Pahang imports packed chandu direct from Singapore?—Yes.

2515. The majority of the packing in your factory is into 3-hoon packets?—Yes.

2516. Would you agree that the 3-hoon packet in its present form is rather a rough-and-ready contrivance?—Yes.

2517. Do you think that the present form of packing, in regard to packets at any rate, lends itself to a certain amount of ease in opening and tampering with the contents and re-closing the packets?—That entirely depends upon whether they are properly stamped when they are packed. If they are correctly stamped and no packets are missed, it is not easy to open and re-close them.

2518. How would you describe the stamping?—The bamboo leaf is wrapped in paper which is perforated with a needle by a machine. If the needle perforation is done properly, it would be impossible to re-close in the same form after opening.

2519. But then, do you think the purchaser of a 3-hoon packet looks very carefully at the needle perforation?—No, I do not.

2520. So that if a packet were tampered with and re-closed in a manner that did not show the needle perforation, it would still pass muster?—Yes.

2521. I suggest that that possibility enables people to get rid of illicit chandu in a licit cover?—Yes.

2522. You know that in the Netherlands East Indies they have got a system of packing in hermetically sealed tubes?—Yes.

2523. Have you ever seen them?—Yes.

2524. What do you think about the proposal to introduce such a system into British Malaya?—I think it is a very much more satisfactory method than the present one.

2525. Even though you realise that packing would then have to be done at a central factory to save cost of machinery and plant in more than one place?—Yes.

2526. In the Federated Malay States, anybody other than a Chinese male adult has to get a permit to be able himself to purchase chandu?—Yes.

2527. You have got records of the number of permits issued?—Yes, I hand in a statement.*

2528. The total number is 70 permits. Do you think that that in any way represents the real consumers, other than Chinese male adults, in the Federated Malay States?—I do not think it does. I think quite a number buy illicitly through Chinese.

2529. At the present time that would not be at all difficult?—Not at all.

* Appendix XXV.

2530. It is merely a matter of a *douceur*?—Quite so.

2531. As to all those who do buy under the permit system, other than adult male Chinese, do you keep a record of their purchases?—Yes.

2232. But they are not restricted, these permittees, in any way as to the amount they may buy?—They are.

2533. In what way?—When they apply for a permit, they have to state how much they smoke a day, and the permit is endorsed as to how many packets they may purchase in a month. The permit is divided up into spaces which the clerk in the Government retail shop has to sign every time he gets a supply; or the licensee has to do the same.

2534. Does he make a record in his books as well?—No, only on the permit.

2535. He does not take the numbered space away from the permit, like a coupon?—No, the numbered space is a part of the permit.

2336. Have you heard of there being much dross swallowing in the Federated Malay States?—I have heard that it goes on to a small extent, mostly among rickshaw pullers.

2537. You hand in a return* showing the opium dross collected in the Federated Malay States in the period 1914 to 1922?—Yes.

2538. The results of your collection seem to me to be satisfactory; but I suppose the major portion of this is re-purchased from smoking shop licensees?—Yes.

2539. The price paid by the Superintendent for dross has gone up very considerably?—I hand in a return showing the variation in price from 1911 to 1919.

2540. I will give you an instance. In 1914, the price paid for first quality dross was $2 a tahil; since 1919, it has been $4.50. That is an increase to more than double. In Perak, for example, the percentage recovered has scarcely gone up at all. How would you account for that?—I am unable to answer that. I had nothing to do with Perak then.

2541. In Selangor, in 1914, with dross at $2 a tahil, you got 24 per cent. In 1919, with dross at $4.50 a tahil, you only got 25 per cent. How would you account for that?—I should think that owing to the increased price of chandu there was more dross being sold to the public instead of to us at a higher price than we were paying for it.

2542. What is the highest price you have ever heard of for dross?—$6.50 a tahil in the Federated Malay States; that is what it is sold at illicitly outside, according to my information. If it is sold in small pellets, it works out at considerably more per tahil.

2543. You hold over the licencee of a smoking room the threat of refusal to renew his licence if he does not bring back a certain percentage, in the form of dross of the weight of chandu supplied to him. Is that correct?—We make it a condition of his licence that he must return a certain percentage.

2544. What is the percentage that is made a condition of the licence?—It was 50 per cent, up to about 2 months ago; since then it has been reduced to 40 per cent.

2545. What is the reason for the reduction?—I thought they were finding difficulty in producing 50 per cent; according to my calculations 40 per cent was a fairer return than 50 per cent.

2546. Therefore, in my tabulation of the returns, you have no objection to my treating 40 per cent as the normal product?—No.

* Appendix XLV.

2547. *Sir David Galloway.*—Is that 40 per cent the result of actual observation?—During the years we have been trying to collect the 50 per cent, I realised that a lot of licensees had very great difficulty in producing it, especially in depôts frequented by 'rickshaw pullers.

2548. *Mr. Jelf.*—What do you do with the dross?—We destroy it.

2549. *Chairman.*—Judging by the results, you make the condition of your licence very effective?—Yes, it is strictly carried out.

2550. In the Colony, from evidence given before us, we understand that the licensee of a smoking shop depends for a great portion of his profit on the dross produced in the shop and not sold to the Superintendent. That is not the case in the Federated Malay States. How do the licensees in the Federated Malay States make their shops pay?—On the dross that they sell to the Government.

2551. We have here seen certain licensees, and in each smoking room, even allowing for what they sold to the Government, they made a tremendous loss on their own showing?—The balance of the dross must be sold to the public due to the fact that there are no conditions as to the quantity to be returned to Government.

2552. Do your smoking shop licensees make a profit?—Yes.

2553. Do smoking shops sell in the Federated Malay States for good figures?—I do not allow any changing hands.

2554. You transfer?—Very seldom; only in the case of the death of a licensee when it is sometimes transferred to his son, or in cases of real hardship where a relative is going to support the dependants of the deceased.

2555. And then, do you transfer it to the widow?—No, never, that is not allowed.

2556. *Mr. Jelf.*—Then there is no prescriptive right in the licence at all?—Absolutely none.

2557. *Chairman.*—Do you transfer retail licences frequently?—No, very seldom. I do not suppose I have 5 transfers a year all told.

2558. Do you ever hear of what passes hands from the out-going to the in-coming licensee?—We do not have any in-coming licensees who would pay to out-going licensees.

2559. You have got a return,* I believe, which you will hand in of seizures of raw opium and chandu?—Yes, I hand it in.

2560. What proportion of the amount of illicit chandu that is brought into the Federated Malay States do you think that these seizures represent?—From my own experience, there is very little illicit chandu in the Federated Malay States.

2561. Who carries out the preventive work?—My Department within the Federated Malay States.

2562. Do you think it would be easy, or difficult, to smuggle chandu from China into the Federated Malay States?—I should think it would be quite easy provided they go direct to one of the Federated Malay States ports. We rely on the Colony for the preventive work in all shipping.

2563. Supposing you wanted to import illicit chandu from China; what part of the Federated Malay States would you choose as being the easiest to get into?—Either Teluk Anson, Port Swettenham or Port Dickson.

2564. *Mr. Jelf.*—Why not the East coast?—Because it would not pay them. The question of transport from the East coast to the interior of Selangor and Negri Sembilan would be too costly.

2565. *Chairman.*—I should join issue with you there. A very valuable article comes in very cheap when landed and very easy to carry, not of great bulk; I should imagine that they could afford to import it in decent

* Appendix XVI.

quantities into the East coast?—They could not bring it up in large enough quantities by road. They would have to bring it by road from Kuantan to Jerantut and then by rail.

2566. It is a much more bulky article than morphia, but it is a very unbulky article anyhow?—I quite agree with you, it is not a bulky article; it is quite portable.

2567. I mean this is not a question of bullock carts and large conveyances to carry an amount of opium that would pay?—It is a question of hiring a motor car to bring it in.

2568. Junks could bring it in from China and get it up the creeks on the East coast?—Yes, undoubtedly.

2569. To stop that, would you require much of an increase in your Preventive Service, assuming that there was a large amount available for smuggling from China?—Yes.

2570. Your Preventive Service is slight at the present moment?—Very small, indeed, on the East coast. I am speaking now of my own Preventive Service, which confines itself entirely to preventive work in connection with chandu.

2571. *Sir David Galloway.*—Is there any watch kept on the East coast at present?—I have some revenue officers there.

2572. *Mr. Jelf.*—As against opium coming in from outside, who is the officer responsible?—I am.

2573. Not the Customs?—Well, it is a branch of the Customs. The Opium Monopoly is my particular branch of the Customs, and I have my own preventive staff. At the principal ports of entry, however, Customs officers exercise considerable control.

2574. *Chairman.*—You hand in a return* of the sales by certain Government retail shops in the Federated Malay States from 1920 to 1922?—Yes.

2575. I observe that there are now 42 of these Government shops; are all of them in towns or big villages?—Yes.

2576. One of our references is as to complete extinction of licensed shops. Do you think you could extend your method of Government shops in the Federated Malay States to replace all the present licensed shops?—Retail shops, yes.

2577. Do you think you could obtain Government servants suitable and willing to take charge of licensed public smoking shops?—I could obtain suitable clerks from outside to run the additional retail shops required, which, in the Federated Malay States, will number 76. The question of licensed public smoking saloons will be more difficult and I think this question should stand over until we have dealt with the retail trade.

2578. Now we will take the return of the retail shops. If you were told that all licences were to be extinguished, how long would you require to effect that extinction and replace the facilities by an adequate number of Government shops?—I should say from 12 to 18 months.

2579. Some of the present retail shops are very far up-country, I suppose?—Yes.

2580. Do you think you would have to have one Government shop in place of every existing retail shop?—No.

2581. When you introduced this system, you extinguished a very considerable number of retail shops, I judge?—Yes, whenever we open a Government shop we abolish all retail shops.

2582. Did you have any trouble with the licensees whose licences were extinguished?—None at all.

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2583. Did they ask you for any compensation?—None whatever; they are all told when they get the licences that they are not worth anything to them.

2584. Did you get many petitions about the hardship inflicted on these people by their livelihood being taken away from them?—No, we had no trouble at all. I generally give them 3 months' notice. When a Government shop is opened their shops have to close and they get their licences for that period only.

2585. Would there be any difficulty in supplying from the main depôt the retail Government shops in the outlying districts?—No.

2586. Any risk?—No; I propose that they should be always under a police escort. My scheme is to call them sub-retail shops in the small districts, and they will draw their supplies from the head retail shop, and whenever they go to get their supplies they will be accompanied by a policeman. They will be given an original supply of chandu from the head office; when they have sold that chandu they will then cease to deal with the head office and will proceed to the head retail shop and, with the money that they realise by the sale of their original supply, they will replace their stock. They can never exceed a certain amount.

2587. *Mr. Jelf.*—Don't you anticipate you would require a large escort?—No, because their stocks would be very small, about $800 worth, and would be replaced every week from the head retail shop.

2588. *Chairman.*—With Government shops only, would you require a very reliable man to be in charge of each shop?—All our clerks are guaranteed by an Insurance Company to an amount exceeding the value of their stock.

2589. Is there much purchasing in bulk by miners and estate owners for distribution to their coolies on mines and estates far from any retail shop?—I cannot think of any particular instance; but I think it undoubtedly goes on.

2590. I suggest it is a matter of common knowledge?—Common gossip; not within my knowledge.

2591. Do you think it is objectionable?—I do not think it is any more objectionable than the miner buying all the supplies for his coolies, which he undoubtedly does.

2592. If you reduce the number of retail shops under the Government shop system, would you encourage open acknowledgment of the purchase on behalf of coolies on far distant mines and estates?—No, if the sales were sufficient I should open a Government shop.

2593. As to smoking rooms, are you in favour of their continuance or not?—At present, yes.

2594. Do you think you would have any difficulty in finding an adequate number of suitable officers to take charge of an adequate number of Government smoking shops?—At the present moment I do not think it is a suitable time to attempt it. My idea is that having taken over the whole of the retail sales in the first place, it would then be time to start to deal with "on" licensees; and my idea of dealing with the "on" licensees takes the form of taking away their entire profit on the 3-hoon packets, or any chandu at all, and increasing the price of their dross. At present they get a profit of $1 a tahil on the chandu they purchase from us. If the "on" licensee returns to us 50 per cent of dross he has got to purchase 2 tahils of chandu to get one tahil of dross, and for that we increase his price from $4.50 to $6.50; so that, the $2 that we give him on the dross is equivalent to the profit that he was previously getting on his chandu. Therefore, the profit on his "on" licence would entirely depend on the amount of dross he returned to Government.

2595. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you any means of knowing that the dross returned to you is the dross of Government Chandu?—Yes.

2596. By a secret process?—Yes.

2597. And the distinctive ingredient still continues in spite of incineration?—I believe that is so, but the Chemist would be able to answer that question best.

2598. There is always the danger of the smoking-shop keeper manufacturing dross on his own from illicit chandu, is there not?—The dross handed to us is always analysed by the Chemist.

2599. *Chairman.*—You remember the rationing scheme of 1920 that had to be abandoned? Do you think it would have been less difficult to carry out that scheme if there had been no private licensees?—Undoubtedly it would have been less difficult.

2600. Rationing was introduced at a time when things were very flourishing in the Federated Malay States and abandoned before the slump came with the economic self-rationing?—Yes; we started on the 1st February, 1920. As a matter of fact, Perak never adopted it because they had the Government retail shops which were not rationed. Selangor dropped it on the 1st September, Negri Sembilan on the 1st September and Pahang on the 1st October, 1920.

2601. You were curtailing the licensees' possibilities of profit, and I suggest that you had the licensees against you from the start?—Absolutely.

2602. Are you, personally, in favour of the abolition of licensed chandu shops of either description?—Yes, I am strongly in favour of the abolition of licensed shops and the adoption of Government retail shops.

2603. The extension of the Government shop system is likely to be more difficult in the outlying districts than in the places that you have already touched?—More difficult in some ways. We should not open up anywhere where there was no transport or anything like that. There are no shops in the Federated Malay States now that are not get-at-able by road or motor car.

2604. I suggest that the difficulty you have got to face in future to extinguish all the remaining licences is far greater than you have had up to date?—Yes; the staff would not be a matter of extraordinary difficulty because I could easily arrange for transfers.

2605. Do you anticipate any serious difficulty in regard to premises in in the outlying districts?—My proposal is, if we cannot get premises, that we should build our own.

2606. Will you give us your personal views on the alleged evils of opium smoking, if you have any?—My own view is that there is no harm at all in opium smoking in moderation; the harm is, in my opinion, in the smoking and swallowing of dross.

2607. We are told that there are many evils and, as a universal panacea, it is suggested that all opium smokers should be registered and licensed. Have you made any study of that particular question?—Yes.

2608. Would your experience lead you to believe that a system of registration and licensing of opium smokers could be made thoroughly effective in the Federated Malay States?—At the present time it is impossible.

2609. Have you any idea as to the number of smokers in the Federated Malay States?—I have taken a census of sales of Government retail shops and of patrons* of smoking shops, which I hand in.

2610. Do you draw any inferences in connection with the number of opium smokers from this census?—I think they can be taken as a fair guide to the actual number of smokers.

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2611. Some people come here and say that 50 per cent of the Chinese adults smoke opium; other people come and say it is only 10 per cent; some say 20 per cent; some say 25 per cent; have you got any fancy percentage?—No, I have not.

2612. Would you be prepared to hazard a guess as to the number of smokers in the Federated Malay States?—No.

2613. *Mr. Jelf.*—On the figures as supplied by you in those returns, you do not think you could estimate the total number of smokers?—I think you might, but I do not think it would be accurate.

2614. *Chairman.*—Have you seen the scheme by Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM for registering opium smokers?—Yes, I have a copy here.

2615. Do you think it is logical and feasible?—No.

2616. If you were ordered to introduce such a system as this, you would consider that an essential preliminary was that the retailing should be solely in the hands of Government, at any rate?—That is my idea.

2617. In order to keep records of purchases by licenced opium smokers, you would require additional staff in each shop?—Yes.

2618. You would also require very considerable high class supervision of these shops to check their records of sales with the permits?—Yes.

2619. It seems to follow logically from Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme that a smoker should only be allowed to purchase at a specified shop. Would it be possible to carry that out in the Federated Malay States?—No, it would be impossible with a man who travels. He could not be tied down to one shop.

2620. Do you think that to identify the smoker with his permit a photograph of the smoker would be sufficient, or would you require finger-prints?—Finger-prints as well.

2621. If you require finger-prints, every Government servant in charge of a Government shop would have to have some knowledge of the finger-print system?—Either that, or they would have to hand in their permits and give notice that they were going to purchase a few days hence, so that the finger-prints could be referred to the Registrar for identification.

2622. Another feature of this scheme, and a very important feature, is the surrender of licences and permits by licensees when going from one Administration to another and from any Administration to China; what do you think of the prospects of voluntary surrender?—Very small; they would not take the trouble to hand them in.

2623. Can you conceive of a system of registration of opium smokers without this system of licensing encumbering it; that is to say, leaving the registered smokers to buy their own particular quota?—I cannot.

2624. Supposing one said that nobody but a permit holder was allowed to buy chandu at a licensed or a Government shop, what would be the result of that? Do you think those who wanted to buy would all register?—One man who was registered would buy sufficient for six people and the other 5 would not register at all.

2625. You think the nominee purchaser that would be brought in would wreck that?—Yes.

2626. And that you would be no nearer the real number and the identity of the smokers than you are at the present day?—No, certainly not.

2627. *Sir David Galloway.*—The non-registered smoker would be buying licit chandu illicitly?—Quite so.

2628. Is it not the natural conclusion, seeing the race that we have got to deal with, that they would very soon cease buying that and buy illicit chandu illicitly?—Yes.

2629. There would be a great incentive to smuggling?—Yes.

2630 *Chairman.*—You are not in favour of the effectiveness of that particular suggestion; do you think it is a feasible suggestion?—Under present conditions, no.

2631. What is against its feasibility?—The actual illicit dealings that would be carried out. I might instance rubber restriction; that has not proved a success up to date, and registration of smokers is 50 times as difficult as that.

2632. Do you think it would bring in much corruption among the staff connected with it?—Yes.

2633. It is not a question, of course, of any penalties for anything other than being in possession of chandu and being unlicensed?—That is so.

2734. *Mr. McLean.*—If it could be made very easy for smokers to register do you think they would register under this system?—No, not half of them.

2635. What would be their objection to registering?—Publicity.

2636. *Sir David Galloway.*—Unless it were a complete system of registration, fixing the individual, it would be useless?—I agree.

2637. You must have each individual properly spotted and fixed?—Yes, otherwise registration would be useless.

2638. You have certain people who have permits?—Yes, those are volunteers; they come along themselves.

2639. They are more or less fixed residents, are they not?—Yes.

2640. *Mr. Jelf.*—What is the class of Malays?—They are almost all residents in Upper Perak.

2641. You say they would not like registering?—They would object to the publicity of it.

2642. Why?—Because private smokers do not like people to know that they are smokers. Even now, they make difficulty about surrendering their dross and do it through an intermediary; still more would they be ashamed to register as smokers.

2643. *Mr. McLean.*—Then, at the present time, only a very small proportion of the smokers come and buy chandu themselves from the shops?—One man perhaps buys for 10. It is only the coolie class that come and buy actually. Because a man buys ten packets, it is no indication that it is for his own consumption; he may be buying for a *towkay*.

2644. Then the coolie class do not mind coming to a shop and buying opium?—They have got to, because they cannot pay anybody else to do it for them; the middle class man can, and he can send a servant out to buy.

2645. If a coolie were willing to come and buy chandu, would he not also be willing to come and be registered?—I think the coolie might, but that does not give you complete registration and, unless you have got complete registration, the whole thing would be a failure.

2646. Do you think you might get most of the coolies to come and be registered?—I think you might get a great number; I won't say most.

2647. *Chairman.*—There would be 20 coolie smokers for every one middle class and *towkay* smoker?—Yes, I should think so.

2648. *Mr. Jelf.*—How often do the coolies get paid?—I should think monthly.

2649. If it is monthly, how are paragraphs 5 and 15 of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM's scheme going to be worked? They say permit holders can only purchase one week's consumption, and if they do not purchase for 7 days the

permit should be cancelled. Surely they would not have the money to purchase once a week?—That is so.

2650. Have you fully considered the ease with which opium can be smuggled in? Take the double coast line, East and West side; you have got, excluding Johore, pretty nearly 600 miles (that is to say, twice 300) with literally hundreds of rivers and creeks. You have also got the land border on the Siamese side. Can you conceive of any staff, except at an absolutely prohibitive cost, that would stop smuggling to any appreciable extent with those conditions?—No.

2651. Are not the conditions in the Malay Peninsula absolutely unique?—Yes.

2652. Then one point about chandu in transit. Take the Intan mines, or the Lepar mines in Pahang. Supposing opium smokers in those mines knew that $800 worth of chandu was in transit at any given moment; would it not be asking for a gang robbery?—Yes; but it would be under escort and you would always regulate your escort by the value of the chandu that was being transported.

2653. *Chairman.*—Have you any ideas as to any measures that could be taken to stiffen up the present control in the Federated Malay States as a step towards the gradual supression of opium smoking?—No, my idea is that the Government retail shop system is the ideal system.

2654. *Sir David Galloway.*—From the point of view of example to the younger generation, do you think smoking in a public shop or smoking in a private residence is the more harmful?—From that point I should say undoubtedly smoking in a public saloon is more harmful.

2655. Don't you think that a smoker in a coolie line, or a man smoking in his own private house before his sons may influence them to begin smoking?—Yes, I think he might. I was thinking of the question of the multitude. In the house you have got your smoking confined to the inmates; whereas in the public smoking shop you have hundreds passing along the public thoroughfare who can see the smokers in the shop.

2656. Nobody but smokers frequent smoking rooms?—I would not say that; because you can always go into a smoking saloon and you will find half a dozen people sitting about having a conversation, who are not smoking and who may not be smokers.

2657. Then don't you think another difficulty in registration is the peculiar fluidity of your coolie population—they are constantly on the move either from one State to another or from here to China?—Yes.

2658. Have you formed any opinion as to in how many years the Chinese population would turn itself over?—No, I have not.

2659. You are aware, of your own observation, that the movement amongst those people is very great?—Undoubtedly it is.

2660. And that, of course, would add infinitely to the difficulties of registration and keeping registers?—Undoubtedly. You would never be able to keep in touch with them.

2661. *Mr. Jelf.*—What percentage of the smuggled opium do you think that you actually collar; have you any way of getting at that, except your own idea?—There is no way of getting at it. As a matter of fact, I do not think there is very much illicit opium in the Federated Malay States. Judging by the number of cases we get and from information, I think it is very small.

2662. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Can you say whether the illicit chandu which you seize comes from India, China or Persia?—I am not in a position to say once it is in the form of chandu; we seize no raw opium.

2663. Have you seized any opium from Siam?—Not to my knowledge; I am not able to distinguish.

2664. If a man took Singapore opium into the Federated Malay States would it be legal?—No, that is illegal.

2665. Do you seize any opium of that sort?—Very little; we have had a few cases.

2666. *Mr. McLean.*—Can you distinguish between Singapore and Federated Malay States opium?—Yes, by the wrappers; there is no difference in the chandu.

2667. *Chairman.*—At the present time you pack in 3-hoon packets only. Have you any suggestions as to a change in the size of the packets with any reasons for such change?—The only suggestion I can make is that the chandu should be packed in 2-hoon packets instead of 3 thus reducing the quantity of opium a man is expected to smoke.

2668. You favour a 2-hoon instead of a 3-hoon packet; 2-hoon as the only low denomination?—Yes.

2669. That, under the tube system, would be more costly than the 3 hoons?—I imagine it would; I do not know the running cost of the machine.

2670. But you think that it would justify any extra cost that might be involved if we started the tube system?—Yes, I should think it would, from the fact that the coolies were encouraged to smoke less.

2671. *Sir David Galloway.*—The morphine content of our chandu, 12½ per cent, is very high?—I understood it was 10 per cent.

2672. It used to be anything from 9 to 10 per cent before. Do you think there would be any advantage in bringing it back to the old level?—If it was originally 9 or 10 per cent I should not think there would be any disadvantage in bringing it back to that.

2673. Do you think if the morphine content were reduced, it would help to reduce the consumption?—Yes, I think it would. I had an idea sometime ago of suggesting if it was decided to abolish smoking, that we should reduce the morphine content 1 per cent per annum. At the end of ten years there would be no more morphia left, and there would be no use smoking it; but, on the other hand, that might increase the amount they would purchase in order to get satisfaction.

This concluded Mr. SWETTENHAM's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Twelfth Meeting.

FRIDAY, 4TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Dr. R. M. CONNOLLY, B.A., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Edin.) was called.

2674. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—RICHARD MICHAEL CONNOLLY.

2675. *Sir David Galloway.*—Before proceeding to your Memorandum,* I should like to refer to your covering letter in which you state that you have had a long and intimate experience of the use of opium. I would begin by asking you what do you consider the outstanding evils of opium smoking, on the individual, for instance?—Reduction in physical efficiency of approximately 50 per cent, as I have found out by actual experiments.

2676. Mentally?—Great mental slowness of reaction; reduction of memory, reduction of attention, loss of power of concentration, and inaptitude for prolonged mental strain.

2677. On the mass, what effect has it?—The effect of general degeneration.

2678. Which form of taking opium do you consider most harmful, smoking, swallowing, or injecting an alkaloid?—My experience is altogether that the most harmful is the drinking of opium mixed with water or *samsu* as a rule. It is the form in which suicide is generally effected.

2679. You don't think that the injection of morphine is more injurious than the swallowing of opium?—I am speaking of my experience of the native population here. I know, in the case of Europeans, that injection of morphine has led to complete collapse.

2680. Have you had experience of injection of morphine on any large scale amongst natives?—Not amongst natives.

2681. Do you remember the epidemic of injections which occurred about 1902 to 1908?—Yes, I remember it quite well.

2682. You saw quite a number of cases?—Yes, but these injections were quickly stopped in Perak. My experience really lies mainly in Perak, Province Wellesley and Penang, and I must say the Police put it down splendidly. I have had under my care several Europeans who used injections, and they quickly became hopeless cases. One, unfortunately, was a doctor, just over 30 years of age, and he admitted to me himself that he was able to inject up to 8 grains of morphine a day.

2683. Don't you think that the effects of opium and the alkaloids of opium are very much more severe on the European than on the native?—I would not like to say that. I have seen them terribly severe on Siamese and Malays and also on Chinese women. I have to be very careful with certain Chinese women patients of mine: injection of morphine of one-quarter of a grain frequently produces delirium and hysteria.

2684. I agree as to Siamese and Malays, because it is pretty well proven that opium in any shape has a very marked effect upon them. I am speaking more of the Chinese as a race and the Indians, who are habitually using opium. Don't you think that it has a less harmful effect upon them

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than upon the European?—I would not like to say that. My experience is that it has a terrible effect upon Chinese women.

2685. Don't you think that we should dissociate the drug question entirely from the opium question as it presents itself to us in Asia and among Asiatics?—The general drug habit, as, for example, the taking of morphine, cocaine, bhang and things like that, is an entirely different question. I am solely concerned with the opium question as it affects British Malaya, without reference to drug-taking in general.

2686. You have been in connection with a number of anti-opium societies for some time?—I founded the first one at Ipoh in 1906.

2687. What was the cause of founding that society?—Because of the passage of the Resolution by the House of Commons in May, 1906, that the opium traffic between India and China, and, generally speaking, the opium traffic, was morally indefensible.

2688. I find, in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1895, the following:—"As the result of searching enquiry and upon a deliberate review of the copious evidence submitted to us, we feel bound to express our conviction that the movement in England in favour of active interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of the opium habit has proceeded from an exaggerated impression as to the nature and extent of the evil to be controlled. The gloomy descriptions presented to British audiences of extensive moral and physical degradation by opium have not been accepted by the witnesses representing the people, nor by those responsible for the government of the country". What have you to say to that?—All I can say is, offhand, that I have seen it before and I do not agree with it. My experience of 27 years is totally against it.

2689. You really consider that there exists a solid basis for such an agitation?—Undoubtedly, in Malaya.

2690. In the anti-opium societies with which you are connected, who form the largest proportion?—Chinese, missionaries and members of religious bodies.

2691. Are they representative of anything beyond the bodies to which they belong? For instance, do they represent any section of the community at large?—A very large section. Europeans do not like to join because they seem to consider that it is a question solely for the Chinese. In conversation with many whom I have tried to interest in the question, I have represented that that is not the proper point of view at all, that it is a social, economic, political and moral question, and that all Europeans in British Malaya are interested in this question just as they are interested in good government.

2692. Are they representatives of the mass of the people who are seeking relief from their habit of opium smoking?—Yes, undoubtedly.

2693. I am glad to have a completely adverse opinion about the use of opium, because I may tell you that I have been through the Royal Commission's Report, the Philippine Report and the Report of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States on this question, and a completely adverse opinion on the use of opium by an independent medical man is exceedingly rare; in fact, so rare as to be commented on both in the Royal Commission's Report and in the Straits Settlements Report. The Philippines do not comment upon it. Frankly condemnatory opinions on the use of opium in those Reports are very rare indeed?—I must express my surprise at that. I can produce a collection of 100 opium smokers in Penang, all of whom are in their present condition due to opium.

2694. Now we come to your Memorandum on the question of opium shops. I will take the retail shops first. What abuses have come to your notice as regards retail shops?—I will refer to the Federated Malay States Enactment which is better than that of the Straits Settlements; the Federated Malay States are trying to do better than the Straits. This statement shows

you the number of shops in Penang and Province Wellesley in regard to the population. The total number of Chinese in Penang and Province Wellesley is 135,288. In Penang there are 82 retail shops and in Province Wellesley there are 60; that is, 142 for that small population, and in those places there are 259,633 tahils of chandu sold. In the Federated Malay States, the total Chinese population is 494,000. In 1923 the total number of retail shops in the whole of the Federated Malay States was 104 as against 142 in Penang and Province Wellesley with a very much smaller population. In Perak alone there were only 29 licensed retail shops and 23 Government shops, a total of 52, as against 82 in Penang.

2695. You advocate a sweeping reduction in the number of retail shops?—Undoubtedly. The number for Penang is scandalous.

2696. To what extent would you reduce the number?—In regard to Penang, these 82 retail shops should undoubtedly be reduced to about 10. There should not be more than 10 in Penang and they should be altogether Government. In Perak, owing to the nature of the country necessitating shops in such places as Menglembu, Lahat and Tronoh, you will probably require more. In addition to the present 23 Government shops, you will probably require another 7, 30 in all for Perak.

2697. I am rather glad to get those figures because from your Memorandum I gathered that you intended to reduce them very much more drastically. I thought you suggested 1 for each town?—It would be like that. At present, for example, there is one Government shop at Tapah, which is the head of the district of Batang Padang, and there are 3 licensed shops. But in such a district as that it will be necessary to have another shop at Tanjong Malim, because it is 58 miles away, and probably half-way at Sungkai and Trolak.

2698. You, of course, see the great danger of having too few? That opium smokers would congregate round certain centres and the outlying districts would be absolutely denuded of labour?—That is not my experience at all; because, as long as the free sale of opium continues any man who is not an opium smoker can procure opium in large quantities and carry it away for re-sale. It is done at the present moment. That will come under one of the abuses that I would like to refer to.

2699. Is not that one of the things which one has to avoid in reducing the number of shops?—But it is done at the present day.

2700. Would it not become more easy if there were fewer shops?—Not so if the system in vogue in the Federated Malay States in regard to large quantities be improved and also if there be registration of opium smokers.

2701. Let us go back to places in which we have experience. Take Burma, for instance, where the number of retail shops was drastically reduced. It gave rise to a class of hawkers—just the class that you are speaking of—who at first hawked limited quantities of licit chandu and eventually spread out into very large hawkers of illicit chandu; so bad, in fact, that the cure was infinitely worse than the disease. Is not there the same danger in the Federated Malay States?—It exists enormously.

2702. If there was a great distance to go to an opium shop, admitting that the evil exists, (I am not in a position to deny or substantiate it), would it not get much worse if the number of shops were limited?—Not if together with the reduction you also have what is absolutely essential, registration of opium smokers. Unless you have that, of course, everything will fail. Without registration, the present abuses will continue.

2703. Without registration, would they be exaggerated?—I cannot say so, because there is a certain limit always. At the present time in Perak, any man, even a non-smoker, can go to a shop and purchase 7½ tahils of chandu—that is 250 packets or $100 worth. He can take it away 30, 40 or 50 miles. The same man can go to Penang, and there he can purchase 166 packets. He breaks no law; it is in accordance with the law. He can have

that amount on his person at the present moment, $100 worth from Perak and $64 worth from Penang, without breaking the law. He takes it away to the coolies and re-sells it to them. The truck system is condemned, but it goes on at the present moment.

2704. If there was a retail shop in the neighbourhood of where those coolies are, would not they go to that shop to buy? Because that man does not bring it from Perak and Penang and sell it without having a margin of profit?—I will answer that question by explaining what happens in Penang. There are 82 shops in Penang. A petty broker goes and buys, say 80 cents worth of opium. He takes this into the street and he meets coolies who do not care to pay 40 cents for a packet. He subdivides the chandu with a wire and sells at 10 cents each. Such petty brokers have owned to me that they have sometimes made $2 a day in this way. The same thing goes on in Perak. I have seen it at a little place called Padang Rengas, and I know it exists in the district of Batang Padang and in Kinta, places which I visit every month.

2705. Then, of course, there is the old outstanding complaint against the licensed retail shops that they profit in accordance with the extent of their sales, and the natural temptation that follows that. Is that so?—Yes.

2706. Coming to smoking shops, have you any complaint against smoking shops?—In Penang, yes. They are not properly conducted.

2707. First of all, on the principle of smoking shops. Do you consider it more dangerous, from the point of view of the spread of this habit, that smoking should be done in smoking shops rather than in private houses or in coolie lines?—I am quite in agreement with the Siamese law in that respect, which prohibits opium smoking in private houses, apartments or theatres and restricts it altogether to smoking saloons.

2708. I have no doubt that you have in your private practice noticed sons become smokers because the father was a smoker and smoked in the house?—And because they prepared the opium for him.

2709. In fact, they became familiar with the habit by seeing it, and eventually became familiar with the habit by doing it?—Of course the law is practically obsolete. It is on the Statute Book, but no one obeys it. The law says you shall not smoke in theatres, 'rikisha depôts or in clubs; go into any of them, and you will find that opium smoking goes on there.

2710. You are at one with me there that being forced to smoke in a public shop is a distinct deterrent to the spread of the habit?—That is quite so.

2711. Coming to your Memorandum, in the first sentence of it you suggest that it would be advisable to adopt towards opium the same regulations which have been in force for deleterious drugs. Of course you know what that means? It means that no opium would be had excepting on medical prescriptions and that prescription could only be used once. How would you suggest that this should be worked?—In two ways. Here is Form *E* of the Perak licence showing register of chandu sales exceeding 1½ tahils which a man must keep in his chandu stock-book and then here, on the other side, is the dross stock-book. The seller keeps his stock-book, he notes down each individual sale, and, under the present system, if a man who is not a Chinese has a licence from a District Officer, he is allowed to purchase. If all Chinese be licensed, they must produce their licence in the same way to purchase opium.

2712. We are getting away from the point. You are at present speaking of licences; I was coming to that later. I was asking you as to how we would manage to get on if no opium was permitted to an opium user unless it was prescribed for him by a medical practitioner?—I do not suggest that it should be. I suggest that restriction should be brought in on the same principle and on the same lines. I pointed to this as a model, not to be followed in every single respect, but as a model of what could be done.

2713 I note you begin with the taking of a census of opium smokers. That, of course, means practically taking a census of the total population?—I think it is not difficult to find out the total number of opium smokers. A large number will at once apply for registration.

2714. You could include this under registration, my idea being that registration leads up to licensing and licensing leads up to the maximum total?—They would all go together.

2715. What you mean by taking a census is registration?—Yes, that is so.

2716. A census, in any case, would be a preliminary to registration, and registration would be a preliminary to licensing, and licensing would be a preliminary to obtaining the maximum limit?—That is so.

2717. Registration, you suggest, is the only means of arriving at total suppression?—At final suppression, because it must be gradual.

2718. Registration was advocated many years ago in the Straits, but it was a good deal more than registration that was implied at that time. That was at the sittings of the last Opium Commission. You remember they proposed to affix a placard to each opium smoker and a lot of other things. You do not suggest that that should be done?—I think that that was only ridicule.

2719. You have studied the history of registration, I presume?—Yes, I know a little about it.

2720. You know what happened to registration in Burma? In fact, at the present moment it is a dead-letter?—Yes.

2721. You know what happened to registration in Formosa? They have excluded all the immigrant people from registration and given them 3 years to quit or to give up the habit. You know, also, that in the Philippines, in 1905, they gave people 3 years to drop the habit, and now no opium is served to the indigenes excepting for medical use. For the alien population they followed the lines of Formosa. They gave the Chinese 3 years to quit or to drop the habit. Are we in a position to do that?—But that is not proposed. The proposal is that all the present users of opium shall apply for registration on or before a certain date and that those who come in later, if it can be proved that they have been opium smokers for a certain period, shall be allowed to be registered. That is the present law in Siam.

2722. *Mr. Jelf.*—You say in your evidence that Siam has adopted the practice. But Prince CHARON at Geneva says the provisions for registration and licensing will remain in abeyance until jurisdictional and fiscal autonomy have been restored to Siam by the Powers in Treaty relations with her: so that nothing has been done now?—Since that time they have promulgated the law. I brought along the Memorandum issued by the Minister of Finance.

2723. They have promulgated the law, but he openly says that nothing is going to be done until a definite date?—(No answer).

2724. *Sir David Galloway.*—No conclusions can be drawn from the Siamese experiment?—The law has been passed and is only awaiting a favourable time for enforcement.

2725. The point that I want to bring you to is that these places have found it impossible to effect registration excepting with the indigenous population?—I do not think so at all. I have tried to discover the exact system at present in vogue in Sumatra; it is something similar to registration. The Javanese clerk who presides at every Government shop is not allowed to sell except to a well-known user of opium. Those are his instructions, and he keeps a book in which he records the names and addresses of buyers of opium and the amounts sold to them at each period.

2726. That is another question altogether, which we will come to?—That is an example of the Dutch dealing with the Chinese.

2727. I simply want to point out to you that in the case of the Philippines and Formosa, where this has been going on for some time, they found it absolutely impossible to introduce a system of registration among the immigrant population?—But I should hope that British officials are better than these people over there.

2728. They would very much require to be better than those people, because 95 per cent of our Chinese population in the Federated Malay States is immigrant, and 85 per cent of our Chinese population in Singapore is immigrant. That contrasts with a matter of 8 or 10 per cent very badly. Our officials would require to be very superior indeed to those of the Philippines and Formosa?—And my experience is that they are too.

2729. Coming to our indigenous population, do you think there is any necessity for a system of registration among the Straits-born Chinese? In other words, is opium smoking very prevalent among the Straits-born Chinese?—Undoubtedly in Penang and in Perak, but particularly in Penang.

2730. Then you think that registration, if it is introduced, must include them?—Yes, and I am sure that it will meet with practically no opposition.

2731. I am astonished at your answer, because I may tell you from my experience in Singapore that Straits-born Chinese are not smokers. There are a very few indeed and, as I have expressed elsewhere, I believe that when the present generation of smokers dies out it will be practically extinct?—That is so; if the present generation in Penang dies out without introducing new smokers.

2732. I also put down the reason for that in Singapore as being the effects of anti-opium propaganda?—That has something to do with it, but education has a great deal to do also.

2733. Why has it not had a better effect in Penang, where anti-opium agitation was very vivid?—It met with the greatest opposition in Penang because the older generation were all opium smokers; and I may mention that even at the present time the older generation are so strongly in favour of the use of opium that there is a certain amount of unpopularity attaching to anyone who advocates an anti-opium policy.

2734. How would you get opium smokers to register? Why would they register? Do you expect them to come forward voluntarily to register?—Yes, I am quite sure they would, just the same as they paid income tax after saying they would not.

2735. You don't think that there is existing in the Chinese mind a distinct aversion to anything which nails him down?—I don't think so at all. I think the Chinese are a very remarkable race. They are more like Europeans than any race in Asia, and they are most imaginative; they can adapt themselves to any circumstances and they can easily be brought into a condition of docility towards any Government order. But, on the other hand, the masses of uneducated Chinese are most easily influenced by unscrupulous propagandists.

2736. *Chairman.*—Are you talking of the present moment?—Yes.

2737. *Sir David Galloway.*—I am coming back to experience again; we have experience in attempting to register 'rikisha coolies. There were some 16,000 of them, and a law was brought in and we got a certain number to register; but they never found a man with his own register number or his own register badge. You will find all that related in the report of the last Opium Commission. Then again the Chinese Exclusion Act of South Africa. The Chinese had no objection whatever to the Act; when it was all dissected and boiled down and analysed, they found that the sole objection to the Act was the fact that they had to register. And we know that the one thing that they object to tooth and nail is having their finger-prints or their photographs taken. The name is a matter of no consequence, because, generally speaking, a Chinaman has many names. Any law which has for

its intention the fixing of the identity of a Chinese is most objectionable to the Chinese?—But such a law is in force at the present moment in Penang and Perak, and is carried out. Every Chinese chauffeur must be registered and licensed, and his finger-prints and also his photograph must be on his licence.

2738. That is a question of making a living and having the means of making a living. It is not on all fours with what we are discussing at present?—My enquiries amongst all classes of Chinese have led me to the conclusion that there will be no opposition to registration; that opium smokers, in order to get the opium, will be quite content to be registered. There will be no more opposition to it than there is at the present time to the different restrictions which Chinese have to undergo in the case of the Rubber Restriction Enactment.

2739. *Chairman.*—Your enquiries have been made amongst the higher class Chinese?—No, all classes; amongst coolies as well.

2740. How do you approach the coolie to ask him that?—I have a conversation with him and with his *kapala* about opium and whether there are any who smoke opium amongst the crowd of coolies in his *kongsi*, and whether, if registration were introduced, his people would have any objection to it.

2741. You said just now he was imaginative, that possibly applies to the coolie; he is quite capable of imagining the answer you desire to your question?—I think the ordinary Chinese is a man of very great capacity for devices, and without that imagination he cannot have that capacity. He must have imagination in order to be able to devise, as he does, so many different ways of living where existence has become a severe strain to him.

2742. When you made enquiries of these coolies you had to do it through their *kapalas*; you don't speak dialects of Chinese yourself?—Sometimes.

2743. You didn't know what questions the *kapala* asked them?—I spoke to them in a sort of bastard Hokkien and Malay, and they understood me quite well.

2744. Do you speak Hokkien?—I speak a certain amount for medical purposes.

2745. *Sir David Galloway.*—You said that they would have to register in order to get chandu; you refer, of course, to licit chandu. Then, with that capacity for devices which you have just given the Chinese credit for, I should imagine if they could not get licit chandu they would get something else?—That is an open question. Some people say they would take to liquor if they did not have opium, but that is not my experience.

2746. We know that illicit chandu is to be had all over the place?—Yes, everywhere.

2747. To obtain chandu a man need not register. He can get as much illicit chandu as he likes to use. So that his habit would not drive him to registration?—There would be always a penalty for non-registration—a very severe penalty. I am quite sure that all the *baba* class or the towkay class in Penang would certainly register.

2748. *Mr. Jelf.*—The penalty would include imprisonment?—The penalties at the present moment for breaches of the opium and chandu enactment in Perak are very severe and may be with imprisonment; but, as a rule, the magistrates treat the cases with great leniency and the fines are very low.

2749. *Chairman.*—I suggest they are not parallel cases?—(No answer).

2750. *Sir David Galloway.*—You say that you think *babas* would certainly register straight-away?—I will give you an example—I am speaking of the dead; I asked the late Mr GAN NGOH BEE if registration were enforced what would he do; would he register? And he answered. "If Government

orders it I will do it". I also asked the late Mr. CHEAH CHEN EOK the same question and he gave practically the same answer in different words.

2751. Don't you think that a lot of people who are not opium smokers would also register?—All sorts of abuses are possible; but that is no reason why we should not do the right thing.

2752. The natural question from that is, how are you going to limit the registration to opium smokers? I may tell you that in Formosa the opium smoker who seeks registration has to be vouched for by the headman of his village or district. In the Philippines he has to bring an affidavit signed before a notary public before he can be registered. Would you suggest that either of those systems should be adopted here?—I do not think that would be necessary, really.

2753. How are you going to find out?—I think it is quite probable that only those who wanted to smoke opium or who were in the habit of smoking opium would seek registration.

2754. You would leave it to them, in fact?—I think so.

2755. At the same time, I do not suppose you would combat the statement that many who are not smokers would seek registration?—That is possible. In the same way as in the case of rubber restriction; when that was started many Chinese small holders were able to obtain coupons to sell them when they had no right, and the probability is that the same thing might occur in this case. But, just as now the restriction law has been so amended that that is impossible, naturally, after a year or two years' experience of registration, there will be amendments also rendering abuses, at any rate, a little troublesome.

2756. These men who are not smokers who obtain chandu and those men who were smokers and obtained an amount more than they use themselves would naturally have chandu to sell?—That is so.

2757. And then, after they had established a *clientele*, they would find that they probably could dispose of more opium than they could get from the opium shops, and the natural conclusion would be that they would get that opium in other ways. From beginning to sell licit chandu illicitly they would move on to sell illicit chandu illicitly?—I am sure there would be abuses, as there are at the present moment. But, I may remark *en passant* that the amount of illicit chandu in Perak, as far as I can gather, is very small. It does not reach there; it is stopped in Singapore and Penang.

2758. If registration were made compulsory, don't you think a good number of people of the lower classes would leave the Colony?—I do not think so; I think they find life too pleasant here.

2759. But life would not be pleasant unless they could get their opium?—We would allow every present opium smoker to continue the habit. The law would allow that, I presume, but the law would try to prevent any new-comers who are not opium smokers picking up the habit here.

2760. The law would allow them, if they registered. But supposing they would not register; what is going to happen?—I cannot conceive the possibility of that.

2761. Assuming that Government gave notice that registration of opium smokers was to come in on such and such a date; are you of opinion that that would not lead to a considerable *hegira* of these men in the interval?—I am quite satisfied, not at all. The only danger would be if Government allowed the present system of selling opium to remain in the hands of private individuals making a profit; because it is quite possible for them to spread all kinds of malicious reports amongst the uneducated class of Chinese, and they would do so just as they did in the case of the rice control in Penang.

2762. Coming back to fact, without malicious report at all; if this simple fact of registration, without any embroidery by the sellers, were to

be put abroad and a certain amount of notice was given before it was brought in, don't you think that, in the interval, a large number of opium users would leave the Colony?—No, that is simply a matter of judgment and observation.

2763. Do you think, if registration of opium smokers was in force here, that it might interfere with immigration from China?—No, if the law were properly explained to them I do not think so. I do not think it would have any effect whatsoever.

2764. You, of course, know the percentage of opium smokers among new arrivals?—I believe it is very high at the present time; it used not to be.

2765. Don't you think, with the present opium position in China, that the present moment is the most unfavourable one to introduce any restrictive measures?—Generally speaking, every time is unfavourable for carrying out a reform unless there be a very strong body of public opinion behind it. But that is no reason why this Colony and the Federated Malay States shall not proceed with the reform, simply because China allows opium to be grown so widely.

2766. You are quite aware of the fact that, although employers prefer to engage non-smokers, at the present moment there is just sufficient labour, with the smokers included, to meet the demand?—That may be, but I feel certain that if the Chinese coming from China were made aware that they would be allowed to be registered here if they were opium smokers there would be no restriction to their coming.

2767. Can you sketch us a plan of registration; how is it to be worked?—If you take it by district, for example, it can be worked through the District Office in the same way that there is at the present time a registration of all estates. It would be possible for a District Officer to have a sub-officer under him, known as the Opium Registration Officer, who would visit all places, in Perak, for example, in such a district as I speak of, Batang Padang or Larut where smokers resorted or lived, and enquire whether in that district there were smokers, and register them individually. By notices also through *Penghulus*, just as at the present time it would be quite possible to get coolies to come and apply for registration to get their licences. Of course, the Chinese Protectorate would be able to do a large amount of work in the same way. If it were done by districts or sub-districts, I think it would be more easily managed.

2768. There would be a register in each district?—Yes, and then a general register for the whole State.

2769. You know that the Chinese very rarely stay long in one place. How would you manage the question of movement from State to State?—That is not my experience. I have known Chinese who have been 20 years opium smokers in Padang Rengas, in Ipoh and Kampar. The vast number do not move from Perak to Selangor or from Perak to Kedah. They live in Perak.

2770. *Mr. Jelf.*—Don't the coolies move from one place to another?—From one estate or from one mine to another; but not out of the State. They do not go very far.

2771. For instance, the Kinta coolies do not go to Sungei Besi?—Very seldom. For example, lately I had to send some coolies to Tong Song in Siam; they were sent from Taiping. As soon as they finished their work they returned. The same thing in Kinta. I happen to have two estates in Batang Padang where I have Chinese coolies. They live about the same area. They go elsewhere for work and generally return when the work is finished.

2772. *Sir David Galloway.*—Then there is the larger question of migration between the Federated Malay States, the Straits Settlements and China?—The Federated Malay States and the Straits may be regarded as one, just as in the case of a licence for a revolver.

2773. Our figures go to show that the entire Chinese immigrant population in the whole Peninsula turns itself over completely once in 7 years, probably less; in other words, the immigration equals the population within 7 years, which means that there may be a small permanent residuum, but the great bulk of the Chinese immigrant population is a floating population. That, of course, if registration were introduced, would mean an immense lot of work in registering new-comers and in deregistering the out-goers?—Of course, it is impossible to ascertain in these figures how many of these are returned coolies; nor can I state definitely the proportion. I can only say from observation that during the 25 years that I have known North Kinta, Perak, and South Kinta very well, say from 1898, I have continually seen the same coolies and *kapalas* and other Chinese go to China and return and they have made their homes here. For example, there is a Chinese Settlement in Sitiawan which is permanent; they go to China and they return. There is also a Chinese settlement at Taiping.

2774. But even the going to China means, for the time being, giving up their licence?—No, just as a man may continue to have his licence as a motor driver, so, they would have these registration licences fixed to them.

2775. Then if they took them away to China, what is to prevent their selling them in China supposing they were not coming back?—What is to prevent them selling a licence for a revolver at the present time?

2776. A man gets a licence to smoke opium, and you suggest that the licence should stick to him throughout?—Yes, until he resigns it. In Perak, at the present time, say, a man has a licence as a motor car driver, it is practically for life. In the Straits he has to renew it every year.

2777. This man goes to China, he does not come back. His licence, according to your idea, is uncancelled. It still exists. He is not going to be such a fool as to keep that licence laid by if he can get a price for it. Therefore, he sells it to somebody else who brings it back and uses it in the Straits?—Breaches of the law are quite possible.

2778. And the stoppage of those breaches would be a very difficult business?—No, not more than other breaches at the present time in the case of banishment and other things.

2779. *Mr. Jelf.*—But if you do not contemplate the surrender of licences by coolies, etc. returning to China, you have no idea at any given moment as to how many smokers there are in the country?—I think you will know, because the licences must be registered. There ought to be a return year by year. He would have to renew his licence every January.

2780. If it is not registered you would know that he was away and the licence would expire?—Yes; it would lapse.

2781. *Mr. McLean.*—You don't think there will be any difficulty to get them to come in and register every year?—I do not think there will be insuperable difficulty.

2782. *Chairman.*—Do you think that there are as many motor drivers as there are opium smokers?—No, I do not, of course.

2783. How many times the number of chauffeurs are there opium smokers here?—It is impossible to say.

2784. Would you agree many times?—Yes.

2785. Have you any idea how many opium smokers there are in British Malaya, or in any State, or in any part of British Malaya?—I have estimated that in Penang and Province Wellesley there are about 15,000, perhaps more, probably 20,000.

2786. There were 62,369 Chinese adult males in the Settlement of Penang at the census of 1921. You, therefore, suggest that one in 3 of those adult males, or thereabouts, is an opium smoker?—I would not go so far as that: I am speaking of Penang and Province Wellesley, I lump them together. At one time I took it at 10 per cent of the total population, that is, 13,500 out of a population of 135,000, estimating on the amount of sales of opium according to the number of tahils. The number is large undoubtedly.

2787. *Mr. Jelf.*—But you are not taking anybody but adult males, are you?—Yes; women smoke also.

2788. *Chairman.*—I put it to you that your estimate comes to 1 in 3. Do you honestly think that 1 in 3 Chinese adult males in Penang and Province Wellesley smoke opium?—I think about 1 in 10.

2789. *Sir David Galloway.*—You say you base your estimate on the consumption; would you tell me what you allow for an individual consumption?—I would allow about 3 hoons a day; that is an average, and it is a low average.

2790. That gives you an enormous number of smokers?—Exactly.

2791. In your own personal experience among your own personal friends, people whom you know, the daily limit is very much more than that?—Of course, I have known people who smoke a tahil a day; but it is necessary to make some kind of average, because, as I told you a while ago, these petty brokers subdivide.

2792. What would you consider a moderate day's use of chandu for a man to whom price was no consideration?—Moderate use would be about 10 hoons a day. Of course people like Gan Ngoh Bee smoke enormously, but the majority of Chinese of the better class smoke about 3 packets a day.

2793. You mentioned in your memorandum something about opium being frequently used for suicide*, I want to distinguish this question clearly. We know from incontrovertible evidence that opium is never a cause of insanity. You do not mean that it drives them to suicide?—May I first say that I do not quite agree with you upon that point as regards insanity. I have known of cases where a species of hypnotic hallucination was produced due to opium. I have also known of cases of hypnotic delusion and even something like transformations of personality, and, within the last two years, I have known where elderly Chinese who were terrible smokers, under the influence of opium, have been led to believe that they had made definite promises to give jewellery, for example, to their daughters, which, in fact, they had never made at all.

2794. Do you consider that insanity—I do not?—It is undoubtedly a form of neurotic or psychical derangement in which the will is terribly weakened; such a close borderland to insanity that it is almost indistinguishable.

2795. *Mr. Jelf.*—But such cases occur with alcohol as well?—Undoubtedly.

2796. *Sir David Galloway.*—We are speaking of insanity pure and simple, because I look upon suicide as being temporary insanity. I am not speaking of psychological conditions such as you mention. But have you ever known the taking of opium drive a person to suicide or do you mean by your statement that opium is a means of suicide?—I mean that it is frequently used as a means of suicide. I have definite cases before me. You said just now something about suicide, that they are all cases of temporary insanity.

2797. That may be too sweeping a statement; some are done deliberately and in cold blood. The point that I wanted to get at was that it was not opium that drove them to suicide, but that opium was used as a means of suicide?—Again, I would like to say, in reference to that

* Appendix LXV.

point, that according to my investigations and after long consideration of this very subject (in fact, I embodied my views in a paper on the subject of moral responsibility from the medical and psychological point of view), my opinion is that the vast majority of suicides are responsible; that it is simply due to weakness of the will, to an impulse which they are unable to resist. In the case of opium, it does not lead directly to suicide but the want of opium may.

2798. The only case of insanity of that sort which I have any knowledge of was a case where insanity was induced by the withdrawal of opium?—That is what I say; the want of opium, not the opium itself. I have known several cases of suicide due directly to opium being used as a means.

2799. *Chairman.*—When you were asked to classify the forms of taking opium, you talked of drug taking as well. I am only a layman. I want to get into my mind the different forms and how you would classify them in the degress of deleteriousness. I suggest that opium is taken by smoking it, by smoking re-prepared dross, and also by swallowing dross. Would you be so good as to say, in your opinion, in which order of noxiousness those come?—I should say the swallowing of dross is the most noxious of those three forms.

2800. Could you discriminate between the other two?—To a slight extent. The smoking of the prepared opium does not appear to me to be so noxious as using the dross. The dross, after all, is condensed opium and it contains possibly more alkaloids of morphine than prepared opium. I am surprised myself to find the extent to which drinking opium is now prevailing. I know many Straits-born Chinese clerks on estates who have taken to drinking opium and given up smoking opium.

2801. What form of opium do they drink?—They buy the packets from the Government and mix them with water or with *samsu* or with brandy. I know one hopelessly abandoned man on an estate in Krian who drinks this opium 3 times a day with brandy.

2802. *Sir David Galloway.*—Don't you think that the selling of dross is much more prevalent?—Oh, yes, it is very prevalent. You see the resale of dross is one of the abuses of opium. The Straits Settlements, of which the Chairman is a distinguished ornament in the Civil Service, has not done much to control the abuses of dross. Now the Federated Malay States are honestly doing what they can, but it is only a little because they have not got the staff to do it.

2803. *Chairman.*—You have now brought in a fourth form which is new to me. May I say that smoking of opium is the least pernicious?—Yes.

2804. Which would you put next?—The smoking of re-prepared dross, and I would put the swallowing of dry dross third and drinking rough tincture of opium last.

2805. *Sir David Galloway.*—Would you put the swallowing of chandu before the swallowing of dross?—If mixed with water or spirit it is more pernicious.

2806. *Chairman.*—On the registration question, you came to the conclusion, owing to certain questions that were asked you, that you would have to have re-registration annually?—I think that would be advisable, undoubtedly.

2807. You say that you estimate 49,000 smokers in the Federated Malay States. I suggest that that is 18 per cent of the Chinese adult male population at the 1921 census. Are you willing to accept that on my figures?—I went into this matter before and tried to get an estimate of the number of opium smokers at the time of the Income Tax agitation. I came to the conclusion at that time that there were at the very most 35,000 Chinese smoking opium in the Straits Settlements. I published that in a letter in

the *Pinang Gazette*. I was taken very roughly to task for that by certain people who criticised it and said the figure was too low. The *Malaya Tribune*, for example, said my figure must be wrong, the number was far too low. I referred to the total Chinese population for the Straits Settlements. The total number of Chinese is 497,549. Out of that there are 337,000 males (my calculation was made before the figures were published). Roughly, my figures come to 10 per cent in the case of the males, and it comes to less than 10 per cent over the total number of people. I received several letters from different people who criticised it and they said it should be 50,000. I began to waver in my opinion and to think that I had put my figures too low; but it is extremely difficult to find it out. I calculated by the amount of opium given to each man. In Penang we have 259,633 tahils. Multiply that by 100 hoons and that comes to 25 million hoons for a year. Divide, let us say, by 90 hoons for a month or 1,000 hoons for a year and that would bring me to about 25,000. But that figure is too high.

2808. All these methods are purely speculative?—Yes. I tried several ways to find out. Another way I tried to find out was taking the streets of Penang. For instance, Carnarvon Street, where I know there are a number of smokers, Malay Street and Prangin Lane. I counted the number of houses known to me quite well—I have patients in most of those houses—and then the number of smokers in the different houses there, and I estimated the population of the houses and it came to about the same thing. For Penang, at that time, it did not come to more than 10,000.

2809. *Sir David Galloway.*—What would be the percentage?—That would be only 12 or 13 per cent of the total population.

2810. *Chairman.*—At any rate, there are quite a large number of opium smokers, many thousands, in British Malaya?—It is hard to say. It may reach to 100,000 altogether all told.

2811. If we go as far with you as to accept your idea that the primary registration will be accepted with docility by the people, the secondary re-gistration, that is the re-registration, will not be anything like so acceptable?—I think it would be quite the same.

2812. Judging by the evidence that you gave in answer to Sir DAVID GALLOWAY, I came to the conclusion that this yearly re-registration was a feature of any sketch of this scheme that you could possibly make?—Yes.

2813. And you now admit that to get them to come again to do the same old thing on the following 1st January will not be so easy?—I do not think so. I say, on the contrary, that they would be quite accustomed to that, and would do it readily.

2814. They would go regularly on the 1st January or as soon as they could get into the registration office?—Yes, I am sure.

2815. Would you agree that there was any interference with the liberty of the subject in any question of the registration of opium smokers?—That has been exploded long ago; everything is interference.

2816. Anything which is an interference with the liberty of the subject requires the sanction and the active support of the great majority of the population?—Yes. I am quite of opinion that the great mass of the population is in favour of this. But even if it were not, as we know that it is, it is the opinion of the minority which inevitably rules in the long run—and it is the minority which, in this case, is correct—I think we ought to educate the majority.

2817. Do you think we ought to bring in registration before we have begun this education? Is that how you do your education, by doing it?—By doing the right thing. You make the law and make them obey it.

2818. Why did the anti-opium feeling in Perak wane so considerably after 1908?—There were many reasons for it. It did not wane until 1911 really, we had opium conferences until 1911; the last one was at Seremban.

A number of the older Chinese who were strong supporters, either lost very heavily during the slump which occurred at that time, or they had to turn to other means of livelihood; they became a little scattered, and so, just as in all human effort, there was a period of languor and lethargy, and after that it revived again from time to time. But, whenever I wished to call a meeting anywhere, in Ipoh, for instance, on the question of anti-opium, I always found plenty of supporters.

2819. Going back to those days, tell me what was the reason for the absolute failure of that compact to refuse engagement to opium smokers on the mines. Most of the principal mining *Towkays* of Kinta talked of having agreed to that, but, as far as I know, it never became effective in the least?—All great ambitions, whether they be laudable or the reverse, are naturally subject to human frailty, and it was so in this case amongst the Chinese. Many of the Chinese were steadfast and would not employ any but non-smokers and certainly Mr. Foo Choo Choon was one of the best. But, as in every movement, there were backsliders.

2820. Was Mr. Foo Choo Choon willing to go to the extent of closing down his mine?—Yes, he gave notice. I went to his mine and he said, rather than have opium smokers he would close down his mine.

2821. He would treat an opium smoker as a black-leg?—No, as a man deserving of pity; he should be sent to some hospital or to some refuge and an effort made to reform him. At the present moment there is no disposition to treat an opium smoker as a black-leg. On the contrary, the object is to try to reform him, to get him to give up the habit.

2822. I was talking of the labour side of the question, not the moral side?—The labour side is that the opium smoker is 50 per cent inefficient. May I tell you my experience? I engaged non-smokers and smokers and put them to work side by side on the same estate. I gave them spaces to work by contract. They were to *changkol* spaces between rubber trees 17′ by 17′; the trees were planted 17′ by 17′, 150 to the acre. They were paid 15 cents a space. My experience was quite clear. The opium smokers *changkoled* at most 3 or 4 spaces a day, being content to earn at the very most 60 cents. The non-smokers *changkoled* 7, 8, 9 or 10 spaces. I conducted that experiment on an estate near Ipoh. Another experiment was at a mine at Taiping; we had awful trouble with lifting stones and we had Chinese coolies, smokers and non-smokers. The smokers were hopeless. We could not get them to do a day's work. It was very heavy work. These smokers were replaced by women, and they did splendid work because they were non-smokers. They did more, they came at 6 o'clock in the morning and worked with half-an-hour's interval (we provided them with a crèche) till 5 in the evening. They were expected to do a *kong* a day and often did a *kong* and a half.

2823. May I give you an illustration from our evidence? You are aware of the excellent work that is done by coal coolies in coaling ships in this port; it is, I believe, the second fastest in the Eastern world. The labour contractor admits that 60 per cent of the coal coolies smoke opium, and, in answer to a question: "In regard to that 60 per cent, how do they do their work?", his reply is: They work very well; I do not think they could work so well if they did not smoke opium"?—That is an opinion; here is my experiment against it.

2824. This man has been the labour contractor of the Singapore Harbour Board for 22 solid years. Would you agree that coal coolie's work was, in physical requirements, harder work than either of the two experiences you gave?—Not so hard as the lifting of stones in Taiping. I will give you a parallel experience. When I was at Rotterdam, I used to go down to the docks, and I noticed that the dock labourers who were coaling the ships invariably went aside after two or three loads of coal and took a dose of gin. When I enquired why this was done, the answer was that they did better work in consequence of the gin. But such is not my belief.

2825. You consider that it is perfectly feasible to impose a uniform maximum limit of consumption?—Yes, by rationing the different districts. There has been no attempt to ration Penang or Singapore. The Government has been tremendously to blame for not trying any experiments at all.

2826. We are told that opium smoking is a habit mainly confined to Chinese adults. Chinese are divided into many tribes. Is that so?—Yes.

2827. Have you ever been told that there is a difference between the percentage of opium smokers amongst various tribes?—I have not been told that, but I have noted that there are less opium smokers amongst the Tiechius, who are agricultural labourers, in Krian and Province Wellesley.

2828. Do you mean less amongst the Tiechius proportionately than among Cantonese and Khehs?—That is from my observation.

2829. You have never heard it suggested that the Hokkiens, of all the common tribes that come down here, are the biggest smokers?—No, I have not; but I know that there are a lot of 'rikisha coolies who are Hokkiens who smoke opium. I have asked the question myself from other Chinese and they say they are all the same.

2830. The whole of our evidence tends to show that the Hokkiens are the biggest smokers, the Tiechius come next and the Cantonese and Khehs come last. That is important in regard to the fixing of a maximum limit if the tribal constituency is not homogeneous?—If that is true we should not discriminate in trying to arrive at the maximum limit between Hokkiens, etc., but we should find the smokers first and then put the maximum limit on the number ascertained.

2831. In fact, logical effective registration and licensing are conditions precedent to fixing this maximum?—Yes, we have always stated that. Every single person connected with the anti-opium agitation has always declared his belief that without registration there can be no effort whatsoever to discover how much opium is required.

2832. You do not wish to stop the up-country coolie getting it if the down-town coolie can get it?—No.

2833. You would give the preference in favour of the up-country coolie, whose relaxations are few, as regards the ease with which he should get his opium, as against the down-town coolie who has got the amenities of town life?—I would make no difference whatsoever.

2834. If you took away opium from a coolie in a mine at the back of beyond, would you expect him to twiddle his thumbs and go to bed after his day's work is over?—My experience of coolies away at the back of beyond, that is to say on the Pahang Road where they are at the present time, on the road to Cameron's Plateau, is that they do not smoke opium at all and that they live quite an interested life there. After the day's work is done some of them take to playing Chinese instruments; others lay traps for deer, etc. I have an estate at Padang Rengas, it rises up a slope 1,500 feet, run entirely by Chinese. There is not a single opium smoker there. They save money every month. I have people at the Hermitage 3,200 feet up, all Chinese, not a single smoker, doing splendid work.

2835. Do you think there are any mines in the back of beyond in the Federated Malay States where there is a single coolie who smokes opium?—I do think there are many parts of Perak where coolies are prospecting, and where there is no opium smoked. I will give you an instance: I walked with a friend, a Government Engineer, last August. We walked for two days right over several hills in Perak and we came to several tin stealing *kongsis*. All Chinese were working there and there was not a single opium smoker amongst them.

2836. The point of my question was merely this, that one very enthusiastic anti-opiumist suggested that these back of beyond mine coolies should play badminton. Do you believe in the possibility of substituting,

in this low class mining coolie, a Western sport for an Eastern relaxation like opium smoking?—I am quite satisfied that the Chinese will not seek a Western relaxation if he has not opium smoking. He will not seek what he does not know anything about.

2837. Mr. Loke Chow Thye, as the representative of the Anti-opium Society, said—"When they have finished their work they should go to bed", do you agree with that?—No, and they do not do it either they have their own sports; they hunt wild pig and deer and with their notious of economy they save money and buy clothes.

2838. *Sir David Galloway.*—In your experience amongst Straits-born Chinese who have given up opium, don't you find that the use of alcohol is becoming very much heavier?—That is not my experience at all. I know two elderly Chinese at the present moment, one is 66, he gave up opium smoking two years ago and has not taken to alcohol. Another man is 63, he gave up several years ago and he has not taken to alcohol either.

2839. But I am speaking of this as a substitutional vice. Of the younger generation, very few smoke opium, but a very large number of them drink liquor. Is not that your experience?—I have heard that frequently stated, but I must say that amongst my practice I find the Chinese still as abstinent as they were 27 years ago when I first came to Perak.

2840. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you consider that a moderate amount of opium smoking, anything between 3 and 10 hoons a day, does any real harm over a period of years?—Undoubtedly; there is no question about it. Opium paralyses the respiration. When I first came to Perak in 1896 I made many *post mortems* on opium smokers, and in every case there was some degeneration of the lung tissue.

2841. *Sir David Galloway.*—You are firmly impressed with the value of an educational campaign?—That is so.

2842. I would like you to give us an idea of what you would consider the means of getting at as many of these people as possible?—I would begin in the schools. I would follow the lines adopted in England against alcohol, such as the propaganda used in the city of Sheffield. In all the schools there, there are prominent placards showing the evils of alcohol, the loss of health, the loss of vigour, the loss of employment, and the gradual decline. The change in the face of the men and women is also shown, and then the amount of money wasted, the amount of wages consumed in England on alcohol etc.

2843. You are taking a very much worse model than opium. You have much more ground to go upon and much wider and deeper changes produced by alcohol than there is by opium. You would have to forego a lot of these, for instance, pictures of drunkards and the disfiguration which chronic drunkards generally assume?—But that can be shown of opium smokers as well. Their emaciation, their horrible appearance, their selling their clothes for opium when they have no money, their going to the pawn-shop to pawn their wives' jewelry to get opium; all those are well-known facts. In Penang we go one better; we provide a pawn-shop and an opium shop in the same house under the same roof.

2844. Then you have, of course, the frequent collision of the drunkard with the Police?—Yes.

2845. *Mr. McLean.*—The education you mentioned would only apply to the Straits-born Chinese?—It could apply to all by means of pictures or by the Chinese language.

2846. How would you educate the coolie?—By representations in the theatres and by cinematographs as well. We had a splendid anti-opium play in Ipoh The Cantonese actors were wonderful, and there was a woman shown as an opium smoker hopelessly abandoned. Many others were reformed, but the woman never.

2847. Would that have much effect, do you think?—Yes, tremendous. The Chinese coolie, like every other coolie in the world, is most sensitive to ridicule.

2848. *Sir David Galloway.*—You are firmly convinced that an educational course should be a continuous one?—It is the duty of the Government to do that.

2849. You think Government should subsidize well accredited anti-opium Societies?—I do not think that is necessary. Anti-opium societies can arrange their own funds. I would rather have them as voluntary associations apart from Government. But I think the Government can do a lot by the sort of representations I mentioned.

2850. You would have the two forces going on independently—the private and the Government?—Yes, I would not expect anything from Government on these points; I would rather we did our own work.

2851. Coming to the practical medical point, do you think that Government then might help in the matter of trying to provide the means of reclaiming opium smokers who wish to be reclaimed?—Yes, that is so.

2852. What form do you think that would have to take?—A kind of refuge, such as an inebriates' home in England. But it probably might be necessary in such cases to allow the friends to put a man in there by means of a magistrate's order.

2853. In the great bulk of cases, of course, these coolies are people who have practically no friends. If any of those men wanted to throw off the habit, might it not be as well that there should be a certain number of beds allotted in a free hospital?—That is so.

2854. Should these be supported entirely by Government, or might not an anti-opium society contribute so much per bed?—I am sure the anti-opium societies would be ready to contribute; but I think it is the duty of the Government, having made so much money out of opium in the past, to spend a little now in reforming the opium victims.

2855. In consideration of the anti-opium societies having subscribed to that, might they not have a nomination as to a certain number of beds?—Yes, that is reasonable.

2856. I mean to say, it is a question of selecting your smokers. We do not want a man, sent in by his friends who want to get rid of him, who refuses to be cured. We want men who wish to get rid of the habit and we should require the anti-opium societies to select those men?—I think that is quite feasible. In my experience a great number of opium smokers desire to break the habit, but they are unable to do so. The craving is too great.

2857. According to Mr. WILSON'S evidence there was something like a panic and a good deal of agitation in town when rationing was attempted here, the real trouble being that it led to hoarding?—Rationing is possible if the shops are in the hands of Government. At the present moment there are too many interested parties, not only opium licensees, but petty brokers and commission agents and traders on every side, who re-sell the opium, and who unscrupulously create an agitation amongst the easily deluded classes of the population.

2858. *Mr. Chan.*—Early in your evidence you described the evil effects of opium physically and intellectually. Will you be so good as to complete that description by giving the evil effects from a social point of view and from a moral point of view?—From the social point of view there is frequently a dissolution of friendship, a dissolution of business association and a dissolution of the family tie; and from the moral point of view there is a decay in the sense of honour and public spirit and there is a disposition to be careless in obtaining money regardless of the means by which it is obtained.

2859. You told us something of the business conducted by petty brokers, men who buy from retail shops and sell in the streets. Would you advocate the sale in smaller packets to counteract that?—I am not quite sure whether that would be desirable or not. It might be desirable to have,

say, a 1½ hoon packet. It would be reasonable if we wished to sell opium freely. We rather wish to reduce the sale of opium, and therefore, we want them to purchase only 3 hoons for 40 cents not 1½ hoons for 20 cents.

2860. *Chairman.*—This was given to us as economic, that the smoker who cannot split a packet spends 40 cents when he might as well spend two-thirds of 40 cents and still get his full satisfaction. Would you accept that as being another aspect of the case?—Yes, it is the same thing in another way. The abuse has sprung up because people do not wish to spend 40 cents at once.

2861. *Sir David Galloway.*—In other words, there is a demand for a smaller packet?—That is so.

2862. *Mr. Chan.*—The evidence we have had shows that there is a busy trade in dross in Singapore due to the high price of opium. If we accept the opium trade, would you advocate a reduction in price of the opium so as to place it within the reach of the opium smokers who need not then take to dross?—Oh, no; I would not do anything of the kind. The whole policy has been against reducing the price and in favour of increasing it.

2863. Sir DAVID GALLOWAY suggested that some smokers would have recourse to illicit opium in preference to registration. Would a smoker be sure of getting the illicit opium regularly?—No, not in Perak.

2864. If he would not be sure, obviously he would register in order to make sure of getting licit opium?—Quite likely. In parts of Perak that I know well, it is really difficult to get smuggled opium. It is difficult to smuggle opium into Perak. It is not easy to smuggle it into the Federated Malay States.

2865. *Mr. McLean.*—But there are a good many creeks in Perak, could not the opium be brought up those creeks?—Yes, but it does not pay in the long run.

2966. But, if sales were restricted, would it not pay much better than it does now?—I do not think so. I think the risk of detection is too great, and you must remember that in Perak and particularly South Perak, you have a large Malay population that would quickly give information to Government. I know quite well that in Batang Padang that is the safety of Government. The Malays come with information to the District Officer.

2867. *Sir David Galloway.*—The morphine content of the chandu here, 12½ per cent, is very high. Do you think that that might be reduced with advantage?—I think it is too high.

2868. Swallowing dross was practically unknown up till about 1910. Now, of 1,200 cases of opium smokers of whom I had collected case cards, 263 were swallowing. That was unknown at the time of the last Opium Commission. We could get evidence of very few swallowers indeed in 1908; and you will recollect that it is from 1910 that the price of chandu has been steadily advanced. There can not be any getting away from the fact that it is the price of chandu which is the cause of the resort to swallowing?—That is possible.

2869. We are all agreed that swallowing dross or chandu is much more harmful than smoking. Don't you think that a few of those men might be induced by cheaper chandu, to give up swallowing and take to smoking?—I don't think so; because the people in Perak who swallow dross have plenty of money. I think it is due to the ease with which they can carry dross; they do not require any apparatus.

2870. But you are quite with me that it is the high price of the chandu which has driven people to use dross?—It may be, but it is not my observation. My observation in Perak is that there is actually at the present moment a decline in the number of smokers.

2871. Does that mean more opium swallowers?—I think there is a general decline amongst the Chinese.

2872. In tightening up the restrictions on opium, there is one thing that is evident throughout the evidence, and that is that employers are very much in favour of employing non-smokers, and that there is a very strong anti-opium feeling amongst the Straits-born Chinese in Singapore. Assuming now that we were simply converting into Government shops, instead of the licensed shops, and carrying on as we are, and with the educational propaganda which is suggested; don't you think it is a mere question of a few years before the use of opium is practically extinguished in these parts?—I would not go so far as that, but I certainly agree with you that, if the Government established opium shops there would undoubtedly be a decline in the sales of opium, and there would be less opium smokers, because all these petty brokers would disappear.

2873. And then, don't you think that this policy, if continued with a good active propaganda against opium, as soon as sufficient non-opium-smoking labour could be had, would cure the matter of itself?—I think it would help very greatly, but I am quite sure that opium smoking and opium using will continue indefinitely unless there is registration. There will be a decline, but just as in the case of alcohol, there will be some who are always opium smokers and some who will take to it. We do not want any new people to take to it.

2874. Then, of course, at the present moment the attitude of China to opium is very foolish. They decline to recognize their opium trade and they decline to have any interference in their opium trade from outside?—Yes.

2875. The position of China makes any efforts on our part to extinguish the opium trade exceedingly difficult?—Yes, it does, but everything that is worth doing is difficult.

2876. It is scarcely fair to expect the Straits Government to take active suppressive measures when on their flank lies a place which is simply sodden with opium?—It is not pleasant, but we have to do it. We shall be driven to do it by the League of Nations and by the Secretary of State.

2877. I admit that this is an unpleasant circumstance. But the common-sense principle would be that we should march side by side with China in this matter?—I am very sorry to say that I do not agree with that. I should say we should march before China as we are a British Colony. We should lead the way.

2878. We have led the way. We have established a close control over the production of opium and over the use of opium here and I assume it will be a closer one, and China has done nothing?—China did splendidly up to the Revolution.

2879. But we are speaking of now and the proposition we are up against now. If they do the same again, it will be the very best thing in the world. But we are speaking of what they are doing now. The position they have left us in now is, as I say, that we are flanked by a place which is sodden with opium and we are expected to suppress it when 90 per cent of our population is in constant transit between here and China. Does not that look to you like an impossibility?—No, it makes the task harder but it is not impossible.

2880. You are a second Napoleon; you don't think there is such a word as impossible.

This concluded Dr. CONNOLLY'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Thirteenth Meeting.

MONDAY 7TH JANUARY 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

ABSENT:

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY. | Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

TUNKU KASSIM was called.

2881. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TUNKU KASSIM.

2882. You are Superintendent of Government Monopolies, Kedah?—Yes.

2883. Do you hold any other offices?—Yes, I am Superintendent of Customs as well.

2884. How long have you been in charge of the Government Monopolies?—3 years.

2885. Was there a Malay Officer in charge of the Government Monopolies before you were there?—Yes.

2886. It has been a Malay Officer all the way through?—Yes.

2887. Do you know when the Monopolies started in Kedah?—The Malay year was 1327 corresponding to 1910.

2888. Have you any European Officers under you in the Monopolies?—No.

2889. Nor in the Customs?—No.

2890. Are there many European Officers in Kedah?—Yes, quite a number of them; I should think about 100.

2891. In Kedah you have some Government shops for the retail sale of Chandu?—Yes.

2892. You would say that there are 25 now in existence?—Yes.

2893. It is correct to say that the first Government shop started in the Malay year 1327?—Yes.

2894. That is the same time as the Monopolies started?—Yes.

2895. None of the smoking shops are kept by Government servants; they are all licensed?—That is so.

2896. And the retail shops up-country, I suppose, are licensed also?—Yes, some of them.

2897. In these Government shops do you keep a large staff?—We keep a clerk and a *chinting*.

2898. What is the *chinting* for? Is he on your Customs work or Monopolies?—Only on Monopolies. He is under the instructions of the clerk.

2899. But the usual conception of a *chinting* is a pure searcher?—If he happens to find anything that goes against the Enactment or the Rules thereunder, he will be able to prosecute.

2900. *Mr. McLean.*—Are the clerks Malays?—Yes.

2901. *Chairman.*—What language do these clerks keep their records in?—Malay.

2902. What is the *chinting*; a Chinese?—He is a Malay; we have only two or three Chinese.

2903. In all the Government shops you have only got two or three Chinese?—Yes.

2904. Are many offences reported by these Malay *chintings* attached to the Government shops?—Quite a number.

2905. What do you have to pay the clerk in charge of the Government shop?—He is called a M. iii. He is paid according to the Malay Clerks Scheme starting on $45 and going up to $65 a month.

2906. Then, any clerk on this Malay Clerks Scheme may be turned off at any time to be a clerk in charge of a Government chandu shop?—Quite so.

2907. When they are so turned off, do they object to that form of job?—Never yet.

2908. Not to your knowledge?—No.

2909. You have not had protests by Malay clerks against being put in charge of a Government chandu shop?—No.

2910. And they get no extra allowances?—No.

2911. You hand in a purchase of chandu dross return?—Yes.

2912. Is this dross sold to you by individual people or only by licensed smoking shops?—Only by licensed smoking shops.

2913. It is practically unknown for an individual smoker to come along and tender you some dross and ask you to give him the $4.50 per tahil for it?—That has never happened.

2914. Do you put any pressure on smoking shops to return a proportion of their dross?—Yes.

2915. What is the percentage you ask them to bring?—40 per cent, more or less.

2916. That is dross to the extent of 40 per cent of the weight of chandu supplied to the shop?—Yes.

2917. How is the supply of chandu to Government and licenced shops effected; all from one central depôt in Alor Star?—Yes.

2918. Any licensee right up-country has to come to Alor Star to get his stock?—Yes.

2919. I believe in Kedah you encourage the practice of employers of labour right up-country being able to get chandu in large quantities for sale to their coolies; is that so?—Yes, on estates, quarries and mines.

2920. There is not much tin mining in Kedah, is there?—Not very much.

2921. To whom are licensees of Government shops allowed to sell chandu, only to Chinese or to others than Chinese?—To all nationalities.

2922. And to both sexes?—Yes.

2923. But only to grown-up people?—Yes; I think that is governed by the rules of Enactment No. 12 of 1337.

2924. We are told that smoking by Siamese in Kedah is quite a remarkable feature?—There are a few.

2925. Would you say that many Siamese in Kedah smoke?—It would be only guess-work. But I think one-fourth of the whole Siamese population smoke.

2926. Do many Malays smoke?—Yes, many Malays in Kedah do.

2927. Would it be correct to say that the habit was introduced into Kedah by the Siamese?—I cannot say.

2928. When you say one-fourth of the whole Siamese population, do you mean male, or male and female as well?—Male and female.

2929. Would the Siamese be heavy smokers, do you think?—I have no idea.

2930. Do they smoke opium in exactly the same way as the Chinese, with one of those long pipes?—Yes, most of them do. In my opinion they prefer using the long pipes.

2931. Have you heard of much eating of opium in Kedah, by Indians, for example?—Yes, I have heard of a few cases.

2932. It looks to me from your dross returns as though there was a good deal of chandu dross swallowed or re-prepared in Kedah. What do you think the people do with their dross who do not sell it to you?—I think they must re-cook it.

2933. That is an offence in Kedah?—Yes.

2934. There are no special prices for chandu in Kedah, say, to estates or mines. It is all sold at the one Government price; is that so?—Yes.

2935. And the price is apparently the same as in the Straits Settlements?—Yes.

2936. Where do you get your chandu from?—From the Government Monopolies in Penang.

2937. All ready packed for sale?—Yes.

2938. What do you think of the bamboo leaf packets? Are they what you would call good contrivances or not?—I cannot say.

2939. Do you have to return many broken packets to Penang?—Yes, we do.

2940. Quite an appreciable number?—We very seldom send broken packets, because we have very few.

2941. How is it brought from Penang?—By rail

2942. Packed in proper boxes?—Yes.

2943. Could you express an opinion as to whether to have a tube would be better than a bamboo leaf?—I think it would be better.

2944. You would then not have any broken packets at all?—I expect so.

2945. How do you detect non-Government chandu; have you an examiner yourselves?—No.

2946. Then if you make a seizure, how do you know that it is not Government chandu?—It depends on the packets and the experience we have.

2947. So that, if you prosecute a man in Kedah for being in possession of non-Government chandu, there would be no chemical evidence?—We have to send the stuff to Penang to be analysed.

2948. Have you had many prosecutions for being in possession of excess quantities of dross, or not?—Only one or two, I think.

2949. Do you think you could extend the Government shops to replace all the licensed shops?—I think so.

2950. Do you think you could even take over the management of the smoking shops?—Yes, I think so.

2951. In how long do you think you could do this replacement?—In a couple of months' time.

2952. Do you think you could do it in well under a year?—Yes.

2953. Do you think you would have to pay the existing licensees any compensation?—Not under the present Enactment or Rules. They are only licensed for a year.

2954. But then they have been in possession of these licences for a good many years, some of them, and they would think you were treating them very badly if the licences suddenly died?—I do not think so.

2955. Have you ever heard that they make good profits?—They must, I think.

2956. Do you make any transfers? One of the licensees, for example, wants to go back to China. You have had instances of making a transfer from one man to another?—Yes.

2957. Have you never heard of the price that was paid by the one coming in to the one going out?—I cannot say.

2958. You have not even heard that money passes?—No.

2959. So that you really think the Kedah licensees appreciate the fact that the licence is always in danger on its normal expiry?—I cannot say.

2960. *Mr. Jelf.*—What is the arrangement about Perlis? Do they get their chandu from Kedah?—I do not know about Perlis.

2961. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Is there any opium smuggling from Siam into Kedah?—We have never caught any yet.

2962. *Chairman.*—Do you know what the price of chandu is in Siam?—I do not know.

2963. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Do you know of any people in Kedah who swallow dross?—I have heard of some.

2964. Both Siamese and Chinese?—I know of both Malays and Chinese.

2965. *Mr. Jelf.*—And Siamese?—Yes, because it would be much cheaper for them.

2966. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Is it legal for Malays to smoke in Kedah?—Malays are not allowed to smoke in smoking shops. They may smoke in their houses.

2967. Are there plenty of Malays who smoke? What number out of ten would you say?—It is given in my letter to the Chairman.

2968. *Mr. Chan.*—How do you know the number of Malays who smoke? Have they to get permits?—No, it is only guess-work, judging from the coolies on estates and quarries, etc.

This concluded TUNKU KASSIM'S evidence.

Mr. W. E. SPEERS was called.

2969. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—WILLIAM EDMUND SPEERS.

2970. You are now Commissioner of Police in Kedah?—Yes.

2971. Does that cover Perlis as well or not?—No.

2972. You first joined the Federated Malay States Police Force, I think?—Yes, in 1902.

2973. And you have been in Kedah, how long?—18 years.

2974. Is Kedah well roaded; are all parts of Kedah easily accessible?—Yes, except the Baling and Padang Trap districts. There is a road to Baling, but in the *Ulu* there are no roads, though there is one under construction.

2975. Have those two districts you have just mentioned got many Chinese residents?—No, the residents are principally Malay and Siamese.

2976. *Mr. Jelf.*—But the mines are worked by Chinese, are they not?—They are only abandoned mines which are very small.

2977. *Chairman.*—Have you any ideas on the subject of the opium habit, as practised in Kedah? Do you notice that it brings about an unruly population?—No, it does not.

2978. So far as you are aware, from your experience, opium smoking has very little connection with crime?—Very little, if any.

2979. With your knowledge of Western countries, would you say that opium smoking has as much connection with crime as alcohol, for instance in a Western country?—I do not think opium smoking has any connection at all with crime.

2980. I would suggest to you that the one excites and the other is a soporific?—Yes.

2981. *Mr. Jelf.*—Don't you get petty thefts, and so on, attributable to people wanting to get money to buy opium; you have not come across that?—No, the Kedah Malays who smoke opium are rather of the better class. Of course, the bulk of our population is Malay.

2982. *Chairman.*—We are told that a good many Siamese in Kedah smoke opium, is that so?—Yes.

2983. And a good many Malays?—Yes, a great many Malays.

2984. One of the proposals that is referred to us and is supposed to be the settlement of all this opium question is a proposal to register and licence every opium smoker. Have you ever heard of a proposal of that nature?—Yes, I have heard of it.

2985. And you know the rough outlines of a proposal of that nature?—Yes.

2986. I will just run through them, and then ask you to apply your local knowledge to the problem. Nobody can buy opium unless he is registered, and even if registered, he cannot buy any more than the amount that is put on a permit which is issued to him allowing him to buy. Those are the primary features of such a scheme. Would you see any practical difficulties in the way of working such a scheme in Kedah?—I certainly think there would be great difficulty.

2987.—I will suggest to you, for example, that the Chinese of Kedah are not permanent residents?—They are not, and that would be one of the principal difficulties as regards the Chinese.

2988. They are perpetually going to and fro China?—Yes.

2989. The Siamese that you refer to, they are what one would call a residential population?—Yes.

2990. So that, the migration factor would not apply to them?—Of course, we have a tremendous frontier with Siam, from Perlis right up to

Baling district, and we may get a lot of Siamese across. We do get gang robbers across, I know; they come and go back again by jungle paths.

2991. Is the boundary a mountainous one?—It is mostly a mountainous boundary; 3 miles on either side you find *kampongs* but on the actual frontier there are very few.

2992. It is moderately accessible from one place to the other?—Yes, there are several good tracks.

2993. And you think there would be quite a considerable passage of people from Siam and Kedah?—I should say in case of any trouble in Siam we might have a lot of people coming in; but settlers, not very many. In the *padi* season we have anything up to 5,000 or 6,000 Patani Malays coming in, but they only stay until after the harvest and then go off again. That is an annual occurrence.

2994. A feature of a scheme of this nature is that, if a Chinese, for example, went back to his own country, he would have to surrender his licence; would you like the job of collecting surrendered licences?—I certainly would not.

2995. Do you think you would have much luck?—I do not think we should get them all.

2996. Do you think you would get a reasonable proportion of them?—I do not think we would.

2997. With regard to staff for running a registration and licence system of this nature, you would have to have a good many underlings. Could you get a large staff of incorruptible underlings in Kedah, do you think?—I do not think so; as a matter of fact, I am sure I could not.

2998. You would mainly use, as you do now, the Malay?—Yes.

2999. Would you say that he was incorruptible—I am talking of the lower order?—From my experience of the Malay, he is not incorruptible; it is very much the other way.

3000. In fact, you would go so far as to say he was amenable to persuasion?—Yes.

3001. To meet this difficulty of the surrender of licences when people go back to China, it is suggested that these licences should die a natural death after a certain period, which implies re-registration, like the re-registration of motor cars, and so on, periodically. That would make a lot of work?—Yes, certainly, and it would cost a lot of money, too.

3002. And the licences that had not been surrendered, although the date was past, might pass muster in the dark, I suppose, as being a permit to purchase chandu. I suggest that one would have a good excuse for not detecting a man, that one had not noticed that it was an out-of-date licence?—That is so.

3003. Do you licence many people in Kedah, for example chauffeurs and such-like people?—Yes, and, of course, there is the registration of arms.

3004. Motor car drivers would not come to an enormous number, would they?—No, about 500.

3005. And they, of course, out of their registration get the chance to earn a livelihood?—Yes. It would not be the same thing at all. Of course, you have control over a motor car driver's licence; if he commits any offence, the licensing officer can deal with him immediately, but the court would have to deal with the opium licensee.

3006. I will give you a similar instance about which you probably know something. There has been talk many times of registration of domestic servants in Malaya. There, like the chauffeur, there is the chance to earn a livelihood as a domestic servant if he is registered, and yet it has been held that it is very difficult to register domestic servants. Do you agree that it is difficult?—I think it is not difficult.

3007. Would you be willing to register domestic servants in Kedah?—I think so; "domestic servant", of course, has a very wide meaning. Ordinary cooks and boys I would be prepared to register, but not all the usual hangers-on to a Raja or people like that. I suppose they would come under the heading of domestic servants.

3008. Would you be prepared to undertake the registration of opium smokers in Kedah?—I certainly would not.

3009. Why?—In the first instance, I do not believe that half of them would register.

3010. Why do you say that?—From a sense of shame at being on the register of opium smokers, and they might get some of their people, who do not smoke opium at all, to register.

3011. For what purpose?—For the purpose of passing it on to them.

3012. But could you not tell the opium smoker and stop him doing that?—It would be very difficult to tell if a man was an opium smoker or not, unless he was medically examined or watched.

3013. Do you think you could tell an ordinary opium smoker yourself; could you distinguish between him and a non-smoker?—I could not. I could tell a man who smoked very heavily; I could give a guess that he was an opium smoker, but I would not be prepared to swear to it.

3014. He might be phthisical?—He might be.

3015. *Mr. Jelf.*—But the moderate smoker you could not distinguish?—I could not.

3016. *Chairman.*—You would have to take everybody's word and there would be risks about that?—Yes. Another point that struck me was that Chinese might register themselves as opium smokers and obtain quantities of opium and pass them along to heavy smokers who were too lightly rationed, at a price; and then, I think it would give rise to an army of informers and blackmailers.

3017. Then, supposing you only insisted that a man registered and did not insist on rationing him, all the same objections would not hold?—The man that was registered then could obtain more than he required and pass it along to somebody else.

3018. The one that I am suggesting is a very much more free and easy system than the original proposal we started with, that is, to have no rationing but only registration?—Then a man can obtain as much opium as he wants and pass it along to his friends who do not themselves register. Take a Chinese family with two or three brothers living in the same house. One registers as an opium smoker, the others do not, but they get their opium through the man who has registered. You would not then have a proper register of opium smokers. You would have to ration them. I know one Chinese *Towkay* who smokes one tahil a day and who has done so for years

3019. Does he show any signs of it?—Yes, he is very emaciated. I know that for the last ten years he has been smoking a tahil, if not more, every day.

3020. What sort of a man is he; is he mentally competent?—He is a man who owns an estate; he is getting old now, but mentally he seems all right. He had a case in court the other day and appeared to be quite clear in his mind about his case.

3021. I gather that my registration system would not, in your opinion, amount to a census of opium smokers, because it would not get all the opium smokers?—I am afraid that is so.

3022. But, of course, under my system, that is a system of registration only—speaking to you as a Police Officer—you could afford to put in much more severe penalties for a man being found smoking without a permit than under the rationing system?—Yes.

3023. The object of my suggestion is to achieve a knowledge of how many opium smokers there are to deal with, if we are ever going to prohibit opium smoking under the Hague Convention in these countries. At the present moment nobody seems to know how many opium smokers there are in any territory in British Malaya. Could you suggest how many there are in Kedah?—I could not even give a guess.

3024. *Mr. Jelf.*—You said you could not tell a moderate smoker. Have you ever been wrong and thought that a man was a smoker and found afterwards that he was not, among your Police, for instance?—I cannot recall any specific case, but I have accused men who have denied it and I could not prove it.

3025. Have you any idea at all or do you happen to know whether there is much smoking by Malays in Patani?—I should not think there was very heavy smoking in Patani; I think they are too poor.

3026. Are there many Chinese in Patani?—I could not say, really; I do not think there are.

3027. Are there many facilities for smuggling into Kedah by the coast, little rivers and creeks?—There are any amount of creeks and small rivers on the coast.

3028. Do they smoke opium in the Langkawi Islands?—I do not know how they obtain it; I think they send it direct from Alor Star. I tried to get some statistics of Chinese estates, but there is only one big place in Kedah where they have 1,800 coolies working on contract—the Malayan American Company—and they are supplied from a small shop. Their chief inspector told me that he went to the shop and from the 1st to the 24th of the present Malay month they sold 24,000 3-hoon packets mainly to these people. These are good wage-earning coolies.

3029.—What would they be getting?—Up to $1 a day.

3030. *Chairman.*—Have you ever heard any complaints from employers against opium?—I have never had any complaints. I think the Chinese rather like coolies to smoke opium in small quantities.

3031. *Mr. McLean.*—Are the Government shops a success, so far as you know?—So far as I know, they are, except that they are an awful nuisance as they put them in the Police Stations.

3032. *Mr. Chan.*—If you were given sufficient money and a sufficient staff, would it be impossible to work that registration scheme?—I do not think it would be impossible.

3033. Does Kedah get a considerable revenue from opium?—Yes, I think something over 2 million dollars a year.

3034. Would that be sufficient money do you think?—Yes, I think 2 million dollars might do.

3035. Do you think you would have difficulty in getting sufficient staff?—No, we would have no difficulty about that.

3036. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are there any Chinese in your Police Force?—Only in the Detective branch.

3037. Are they smokers of chandu?—There were one or two who did smoke; they have been dismissed. I do not think any of them smoke now.

3038. You do not like opium smokers in the Police Force?—No.

3039. *Mr. Jelf.*—Does the Malay *raiat* smoke opium?—I think very little. They are very poor in Kedah.

3040. Then the class of Malay that smokes it is the higher middle class?—Yes, probably the well-to-do padi planters and such like people.

This concluded Mr. W. E. SPEERS' evidence.

Mr. LEONG SIN NAM, M.S.C., J.P., and Mr. LAU EK CHING,
Representing the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce,
were examined together.

3041. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LEONG SIN NAM.

3042. What is your occupation?—Tin-miner and Rubber Estate owner.

3043. Are you China-born?—Yes.

3044. What is your age?—43 years.

3045. Are you a Kheh?—Yes.

To Mr. LAU EK CHING.

3046. What is your name?—LAU EK CHING.

3047. What is your occupation?—Tin-miner.

3048. Are you China-born?—Yes.

3049. What is your age?—45 years.

3050. To what tribe do you belong?—I am a Hokkien.

3051. You represent the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce? Mr. LAU EK CHING?—Yes.

3052. And you have been asked by them to give evidence before this Committee?—Yes.

3053. Are both of you members of the Anti-opium Society in Perak?—Yes.

3054. Are you officers of the Anti-opium Society?—No. just members.

3055. How long have you been members of the Anti-opium Society?—For about 10 years.

3056. Were you both in Perak when the Anti-opium Society was founded?—I was not, but Mr. LEONG SIN NAM was.

3057. What representations have you been asked by the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce to make to us?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—After we received your letter we held a meeting and we were appointed to come and give evidence here.

3058. The meeting did not give you any instructions what to say?—They did tell us what to say.

3059. Would you tell us what they told you to say?—According to your letter, 3 measures were proposed, as follows:—

(*a*) that the retail sale of prepared opium should be made only from Government shops;

(*b*) that a uniform maximum limit calculated according to the number of the adult Chinese male population should be fixed for the amount of prepared opium placed on sale for consumption;

(*c*) that opium smokers should be registered and licensed.

The Chamber is in favour of (*a*), the retail shops being taken over by the Government. The second measure, (*b*), is very good if the quantity of opium can be accurately calculated: it would be difficult to estimate the quantity for immigrants coming from China. The Chamber is not in favour of (*c*). In its place it is suggested that the price of chandu be raised by 10 per cent every 6 months.

3060. Has the Chamber any top limit for price?—As the price goes up, the people who cannot afford it will naturally give up smoking.

3061. But I suggest that at the present moment it is so high that many a moderate smoker, on the wages he draws from you, cannot afford to buy the amount he ordinarily smokes?—If the price is raised, if they cannot afford to pay more, they will either consume less or give up the habit.

3062. Or take to morphia, perhaps?—How can they get it?

3063. They managed to get plenty in 1908; it was prohibited then?—That slipped through the Preventive department.

3064. Perhaps they would take to liquor?—That is another question.

3065. You would not mind if all Chinese took to liquor instead of opium?—I am not strongly against their taking to liquor.

3066. Have you ever seen a drunken Chinese?—Yes, I have.

3067. Which do you prefer, a drunken Chinese or one who has had a good smoke of opium?—I prefer the drunkard.

3068. You say that the Chamber of Commerce was not in favour of proposal (*c*), that is, registration and licensing of opium smokers; did they debate the subject or not?—They did.

3069. Why did they say they did not like it?—They wondered whether the Government would register and licence those coming from other parts.

3070. In your own opinion, are you also against the registration and licensing of smokers?—Yes.

3071. And you, Mr. LAU EK CHING?—Personally, I am not against it, but we are talking for the Chinese Chamber of Commerce.

3072. You don't think it would be difficult, although many thousands of Chinese from Perak go back to China every year and many thousands come in?—Mr. LAU EK CHING—It will be difficult.

3073. Do you think every smoker of the better class would register?—If they do not want to be registered, they must stop smoking.

3074. Have you got any friends among the better class Chinese who do smoke opium?—Yes.

3075. Are there any acquaintances of yours who are heavy smokers?—No, not heavy smokers.

3076. Do you think those of your friends who do smoke opium would be ashamed to come and register themselves as opium smokers?—Certainly they would.

3077. And owing to their shame, what do you think they would do?—They will try their best to stop smoking chandu.

3078. You don't think that they would quietly send out and buy some and indulge on the sly?—They may do that; but if they are respectable men I don't think they will do it; they will try to abandon the habit.

3079. If we have this system, we want to get the licences surrendered by Chinese who go back to China. It has been suggested to us that the employers of labour should collect the licences. Would you be willing to take the responsibility of collecting them and surrendering them to the Government?—Yes.

3080. You approve the Government taking over the retail shops. Do you realise that that will throw out of work some licensees?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—As the price of chandu increases, the Government may reduce the number of retail shops gradually, giving them plenty of notice.

3081. Now I speak to you both as employers of labour. As employers of labour, have you any objection to the opium smoker? If so, what objections?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—We do not, as a rule, like the smokers.

Sometimes we refuse to engage smokers. Mr. LAU EK CHING—I agree with that.

3082. What is the particular objection to them? Do they work much worse than the non-smokers?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—In the morning, if it rains, the smoker has to find shelter, as he is afraid of the cold; besides, he must work every day to get his chandu; in case he gets sick he does not get his chandu and cannot do his work; he then becomes a burden to his employer, constantly borrowing money from him. As his debt increases he becomes more lazy; the employer then has to dismiss him from employment and suffers loss. Mr. LAU EK CHING—I agree; that is quite so.

3083. Why don't you dismiss every opium smoker in your employ to-day?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—The opium smokers that I have in my employ were not smokers when I engaged them. Mr. LAU EK CHING—We are compelled to take them because there are so many opium smokers among the coolie class.

3084. Do you mean, Mr. LAU EK CHING, that if you dismissed them you would not get enough coolies to carry on?—That is so, and that is why we are obliged to employ them. Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I do not take opium smokers into my employ.

3085. Fifteen years ago, all the big Chinese miners in Kinta agreed that they would not have an opium smoker in their employ; but they kept on engaging them. How do you account for that?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I am not aware of that. Mr. LAU EK CHING—I have heard of it.

3086. It was not successful?—Mr. LAU EK CHING—It was not. Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—They took them on in time of need; they could not get enough coolies.

3087. What I want you to understand is that you are representative miners of Kinta and you are advising us on certain measures. What sort of support are you miners and employers of Kinta going to give to the measures that you suggest?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—It will be difficult for employers to assist in measure (*c*). Also, it will be difficult to find out the quantity consumed by the people.

3088. Do you honestly think, Mr. LAU EK CHING, that the anti-opium feeling in Perak is at the present moment so hot that the employers will actively help in a measure like the increase of price until all the opium smokers are destitute and the *Towkays* have got to keep them?—Mr. LAU EK CHING—I doubt it. Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I do not believe they will become paupers, because they will decrease their dose or give up the habit.

3089. Then it is not a very strong habit?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—If they have the will, they can easily give it up.

3090. Has the coolie got the same sort of will as the *Towkay*?—Yes. I have smoked opium myself and am able to say.

3091. How did you cure yourself?—It took me 8 months; I reduced the consumption gradually.

3092. But then, you are a *Towkay*; what about the coolie? Do you think a coolie in your employ could give it up, gradually reducing the dose?—It is quite possible. If I could do it he ought to be able to do it.

3093. But you have education; you also have a position?—I was only an employee when I gave it up.

3094. When you smoked opium you were a coolie?—I was a *Mandor* in charge of a mine.

3095. You never actually worked as a coolie?—My work was just as hard as a coolie's work although I was a *Mandor*.

3096. What were you when you cured yourself of opium smoking?—I was a *Mandor* in charge of a mine.

3097. *Mr. Jelf.*—If opium was cut off, would you get less coolies from China?—Mr. LAU EK CHING—I do not think so.

3098. *Chairman.*—You know what the position in China is at present as regards opium?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I do not know much.

3099. Have you heard that more opium is being grown in China now than in all the rest of the world put together?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I have not. Mr. LAU EK CHING—I have seen it so stated in the papers, but we cannot believe everything we see in the papers.

3100. If I am correct that more opium is now being grown in China than before, more people in China will smoke than before?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—I cannot say.

3101. Do you think we ought to suppress opium smoking here before China suppresses it?—I do not want to talk about China; there is practically no Government in China at present. As we are in this place, we should do something for the coolies here because they contribute to the prosperity of the place.

3102. *Mr. McLean.*—Is there any swallowing of chandu dross in Perak?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—Yes.

3103. If the price of chandu were raised and a man could not buy as much chandu as he required for smoking, would he not take to swallowing dross?—Even now he swallows dross.

3104. But if the price were raised, would not dross be swallowed more than now?—The price of chandu does not make any difference. The coolie will swallow dross just the same.

3105. Why does a coolie swallow dross?—For two reasons, because the opium is not enough, and when he gets sick he has no opium and must take to swallowing dross.

3106. When you say opium is not enough, do you mean that he has not got enough opium?—Yes.

3107. Well, when the price is raised it will be still more difficult for him to buy enough opium, will it not?—Then he will be compelled to reduce the quantity he consumes.

3108. Then you don't think he will take to swallowing dross?—He will swallow dross.

3109. More than he does now?—I do not think so. As soon as the coolies hear that opium is going to be raised in price they will give up the habit.

3110. *Chairman.*—Have you ever heard of the drinking of a mixture of *arrack* and neat chandu?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—Yes, I have heard of it. Mr. LAU EK CHING—I have not heard of it.

3111. *Mr. Chan.*—You said that the Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce objected to registration. What did the Chamber understand by registration? What did they think would be the procedure?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—They understood this, that every man who smoked would have to get a licence to purchase chandu.

3112. What is the objection of the Chamber to that?—That it does not encourage people to give up the opium habit.

3113. You do not think it is as good a step towards the abolition of opium as increasing the price?—I think increasing the price is a better measure, because a lot of people may claim to be new-comers to the country and ask for licences to buy opium. A man may take out two or three licences.

3114. *Mr. McLean.*—Could not you prevent a man from taking out more than one licence by taking his finger print?—Some people would send their men to take out licences when they did not like to take out licences themselves. They may send non-smokers to have themselves registered and licensed.

3115. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Is the work of the opium smoker as good as that of the non-smoker?—The non-smoker works better.

3116. How many per cent. better?—About 20 per cent.

3117. Do smokers frequently go back to China?—No, very seldom.

3118. Why?—Because they save nothing.

3119. *Mr. McLean.*—Does the labour force in your mine change much? Supposing you had a thousand coolies at the beginning of this year; how many of these would still be be on the mine at the end of the year?—More than half would have changed.

3120. When the coolies had left your mine, would they probably stay in Kinta or go somewhere else?—The majority would remain in Kinta and shift from mine to mine.

3121. Would a coolie usually stay for at least 6 months on your mine?—About half of them would remain more than 6 months. They are free to go anywhere after giving 10 days' notice.

3122. *Chairman.*—Have you anything to add?—Mr. LEONG SIN NAM—Yes. The Chamber of Commerce begs to ask the Government to assist those who want to give up the habit. The increasing number of opium smokers would tend to increase the number of robbers and thieves. Less smokers, less thieves; that can be verified by investigation. They can do without wine, but they cannot do without chandu once they have taken to the habit, and they will resort to anything to get chandu. They are more to be pitied than condemned. When they can find enough to eat, they cannot find enough to clothe themselves. If they are assisted to give up the habit, they will use the money which they would have used on opium for the purchase of other things more wholesome to themselves. This will lessen the burden on the employers as well. The opium smoker, as a rule, spends more than he earns, and the difference is usually borne by the employer, who has to dismiss him before he can pay it all back.

This concluded the evidence given by Messrs. LEONG SIN NAM and LAU EK CHING.

The committee adjourned.

Fourteenth Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. McLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Dr. HO SIU KHAN was called.

3123. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—Ho Siu Khan.

3124. You are the Resident Physician at the Kwong Wai Shiu, (Cantonese Free Hospital)?—Yes.

3125. *Sir David Galloway*?—The hospital is not absolutely Cantonese; you have others, have you not?—Yes, Cantonese and Khehs.

3126. It is a free hospital? Anybody can go and get attended free?—Yes.

3127. There are no fees paid?—No, but anybody can give donations.

3128. Do a good number of women make use of the hospital?—Yes.

3129. How many beds have you, altogether?—About 400.

3130. And, averagely speaking, how many women have you in the hospital?—About 100.

3131. Most of those, of course, are women of the prostitute class?—There are 2 wards, containing 70 beds, for respectable women also.

3132. How many beds have you got for the prostitute women?—About the same number.

3133. Among the respectable women, do you get many opium smokers?—Very few.

3134. Among the prostitute class?—Also a very few.

3135. In fact, we might say the number is negligible?—Quite so.

3136. In regard to the men, do you get many opium smokers among the Cantonese?—About a quarter of those admitted are opium smokers.

3137. That is mixed Cantonese and Khehs?—Yes.

3138. Do you notice any difference in the proportion of smokers among Cantonese and Khehs?—No, I have not taken any special notice of that.

3139. What is your opinion about opium smoking?—I think it is bad.

3140. Why?—Physically, it makes a man lazy and negligent of his work.

3141. Have you had any serious cases in your hospital due to opium smoking?—No, I have not come across any.

3142. Do you think that any serious physical incapacity is caused by opium smoking, sufficient to send a man to hospital?—I do not think so.

3143. How long have you been in that hospital?—Since its inception about 12 years ago.

3144. When you first went there, do you remember meeting with any injectors?—No, I have never come across any in that hospital; I have seen cases in the Tan Tock Seng Hospital,

3145. What is your opinion as regards the relative effects of opium smoking and opium swallowing? You get some men who swallow dross, for instance, in quantities; do you think it is worse for them than smoking?—Yes, I think so.

3146. Have you had any actual cases in the hospital of dross swallowers?—Yes.

3147. Were they in the hospital on account of this swallowing?—No, they were admitted for other diseases; but they had the habit so they continued it.

3148. Have you any idea of the amount that they swallow?—No.

3149. Do you supply opium smokers with opium when they go into the hospital?—No. If a case is very bad I prescribe opium just to save the situation and then I treat the other complaints.

3150. You don't prohibit them smoking opium?—Smoking is not allowed in the hospital.

3151. What do you do?—I leave them alone. They have to get along without it unless they get very bad, in which case I prescribe tincture of opium or morphia.

3152. Do you inject tincture of opium or give it by the mouth?—I give it by the mouth.

3153. In the case of morphia also? You don't allow injections at any time?—No.

3154. Why?—Since by giving it by the mouth I can pacify the man, I do not see why I should give injections.

3155. Have you any fear at the back of your mind that they might get into the habit of injecting?—If I give moderately, I do not think the man will get into the habit of it.

3156. Do you avoid giving injections because you are afraid the man might acquire the habit?—Yes.

3157. And on that account you prefer to give these medicines by the mouth?—Quite so.

3158. Have you ever known opium smoking to produce disease of the mind?—No, I have not had any cases so far.

3159. Have you had any cases brought into hospital of people who have swallowed opium in order to commit suicide?—No, generally such cases are sent to the Government hospital.

3160. Can you give us any idea of the amount which opium smokers who find their way into hospital generally consume?—I do not know very well; somewhere about 2 chees a day.

3161. In your personal experience, have you known of any families that have been reduced to poverty through the habit of the head of the house indulging in opium?—I do not know of any.

3162. Do you know of any men who have given up the habit altogether?—Yes.

3163. By what means did they give up the habit?—I could not say.

3164. Is it your opinion that if a man once begins to smoke he must go on steadily raising the quantity?—Yes, quite so.

3165. Then a man who has smoked for 30 years must be smoking an enormous amount?—I have known some men who smoked about a tahil a day; not many though.

3166. What do you consider, in the case of the average smoker in good circumstances, would be the usual consumption?—I consider 2 chees a day moderate use.

3167. Can you tell an opium smoker when you see him?—I think generally one can make out to a certain extent.

3168. You might tell us the secret?—The physical features of the man; the skin is sallow and very tight and generally the nape of the neck is shrunken; the man is emaciated and very often has stained fingers.

3169. How much, do you think, of daily consumption would be necessary to produce those effects? A tahil a day or less?—I really cannot say. I think it is different with different individuals.

3170. It would require a very large amount to produce the effects you speak of, 4 or 5 chees a day?—I should think so.

3171.—*Chairman.*—Mr. CHAN and I have been going round the smoking shops here, and we find that the normal consumption per day is one to two packets per man, *i.e*, 3 to 6 hoons a day, which is very much less than your 2 to 3 chees?—I think some of them must swallow dross. As a rule these people who go to the smoking shops are poor people. They cannot afford to smoke too much and they have to swallow a certain quantity of dross to satisfy themselves.

3172. Where do you think they get the dross from? Because, those who smoke in smoking shops have to leave their dross behind as the perquisite of the licensee?—I know some people who sell dross and these people would buy it from them. It is cheaper than chandu.

3173. You said that physically it was a bad thing. Could you put that into a figure? How much less physically capable is a smoker say of one packet or two packets a day than a man who does not smoke?—I do not think there is much difference between the non-smoker and the smoker in the case of one or two packets a day.

3174. Then if somebody told you that a smoker was only half as physically capable as a non-smoker, you would say he was referring to a heavy smoker?—Yes, I should think so.

This concluded Dr. HO SIU KHAN'S evidence.

Mr. LAM LOOKING was called.

3175. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LAM LOOKING.

3176. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

3177. China-born?—No, Straits-born; I was born at Penang.

3178. What is your age?—60.

3179. How long have you been in the Federated Malay States?—About 28 years.

3180. Have you been mining in Kinta all that time?—Yes.

3181. Are you a miner only?—No, rubber planter also.

3182. How many coolies in both mining and rubber planting have you?—Mining alone about 900; planting a little over 100.

3183. All Chinese?—No; 40 or 50 of the mining coolies are Tamils.

3184. Are you a member of the Perak Anti-Opium Society?—No.

3185. You wrote to the *Times of Malaya* last month giving your views?—Yes.

3186. Can you tell us how the Anti-Opium Society's proposals are regarded by opium-smoking coolies?—All the hard-working coolies in Selangor and Perak require opium because they are in the jungle and are afraid of the climate, and take opium as a preventive. They also take it as a digestive when suffering from the effects of over-indulgence in pork and beans.

3187. May I enquire if you are an opium smoker yourself?—Yes; I have been smoking for 32 years.

3188. You believe in opium as being something to stiffen the people up against the ravages of the climate?—Yes, and they sometimes have to work all night and they require opium to prevent them suffering from the cold.

3189. But the Anti-Opium people told us that the opium smokers must run in out of the rain if there is a drop of rain?—No, my experience of opium smokers is that they are hard workers. They work right through the night sometimes, whereas the non-smoker would not be able to stand the jungle or the same kind of work; he would get fever.

3190. The non-smoker then would not do any better quality or greater amount of work than the smoker?—Yes; that is so.

3191. We are told that there is great physical emaciation and loss of physical efficiency in the opium smoker. Do you agree with that?—Their physical condition is not as good as that of the non-smokers, but they have better powers of endurance.

3192. It would not be correct then to say that a smoker was only half as good, physically, as a non-smoker?—No, I do not think so.

3193. That may apply, perhaps, to what is known as an "opium sot" but would not apply to the ordinary smoker?—That is so.

3194. It would apply only to the "opium sot"; that is a great exaggeration in the case of the small smoker?—That is so.

3195. In your letter to the *Times of Malaya* you related an experience of your own about a punitive expedition that you were connected with. Would you mind relating that to this committee?—I will relate my experiences. In a punitive expedition to the Wu-Chi-San, the force to which I was attached suffered heavily through beri-beri, brought about, it was suspected, by the poisoning of the streams by the bandits. It was discovered that practically all the sufferers were non-smokers, while the opium smokers were immune from the disease. On another occasion,

(this was in the jungle of Siamese territory on the West Coast of the Malay Peninsula) I had with me a gang of coolies, who were all smokers with the exception of two, to carry out prospecting work. Those two non-smokers died of disease not long afterwards, while the rest got out of a very unhealthy place alive.

3196. You say that your experience of it makes you think that there is some medicinal power in opium?—Yes.

3197. And where there are no doctors, that opium might be rather a useful thing?—That is so.

3198. Are you out for the suppression of opium smoking in Malaya?—Certainly not for immediate suppression.

3199. Do you favour it if we go slowly?—I think it would take at least 15 or 16 years. When there is no opium to be obtained the opium-smoking coolies will go away to another Colony and this country will go short of labour on mines and estates.

3200. The Anti-opium Society suggests the registering and licensing of opium smokers. Do you support that measure, or not?—I do not.

3201. Do you think all your opium-smoking coolies would willingly come and register themselves as smokers?—It will be very difficult, indeed, to enforce that measure. I take it that the coolie will have to go and buy opium himself and will not be able to get it through anyone else. If I am right, what about those coolies living 5 or 10 miles away from any opium depôt? A coolie has not got money to buy more than one day's supply. It will involve a lot of trouble for him to go a distance to buy opium. If he has to go to buy it he will lose a day's job and he will have to do the same thing the following day. Besides, Government depôts will not be open all day and night. Failing to obtain opium, they will not be able to work and will probably get sick.

3202. Why could not they go after their day's work is over to buy it?—Some of them finish their work at 6 or 7 P.M. The day's work is hard enough; having to walk several miles to buy opium would make it very much harder for them.

3203. What we understood was that the *towkays* supply the chandu?—I do not know.

3204. It is not the common practice?—No; the mining coolie gets his pay every evening; he does 8 hours work, he gets his day's wages and goes to buy his opium.

3205. That is on your mine; is that done on other mines in Kinta?—Yes, on many other mines.

3206. Don't they keep the old shops on the mines that they used to keep?—They are not allowed by Government; I applied to Government for a licence and was refused it.

3207. Do your remarks about daily pay apply only to the *Kung-sz-kungs*?—Yes.

3208. Do you know anybody who has ever given up opium smoking?—Yes.

3209. Did they take to anything else instead?—Sure.

3210. What did your friends take to?—A well-known Chinese *towkay*, having given up the opium habit, took to women, and has over 10 wives. While he was trying to give it up he had to swallow opium pills which contained a good deal of opium mixed with other Chinese drugs.

3211. If we stopped everybody smoking opium here, what do you think would be the general tendency to take to instead?—They will take to drink, because alcohol will help them in a measure towards giving it up.

3212. Take the effect of alcohol and of opium smoking on Chinese which do you think is the worse?—Alcohol is the worse.

3213. A drunken Chinaman is worse than an opium-smoking Chinaman?—Yes; when a Chinaman is drunk he is in a reckless state of mind; he beats his wife and the members of his family. Some Chinese have the impression that they can get off with a lighter sentence from the Magistrates if they plead drunkenness.

3214. You do not think, then, that if you stopped your coolies absolutely from smoking opium, they would simply do their work and then go to bed?—Every Chinese coolie having money feels itchy in the palm of his hands and wants to spend it. The opium smoker is more law-abiding because he fears he will get no opium in the prison; on the other hand, the drunkard does not care what he does. Womanising is worse than opium smoking, and gambling is very bad also. I put the four well-known evils in this order—womanising is the worst, gambling comes next; drinking next and, last of all opium smoking. The womaniser's disease is visited upon his children and family; the gambler squanders his father's inheritance; the drunkard acts and behaves recklessly; on the other hand the opium smoker is steady. He thinks very carefully before he acts.

3215. *Mr. Chan.*—Does the opium smoker think very carefully before he takes to opium?—He does; in most cases the opium smoker takes to opium on account of failing health or sickness. In Hongkong the non-smokers suffer from plague more than the smokers. From this it would appear that opium has a certain amount of medicinal value.

3216. He would take to it because of sickness?—Yes; when I was 27 years of age I was a spirit farmer in Laboean-Deli, a very feverish place. I suffered from constant fever, and I think I had to swallow about 2 pounds of quinine during three years. That did not cure me, so I was forced to take opium and the results were soon apparent. I thought I was going to die then; I was carried on board ship for Penang as I was unable to walk. Since that time I have taken to opium.

3217. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you kept well?—I have had no more fever. I was strong enough to go with a prospecting party to Renong in Siam, which has a rotten climate, and I was not afraid of the fever because of being an opium smoker.

3218. *Chairman.*—Did the other members of the party smoke opium, or not?—All were opium smokers except two, who died. The average mining coolie takes to opium-smoking more for the sake of preserving his life than for playing with it. In the Federated Malay States there is primary jungle, primitive work and an unmodified climate. Seventy per cent of woodcutters are opium smokers. Without opium I doubt if they could stand the conditions.

3219. How do the woodcutters, right in the jungle, get their opium?—They send in a man to purchase for them.

3220. Do you remember the compact amongst the miners in Kinta to refuse to engage opium smokers 15 years ago?—Yes, that did not succeed.

3221. Why did it not succeed?— Because they could not get enough skilled labour.

3222. Do you think mentally opium has any effect on opium smokers?—I manage my own mine.

3223. Do you feel cloudy—not smart?—When I have an over-dose I am not so bright as at other times; the same thing applies to liquor.

3224. *Mr. McLean.*—How much do you smoke a day?—About 6 chees a day; sometimes I take more; sometimes less; if I am not feeling quite fit I take a little more.

3225. *Sir David Galloway.*—When you began to smoke, how much did you take?—About 2 chees a day.

3226. Had you to steadily increase it?—Yes; but for 10 years I have been taking 6 chees a day.

3227. Why did you increase it to 6 chees?—Having no recreation or sport in the jungle it became a hobby with me.

3228. And you occupy your spare time in smoking?—Yes.

3229. Fifteen years ago, you told us they could not get sufficient labour if they excluded opium smokers. At the present day what is your opinion on the position of labour as regards the opium smokers?—The same thing applies to-day; perhaps to a greater extent.

3230. Then you are perfectly satisfied that in the Federated Malay States, there is a shortage of labour?—Yes.

3231. And that if opium smokers were eliminated as labourers we could not get on?—Yes.

3232. If we put down opium smoking, or said we were going to put down opium smoking, do you think the coolies would come from China?—Opium smoking coolies would not come here, being afraid of the climate; non-smokers also would not come.

3233. *Mr. Jelf.*—A lot of coolies who do not smoke opium come here now?—As soon as they get to hard jungle work they take to opium because they are afraid of the climate.

3234. *Sir David Galloway.*—Do you think the fact that they can get opium here if they want it induces a non-smoking coolie to come?—They come out of necessity.

3235. When were you last in China?—In July, 1923.

3236. What part of China?—Canton.

3237. Was opium smoking prevalent when you were there?—Yes, amongst the officials and soldiers.

3238. How was that opium sold in Canton?—By Yunnanese military officers in public places. The smoking shops were marked "Tam Wa Sor" or talking places.

3239. Was opium very cheap there?—$3 to $4 a tahil of raw opium; chandu would be at from $6 to $7 per tahil.

3240. You think there is a lot of Yunnan opium smuggled into Hong-kong?—Yes.

3241. Who are the component members of the Anti-opium Societies in the Federated Malay States? Do you know any of them personally?—Yes, one of the leaders of the Anti-opium Society (name given) has taken to opium himself.

3242. *Mr. Jelf.*—Are the members of the Anti-opium Society employers of labour?—Yes.

3243. *Sir David Galloway.*—Are these men in the Anti-opium Societies chosen by the opium-smoking coolies to represent their views?—No.

3244. Are they representing any other coolies?—It is confined to rich folk.

3245. Do they only represent themselves?—These Anti-opium people would not have signed the petition if they had old relatives smoking opium; because they have no parents alive who smoke, they do whatever they like and harm the smokers. I know that some of those who signed the petition are heavy drinkers.

3246. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—How many of your coolies are opium smokers?—About 400.

3247. Do you think your 400 coolies who smoke opium have all taken to it on account of illness?—I have no personal knowledge; I talk of my personal experience. I know most of them took to it for that reason.

3248. What about the leader of the Anti-opium Society to whom you referred; did he take to it on account of sickness?—Yes, he took to it to prolong his life.

3249. You say most of the woodcutters smoke opium?—Yes, about 70 per cent.

3250. Are there any Malay woodcutters?—I was talking of Chinese; Malays are accustomed to this country. Opium is a good remedy for indigestion.

3251. *Mr. Chan.*—You have 400 non-smoking coolies; do you offer them opium?—To non-smokers, no.

3252. But if opium is such a good thing and saves their lives, why don't you offer them?—That has nothing to do with me. The coolies work with me a short time and then go away. I know that opium smoking is a vice, but a man who is sick and wants to prolong his life may take it of his own accord.

3253. You say that opium is a medicine for certain illnesses; are your opium-smoking coolies always ill?—I cannot say that.

3254. If they are not always ill, why do they always take this medicine?—Because it acts as a preventive.

3255. Would you suggest that everybody should take opium in order to prevent themselves getting ill?—I was talking of the coolies in the jungle.

3256. Have the town coolies any excuse for smoking opium? The climate is not so bad here?—The 'rikisha pullers require to smoke to enable them to work hard. Pulling 'rikishas during the day, they inhale dust and sweat a lot; they regale themselves with opium in the evening and are fit to do the same work the following day.

3257. What do your coolies earn a day?—70 to 80 cents.

3258. How much would a smoker spend on opium?—Sometimes they take a 3-hoon packet, 40 cents worth; sometimes two men go *kongsi* in one packet.

3259. The opium-smoking coolie would not have much chance of saving any money?—If he chooses to he can save 20 or 30 cents a day. If he does not spend it on opium he is likely to spend it on something worse. Coolies never save money.

3260. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You said, in Canton the Government Officials are selling opium; by whose order?—That I cannot say. If you want to suppress opium you should commence suppression when there is no opium grown in China.

This concluded Mr. LAM LOOKING's evidence.

Mr. LAM KAM was called..

3261. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—LAM KAM.

3262. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

3263. China-born?—Yes.

3264. What is your age?—41.

3265. How long have you been in Perak?—About 15 years.

3266. Have you been in any of the other States of the Federation besides Perak, or all your time has been spent in Perak?—I was in Singapore when I first came here.

3267. How long were you in Singapore?—12 years.

3268. What were you doing in Singapore?—I was a pawn-broker.

3269. What is your occupation now?—I am a pawn-broker in Tapah, Bidor and Chenderiang.

3270. How many employees have you got in your pawn-shops?—I have 15 assistants in my pawn-shops and I employ 300 coolies on my rubber estates and firewood concessions.

3271. Do many of your estate and timber coolies smoke opium?—More than half of them.

3272. Are they all Cantonese?—The majority of them are Hakkas, there are some Cantonese and some Hokkiens.

3273. Have you ever had occasion to dismiss any of them for being an opium-smoker?—No.

3274. Do you supply the coolies on your rubber estate with opium?—No.

3275. Where do they get their opium from?—From the depôts in town.

3276. Is the smoker a very much worse worker than the non-smoker?—The quality of their work is about the same.

3277. We are told that opium smokers are very lazy?—The opium-smoking coolies are hard working. The smokers in town are rather lazy.

3278. But they say that every time there is a drop of rain the opium smokers have to run to shelter?—That is not true.

3279. Are you a member of the Anti-opium Society of Perak?—No, I was a member of the Singapore Anti-opium Society.

3280. Have you ever been a member of the Perak Anti-opium Society?—Never.

3281. Do you agree with all the proposals of the Anti-opium Society in Perak?—I agree with a part of their proposals.

3282. What part do you agree with?—I agree with Government taking over the retail sale of opium. I am against registration and licensing of smokers.

3283. What are your reasons for being against registration and licensing?—The majority of smokers in Perak are coolies; it will be very difficult for them if they have to be licensed; for instance they may lose their licence. Again, those who live 8 or 10 miles away from the town would not be able to get their opium until they had finished their work.

3284. Why can't they get it when they have finished their work?—Because they would have to walk in 10 miles to get opium.

3285. But if they want it very badly they will walk all night to get it, will they not?—By the time they get to the town, perhaps the Government depôt will be closed.

3286. *Mr. Jelf.*—Why can't they go once a week?—Because they have not the money to buy a week's supply. At present coolies get their supply of opium by asking a friend who goes to town to buy other things to buy it for them.

3287. *Sir David Galloway.*—And if they did not get their supplies of opium brought in that way, would they not remove from that place and go to a place nearer town?—They would, but they would probably be replaced by other opium smokers.

3288. *Mr. Jelf.*—How often do coolies get paid?—Rubber estate coolies get their wages weekly.

3289. Then why not get opium weekly?—They all have to work every day except on rainy days, so they cannot go in personally to buy.

3290. *Chairman.*—Do the *Kung-sz-kung*s get paid every day or not?—They get their pay once a week. Each coolie takes $2 as an advance and by the end of the month they square up the whole month's account with the employer.

3291. Are you in favour of the suppression of opium smoking?—I am against suppression in a short period.

3292. In how long do you think we could get rid of opium smoking?—Between 5 and 10 years.

3293. What steps would you take to make it effective in 5 to 10 years?—As regards that, the doctors would be able to tell you best; they would have to take into consideration the sufferings of those who had to give it up.

3294. Are you an opium-smoker?—Yes.

3295. Are you a heavy smoker?—I smoke two or three packets, *i.e.* from 6 to 9 hoons a day.

3296. How long have you been smoking?—About 8 years.

3297. With what quantity per day did you start?—The same quantity.

3298. Do you want to increase it?—No.

3299. Have you not got the "yan" (craving)?—No, I have not.

3300. Have you been well all the time you have been smoking opium?—Yes.

3301. Why did you take to it?—I had very high fever.

3302. Who recommended you to take it?—A Chinese doctor.

3303. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Did any European doctor advise you?—Yes, a European doctor advised me, when I was in a very bad condition, to try two smokes.

3304. *Chairman.*—You tried the two smokes, and you have never been able to give it up since?—I tried to give it up and I fell ill again.

3305. *Mr. McLean.*—Why did you want to give it up?—Because it took up a lot of my time.

3306. *Chairman.*—Does it make you stupid?—No.

3307. Have you ever had to get rid of a man in your employ because he smoked too much opium?—No, I pay according to the work a man does and do not give him extra money to buy opium; so, how can he smoke too much?

3308. Can you tell an opium-smoker by looking at him?—Some of them I cannot make out. A few years ago you could not have told that I was an opium-smoker.

3309. If we stopped opium smoking, do you think there is enough non-smoking labour to go round?—I do not think so.

3310. If you stopped employing opium-smoking coolies now have you sufficient labour left?—No.

3311. Could you get sufficient non-smoking labour?— I have not tried yet.

3312. Do you think you could get sufficient labour?—I cannot tell.

3313. When you take on labour, do you ask the labourer whether he is an opium-smoker or not?—They are recruited through my *kapalas*.

3314. Do your *kapalas* smoke opium?—No.

3315. As to the assistants in your pawn-broking shops, do any of them smoke opium?—None of them.

3316. Would you turn them out if they did smoke?—No, I would not.

3317. But you would prefer them not to smoke?—Yes.

3318. Why do you prefer non-smokers as assistants in a pawn-broking shop?—Because the smoker would lose my time.

3319. You don't think he would become dishonest?—No.

3320. But he might wish to increase the money available to buy opium. Would not he steal your goods then?—I have not tried that.

3321. Supposing a very smart opium-smoker with long experience of pawn-broking work came to you for employment, would you engage him or not?—I would.

3322. You would think his experience in pawn-broking and his general smartness outweighed his opium smoking?—Yes, provided he did not swindle me.

3323. Do you think he would swindle you?—If he was clever, he would command a big salary and there would be no need for him to swindle me.

3324. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—How many times did you try to give up opium smoking?—I have actually given up the habit twice.

3325. When was the first time?—After I had taken to the habit two years.

3326. Where did you make the attempt?—In Perak.

3327. And the second time?—In the same place.

3328. Where did you acquire your opium habit, in China or in Singapore?—In Perak.

3329. *Mr. McLean.*—Do coolies who smoke opium often ask for advances?—Coolies, as a rule, ask for advances, whether they are smokers or not.

This concluded Mr. LAM KAM's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

Fifteenth Meeting.

FRIDAY, 11TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Dr. AH CHIT JAP* was called.

3330. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—AH CHIT JAP.

3331. *Sir David Galloway.*—You have been in practice here for some time?—Yes, for about 10 years.

3332. You have a number of opium smokers among your patients, I have no doubt?—A fair number.

3333. What do you think is the effect of opium smoking?—Physically, it destroys the body, strength and everything.

3334. Mentally?—When a smoker has got opium, he is alert; when he has no opium, he is depressed. Morally, they are ruined.

3335. Why do you say morally they are ruined?—Because in order to get opium they have got to get money by hook or by crook. They are tempted to do all sorts of things in order to get money to buy opium.

3336. But many of them are in a position to afford opium without any temptation whatever. Has it the same moral effect upon them?—I think so.

3337. In what way in their case?—Mentally, they are depressed by the excessive use of opium.

3338. Do you think that everyone must use it excessively?—Not all; some of them don't. Some take a small amount as a stimulant and a pleasure.

3339. What would you consider moderate use?—It would be different with different people.

3340. The average man that you meet can generally stand an average amount. What do you think is the average moderate consumption of chandu for a Chinaman?—Some of them can stand as much as a tahil a day; that is excessive.

3341. But I am speaking of a moderate smoker who can smoke and go on smoking that quantity without showing any signs of it. What would you consider a moderate amount in such a case?—I am not prepared to say, because it has a different effect on different people.

3342. Have you any patients who have smoked for a matter of say 20 years?—I have.

3343. What condition are they in at present?—Physically, they are emaciated and have not the energy to do any work; they have the inclination to lie down the greater part of the day.

3344. You know some of them are quite prepared to carry on extensive businesses?—Yes.

3345. Their business capacity does not seem to be interfered with?—Their business is probably done in bed. Other people carry on; they simply direct.

* Dr. JAP is a Kheh born in Banka.

3346. Talking of rickshaw coolies, do you know how much they averagely take and how they take it?—They smoke chandu when they have the money; when they have not the money to buy chandu, they swallow dross.

3347. Have you had any experience of injections of morphia and cocaine?—No.

3348. You have not met with them in your work at all?—No.

3349. Do you think there is any of it going on now?—I do not think so.

3350. You are against the use of opium amongst Chinese?—Certainly I am against the use of opium.

3351. Medically you are not against it; for other purposes you are?—That is so.

3352. Could you give us any idea of any system which might be followed to reduce its use?—I cannot give anything off-hand. It is a very big question, and would require a wiser head than mine.

3353. We have been told that one thing is absolutely necessary as a preliminary step, and that is, registration of all the opium smokers?—I happen to know that in some parts of the world what it is proposed to do here now has been going on for 10 years or more.

3354. You have had experience in the Dutch East Indies?—Yes.

3355. Will you tell me what course they follow there?—Just what is proposed here. Chandu is retailed by the Government altogether. They employ the people, they sell the opium to the people who are supposed to be smokers; smokers are registered, their photographs are on their permits, their addresses are taken, and nobody else is allowed to buy.

3356. That does not extend to the whole of Java?—I cannot tell you about the whole of Java. I have experience of Banka only. Further particulars can be obtained from "Report on the Dutch East Indies Section of the Netherlands Red Cross Society" of the Red Cross Conference held at Bangkok from 29th November to 18th December, 1922, under the heading of "Opium Policy in the Dutch Indies" by Dr. VON ROEMER.

3357. Did that system work out well?—It might be better; but like all systems temptations are put in the way of the officials in charge of the shops to make money.

3358. You have actually heard those suspicions voiced by people in Banka?—Yes.

3359. Do you know of any instance where this temptation was not resisted?—Yes, squeezing is said to be going on.

3360. Is the squeezing confined to the upper class of officials?—From what I have heard, it goes on from top to bottom; but I do not know how far it is true.

3361. The whole system is full of corruption?—Not at all; the system itself is a very good one, but the carrying out of it might be under stricter supervision. Here again more information may be obtained from "Report on Opium Policy in the Dutch East Indies" by Dr. VON ROEMER.

3362. Do you think that we would have any greater success here than they have in Java?—That would depend on what Government was prepared to pay to supervise.

3363. If Government were prepared to carry this out thoroughly, they would have to have very highly paid officials so that they would be above temptation?—Nobody is above temptation.

3364. Do you recognise the difference between the population of Banka and our population? The population of Banka is practically all resident; they are born there and live there all their lives?—That is not so; there are Chinese coolies there who come and go.

3365. Is there a big Chinese mining population there?—Yes.

3366. Are those men registered?—Yes, everybody who smokes opium is registered.

3367. Have you any idea how they manage in the case of those men who are constantly coming from and going to China?—The officials know when they leave the country as they have to get passports.

3368. Then they have to give up their licences, I presume?—It is not necessary; they cannot be used anywhere else.

3369. Are they asked to give up their licences?—I do not know.

3370. You don't think they might take the licences with them and sell them to somebody else coming from China?—Their photographs would prevent that.

3371. Have not they finger-prints as well?—As far as I know, they have not.

3372. Do you think that there is any possibility of faking a photograph?—No; I think there is very little chance of deceiving people.

3373. You cannot give us any information as to whether they are permitted to take their licences with them or whether they have to deliver them up when they leave the Island of Banka?—That I could not tell you.

3374. Supposing a man leaves Banka and goes to Java; what is done then?—I do not know about Java. I have not seen the working there.

3375. Have you much experience of alcohol amongst Asiatic peoples?—Yes, they do take alcohol.

3376. Do you think the use of alcohol is increasing amongst the Chinese here?—Do you mean China-born or Straits-born?

3377. Do you find that the Straits-born Chinese are consuming alcohol more largely than they used to do ?—There is a tendency to the increase of alcohol consumption.

3378. In the time that you have been here, do you think there has been a reduction in the number of Straits-born opium smokers?—Yes, it has been getting less.

3379. Do you know any young smokers at all among the Straits-born Chinese?—Yes, I do; but they have some reason for smoking.

3380. You don't know of any young people among the Straits-born who are smoking simply for the pleasure of it?—Off-hand, I could not tell you; at present I have not got anybody in my mind.

3381. Most of the smokers among the Straits-born Chinese are past middle age and pretty well on in years?—Yes, that is so.

3382. You think that the use of opium among the younger Straits-born is almost confined to those who are taking it for illness?—Yes, I think so.

3383. Have you had any experience of people committing suicide by swallowing opium?—Yes.

3384. In Singapore?—Yes.

3385. Many?—About 4 or 5.

3386. In 10 years?—Yes.

3387. Do you examine at all for insurance offices?—I used to at one-time.

3388. When you examined, were they accepting Chinese lives?—Yes, I examined mostly Chinese.

3389. In your instructions, were you given any limit as to the amount of opium they might use?—No; as far as I can remember, all those I examined did not smoke opium.

3390. You know that several Chinese offices limit the amount to 3 chees a day? Did you come across that in any of your instructions?—No.

3391. *Chairman.*—Banka is a tiny little island, is it not?—Yes.

3392. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you know how many Chinese are there?—There are many; but I do not know the exact number.

3393. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—One of our witnesses from the Federated Malay States said that if the coolies took opium they would not get sick. Do you agree with that?—There are quite a lot of deaths among opium smokers. If they did not get sick they would not die.

3394. In cases of illness, is it a fact that opium helps to prolong life?—It depends on the illness and on the amount taken. In some cases it does help.

3395. *Chairman.*—In cases of phthisis for instance?—There it does, because it soothes and gives the patient rest by depressing the cerebral reflex coughing centre.

3396. I presume the best way to get rid of the habit is to educate the people that it is a bad habit?—Yes, that will help a great deal, I think.

3397. What procedure would you adopt in the way of propaganda in order to educate the people?—The school is the best place to teach it, and meetings should be held to demonstrate the evils of the habit to grown-ups.

3398. Who would teach it in the schools?—The schoolmasters could talk to the boys of the evil effects and give occasional lectures.

3399. But you would have to get a master who knew something about the effects of opium rather than one who was talking theoretically, would you not?—A doctor who has had experience could tell the public all about it.

3400. Would you have prepared lectures delivered by the schoolmasters in the schools?—No, simply tell the boys in a casual way that it is a bad thing to smoke opium. To begin with, that would be sufficient.

3401. But take it that the master knows nothing at all about opium?—In the normal class they should be told something about the evils.

3402. When you referred to the schools, what were you referring to. Chinese schools or what?—All schools. Anybody might be tempted to indulge in opium.

3403. Would you suggest that the best way of all was to give facilities in the schools for lecturers appointed by the Anti-opium Societies to address the pupils?—That would serve the purpose quite well, and they would be delighted to give those lectures too. And, in other places where the Anti-opium Societies wished to lecture, they should be given facilities.

3404. You would then get a stereotyped view; you would not run the risk of differences of opinion? One man may make out that it is a very bad habit and another one may make out that it is merely an objectionable habit; there is a lot of difference between those two views?—I agree.

3405. You would not require to have doctor lecturers, for example, to carry conviction to the people?—If that could be done, it would be better still.

3406. You think that medical lecturers would be the best of all?—Yes.

3407. Provided they had a strong anti-opium view to start with?—Even an unbiassed person could tell the plain facts about the effects of opium. The anti-opium people put only one side of the question and say that the whole thing is bad. Doctors would be able to tell their experiences.

3408. But there will be differences of opinion on the opium habit even among doctors?—There may be.

3409. You don't suggest that all doctors will say that it is a pernicious habit?—I think all doctors will say that it is a bad habit—an undesirable, and probably a dirty habit.

This concluded Dr. JAP's evidence.

Dr. W. F. SAMUELS was called.

3410. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—WILLIAM FREDERICK SAMUELS.

3411. You are Medical Superintendent of the Central Mental Hospital at Tanjong Rambutan in the Federated Malay States?—Yes.

3412. Will you give us your degrees?—L.M., L.C.H., L.A.O. (Dublin), L.M. (Rotunda Hospital, Dublin).

3413. *Sir David Galloway.*—We are discussing the question of opium, and the general question which has been asked every witness is this. What, in your opinion, are the evil effects of opium smoking?—From my point of view, at Tanjong Rambutan I have not come across any. I am only dealing with a certain class of cases, but I have come across no ill effects in my particular line.

3414. You have perhaps had it frequently given you by the friends or relatives of patients as a cause of insanity?—Not even that. I have here some figures of what are given me by patients' friends. The majority of these figures are for opium, but they include drugs as well.

3415. Were these actual cases of insanity from smoking opium or was it only the alleged cause?—It was the alleged cause. These are the figures:—

In 1913, out of 222 admissions, 2 cases were attributed to opium.
In 1914, ,, 233 ,, 3 ,, ,, ,,
In 1915, ,, 319 ,, 0 ,, ,, ,,
In 1916, ,, 395 ,, 0 ,, ,, ,,
In 1917, ,, 417 ,, 4 ,, ,, ,,

I have not been able to get the figures for 1918 as the return in the Report has unfortunately been mislaid:—

In 1919, out of 415 admissions, 3 cases were attributed to opium.

In 1920, I happened to be on leave and there was no etiological paper made out in the Report.

In 1921, out of 496 admissions, 2 cases were attributed to opium, but that, I might say, was not for a complete year, because for the first 3 months of the year the etiological tables were not kept carefully. Of course, the number of admissions is correct.

In 1922, out of 474 admissions, 2 cases were attributed to opium.

In 1923, ,, 469 ,, 0 ,, ,, ,,

I may add that in 1923 there was one who was said to be an opium eater, but this man was a general paralytic and he had a positive Wassermann.

3416. You have some comments to make upon these cases just related?—Out of a total of 16 (I am not including the man who was admitted as an opium eater) returned as having been due to opium, I only saw 2 cases that showed deprivation symptoms in all the years. None of the others showed any.

3417. Did those deprivation symptoms amount to an insanity?—No; as a matter of fact it was only after they came in. They were delusional cases and it was only after they came in that they showed deprivation symptoms.

3418. Two were cases of delusion; do you consider the delusion was due to the use of opium?—I would not go so far. They were not deprived of opium until after they came in, and then they showed deprivation symptoms, which were independent of the delusions, for which they were sent in.

3419. You consider that opium using as a cause of insanity is negligible?—Yes.

3420. *Mr. Jelf.*—What were the total admissions during these years?—3,440.

3421. And 16 cases out of those were attributed to opium?—Yes.

3422. What is your total population at the mental hospital?—When I left there yesterday it was 1,595.

3423. *Sir David Galloway.*—Do you chance to have brought with you any figures relating to alcohol and admissions?—Yes.

3424. Would you give us your alcohol figures just as a contrast?—

In 1913, out of 222 admissions, there were 14 that could be definitely ascribed to alcohol.

In 1914, out of 233 admissions, 24 were alcoholics.

In 1915, ,, 319 ,, 16 ,,

In 1916, ,, 395 ,, 20 ,,

In 1917, ,, 417 ,, 36 ,,

In 1919, ,, 415 ,, 54 ,,

In 1921, ,, 496 ,, 36 were alcoholics. (That was the incomplete year).

In 1922, out of 474 admissions, 64 were alcoholics, and I differentiated in that year for the first time between Chinese and Tamils. There were 38 Chinese and 26 Tamils.

In 1923, out of 469 admissions, 42 were alcoholics, 34 Chinese and 8 Tamils.

3425. And in those cases you took particular care as regards alcohol being the etiological fact?—Those are people that I returned myself; I investigated their cases.

3426. It is very evident that alcohol in your hospital is a much more frequent cause of insanity than is opium?—Oh yes.

3427. Then it seems rather useless to ask you the question which do you consider the greater evil?—Alcohol undoubtedly.

3428. Would your experience or your figures lead you to suppose that the use of alcohol is increasing among the races you have just mentioned?—I think so.

3429. Have you ever considered the question of there being any relation between the giving up of opium and the adoption of the alcohol habit?—I cannot say that I have anything to prove it, but we all know that if one habit is given up generally a substitute is looked for and is found.

3430. And as generally, I suppose, the substitute which is found is alcohol?—Yes, I think so.

3431. Have you many cases of attempted suicide sent in to your hospital?—I have, but I am sorry I have not got the figures.

3432. Do you at the moment recollect as to whether many of them had attempted suicide by taking opium?—Not one.

3433. Would you mind if we asked you to supply us with the exact figures of the attempted suicides which have been sent to you during the last 5 years and the comment as regards the absence of any using opium as a means?—I will send you a return.

3434. Do you consider that the effects of drugs—morphine, cocaine and heroin—are alike in the native, *i.e.*,the Asiatic, and the European?—I don't think I have really had experience out here in drugs. I have seen so little of drugs amongst Asiatics.

3435. Do you think that opium in the Asiatic has exactly the same effects as opium in the European?—I should think on the European the effects would be very much worse.

3436. Do you think that there is the likelihood that a drug, having been used for generations, a certain amount of tolerance is induced in the people?—I certainly think so.

3437. Have you thought as to any means whereby the use of opium could be restricted among Chinese?—I would be afraid of the danger of it. I am inclined to think that people who have been for a long time taking a drug, will look for a substitute if you cut that off.

3438. Might a gradual cutting off be effective?—From my point of view, of course, seeing how little harm the opium does, I think it would be less dangerous to leave it alone than to run the risk of their taking to something else.

3439. From the broad outlook of a medical man, do you see any very great damage being done to the race by the use of opium?—Not in my general experience: of course my experience is more particular than general.

3440. We are told that it produces mental, moral and physical degeneration. Is that your experience among the Chinese?—No.

3441. *Mr. Chan.*—When you speak of their taking to something else, you refer to people who have now acquired the habit of opium smoking?—There is a certain amount of heredity behind the opium smoker, and my contention is that the drug that has been in use for generations is not going to be as harmful as a new drug.

3442. Is a man bound to take any drugs at all?—I do not say that, though I am inclined to think that in the tropics most of us find that something is necessary.

This concluded Dr. SAMUELS' evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

NOTE:—

Patients admitted during 5 years from 1919—1923 having attempted suicide.	Patients admitted durring 5 years from 1919—1923 having attempted suicide who had an history of alcoholic excess.	Patients admitted during 5 years from 1919—1923 having attempted suicide who had an history of opium smoking.
53	5	Nil.

KUALA LUMPUR.

Sixteenth Meeting.

TUESDAY, 15TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).
The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.
Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. W. T. CHAPMAN was called.

3443. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—WILLIAM THOMAS CHAPMAN.

3444. You are Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Federated Malay States?—Yes.

3445. You joined the Federated Malay States Civil Service in 1899?—Yes.

3446. You studied Cantonese, and have spent more than half your official life in Chinese appointments?—Yes.

3447. Apart from other general knowledge on this opium question, you have made a particular study for the purposes of a Committee on which you sat in 1919, I think?—Yes, I went into the matter then.

3448. And you have been going into the question for the purposes of this Committee also, I understand?—Yes.

3449. In the course of your official career you must have come into contact with very many thousands of Chinese?—Yes.

3450. Both opium smokers and non-smokers?—Yes.

3451. Will you give us your own personal view as to this opium habit as it is practised in Malaya?—I think it is a relaxation. Everyone must have relaxation of some sort, and it is practically the least objectionable that I know. If they do not go for opium, they go for women, or for drink, or for gambling.

3452. That is, speaking of the Chinese?—Yes.

3453. Would you accept the general proposition that being an opium smoker implies a loss of physical efficiency of at least 50 per cent?—No, certainly not.

3454. That might be applied, I suppose, to "sots"?—It might be applied to the "sots" just the same as in the case of drunkards.

3455. But to "sots" only?—Yes, certainly not to the moderate smoker.

3456. Do you think that opium has got any connection with crime?—No, except in the case of the "sot"; not with violent crime, certainly. In the case of the "sot" it may have a little; I mean, a man might go in for small thefts or something of that sort.

3457. Then, if I suggested that the opium habit was ruining the Chinese in Malaya, what would you reply?—I would reply, it is not.

3458. You talked of substitutional relaxations. Which do you think is the most probable of the three you mentioned?—Drink, I should say.

3459. Which do you think is the most dangerous of the three, from the point of view of the community?—They are all dangerous; to the community, gambling probably.

3460. Gambling even more so than alcohol?—Gambling leads to more crime.

3461. In regard to the public peace?—Alcohol rather than opium.

3462. But not alcohol more than gambling?—I do not think so.

3463. One of the first of our references is as to the Government taking complete charge of the retailing of opium. Are you in favour of that, generally?—Not both smoking shops and retail shops; in regard to retail shops, certainly.

3464. Do you advocate the continuance of smoking shops?—Yes.

3465. But in the hands of licensed persons and not in the hands of Government officers?—Certainly to continue for a time in the hands of licensed people, until you have got more thorough control in regard to the retail shops. I do not know what may happen later on; you have got to develop first.

3466. That is to say, you would not even begin on changing the smoking room licensees to Government officers until you had completely extinguished licensed retail shops?—No. I think there is an intermediate step which you can take first, before any control of smoking shops should be taken over, and that is to do away with all the profit from chandu in smoking shops and leave the profit on the dross, so that you get more dross back.

3467. You don't think you could get the dross back if you had a Government officer in charge of a smoking room?—I think you ought to go steadily and do the other thing first.

3468. At the present time, a licensed smoking shop has as a perquisite the dross, not as a right?—He can sell it to Government for $4.50 per tahil; he is supposed to take it all back to Government.

3469. Yes, but speaking of it as a right, I mean there is no legal prevention of the man scraping his pipe and going off with the proceeds of the scraping, is there?—No, I do not think so.

3470. My point is that it really is a perquisite?—I agree.

3471. Then, your proposal would possibly imply raising the price of the dross?—Yes, certainly.

3472. If you raise the price of the dross and the licensed shop-keeper has not a right to the scrapings of the pipe, as the price goes up will there not be the temptation to the smoker to take away more of his dross secretly?—I suppose the people who did that would not be *persona grata* in that shop.

3473. Do you think that that is a good enough deterrent?—Yes, I think so.

3474. How long do you think it would take to substitute for all the retail shops, "off" licences only, Government shops in the Federated Malay States?—"Off" licences could be done in a year; the present system has got to be extended, that is all.

3475. In your 1919 Committee you went into the question of notice to the licensees; did you make any serious finding on the point?—Here we say that 6 months is enough. We recognise no right in the licence.

3476. In the Colony, on the other hand, I might inform you, there is apparently considerable recognition of rights; but here, you are quite clear,

there is absolutely none?—We do not recognise a right in any licence in the Federated Malay States.

3477. *Mr. Jelf.*—But does it not stay in the family?—It does. Unless something turns up, we simply leave it with them.

3478. *Chairman.*—Supposing you decide, we will say, to change the Sultan Street shop to a Government shop, and you decide to do that on the 1st July next; you would not require to pay any compensation to the present licensee?—They would probably petition for it, but I do not think they would get it. It would be a matter of *ex gratia*.

3479. As Secretary for Chinese Affairs, would you support an appeal like that? It would obviously come through you, I should think?—I suppose I should have to send it on and see what Government are going to decide.

3480. But would you discriminate between cases in dealing with a matter like this? Would you say that one case was more hard than another?—No, there is no discrimination.

3481. You do not recognise the principle of compensation to those licensees whose licences are withdrawn?—No, not as a legal right.

3482. *Mr. Jelf.*—Can you conceive of cases in which you would recommend compensation?—If you paid it to one, you would have to pay it to all.

3483. *Chairman.*—Supposing you had to reduce by degrees, what system of reduction—that is, of choice between existing licensees—would you recommend the Government to adopt? You want to get rid of 30, we will say, and you get rid of 15 at the end of one 6 months and 15 at the end of the next 6 months after. How would you recommend the Government to choose the 15 that carry on for the longer time?—In town, the first thing to do is to put your own shops up alongside them and reduce their profits.

3484. That is what you would call "freezing them out"?—Exactly.

3485. Do you think it would be feasible, when you are going to licence a reduced number of shops, to allow ballotting among the existing licence-holders?—I do not see why you should do that. I do not think it would be right, because a whole lot of shops drawn in the ballot might be in one street or in one small area. If you are going to reduce them gradually, the reduction ought to be spread over the whole area.

3486. What is the real weakness of the ballotting system?—Any suggestion of that nature could only become possible if the shops were all on Government property.

3487. The next reference to us is the question of rationing by means of settling on X tahils per head of the Chinese adult male population. Have you any observations to offer?—That will lead to corners, probably. Government tried rationing by reducing the amount which was allowed to opium shops in 1920 and there was a great deal of trouble up here. The system had not been going a fortnight before there were complaints coming in that people went to the chandu shops and were told that all stocks were sold out.

3488. But if X were great enough, that would not necessarily imply this reduction, would it?—If X were great enough, there would be a greater supply than we have now, probably. There is another thing, too; your population varies.

3489. Besides the population, are there any other variations?—There is migration continually going on; for instance, tin is good and people come up to Kinta, and so on.

3490. I would suggest to you that there is considerable tribal variation?—Over a period.

3491. What we have in evidence is that amongst the tribes, of one tribe more smoke and smoke more?—Oh yes, the Hokkiens are heavier smokers than Cantonese.

3492. Do Khehs come in with Cantonese or with Hokkiens, or in between?—Khehs are probably just about the same as Cantonese.

3493. *Mr. McLean.*—When you say Hokkiens are heavier smokers, do you mean a Hokkien smoker smokes more than a Cantonese smoker or that more Hokkiens smoke than Cantonese?—I think they are heavier smokers.

3494. Are there more Hokkiens who smoke than Cantonese who smoke?—You mean a greater proportion in relation to the population? That, in a way, would depend on the nature of their occupation.

3495. *Chairman.*—What I suggest is that as the population in the various countries of British Malaya is not homogeneous in tribal constituency, this maximum limit that we are talking of becomes very difficult to fix?—Yes, there is a drift of Hokkiens. Take Selangor, for instance. I believe when the British first came here no one but Hakkas were allowed here. But, at the present time, you have got, roughly, about 33 per cent of Hakkas, about 30 per cent of Cantonese and 27 per cent of Hokkiens, and the balance is made up of Tiechius, Hailams and a few Foochows. This shows how, in the course of time the population has varied and is varying with the drift of the other people in.

3496. Of course, presumably in the reference as it is worded about this maximum limit, the variation of population from day to day would not affect it; because, if you could guess your population you would apply this X tahils. That would not be a major factor against this reference?—If you have got your X for your population, you would have to arrange for your different tribes as some smoke more than others.

3497. In point of fact, what I see myself in regard to that particular reference is that there are two things, how many smoke out of the population you are given and what tribes are they? Those are the two features which, in my mind, upset the suggestion?—Yes.

3498. On that very same point, the consumption of chandu in the Federated Malay States per head of the Chinese adult male population is scarcely anything more than one-half of that in the Straits Settlements?—In the Federated Malay States Cantonese and Hakkas are in the majority. In Kinta, I think, it is 58 per cent of Cantonese.

3499. And with your knowledge of the Straits Settlements, the Hokkiens and Tiechius lead the way?—Yes, Hokkiens and Tiechius form the bulk.

3500. *Sir David Galloway.*—Do you think that the word "uniform" in the reference is impossible?—Unless you are going to give a tremendous margin, which I think is not the case, uniformity is impossible.

3501. *Chairman.*—As to the anti-opium feeling, in the Federated Malay States or in Selangor—whichever you like—would you express an opinion as to the present heat of it?—It is rather hot just at present. The thing has just happened to be stirred up and there is a blaze coming out. In 1916, for instance, I was in Perak and I tried to find out where the Anti-opium Association was. I was going through all the societies there, and I found out finally that Towkay CHANG YIN FATT was the president of it. He said then that they had done nothing for years. I was closing down a lot of societies that were non-existent; he asked me to let this one remain as it might be useful at some future date, and apparently it has been. There would have been no trouble then in closing down because, except for the name, it was non-existent.

3502. Speaking as an officer with very considerable knowledge of the Chinese, do you view the possibility of a heated feeling about certain things remaining at that heat for many years?—No.

3503. Have you, in the course of your official career, observed any great amount of active help by the Chinese in measures introduced for their

good or for what the Government thought was for their good?—Over a long period of time, no; it dies out unless there is something to stiffen it.

3504. They require to be kept up to the scratch?—Yes, they have got to be.

3505. Then we come down to this question, the third reference, licensing and registration, of which you have made a study. Would you say that that was a matter of very considerable interference with the liberty of the subject?—Yes.

3506. Do you think, without going into the details of the scheme, that to make it effective would require the active help, not the passive countenance, of the Chinese?—It must require the active help of the Chinese.

3507. I judge from your previous answers that you are a little doubtful as to the continued active help?—I think they would get tired of it, as they have done of boycotts and things like that in the past. Take the anti-Japanese boycott, for instance. There was a tremendous furore for a few months, and then it collapsed.

3508. As between the two classes, the China-born and the Straits-born, could you draw any distinction in this respect that we are now discussing?—Would you say the Straits-born were more likely actively to help than the China-born?—I do not think they are likely to be more continuously active.

3509. As to the China-born, I myself am very doubtful as to whether he would ever get beyond the passive stage. What do you think?— You always get them writing to the Chinese newspapers, and the newspaper editors are mostly China-born.

3510. What is the more pronounced element in the present glow of anti-opium feeling; is it Straits-born or is it China-born?—Straits-born, I think, principally, with an element of Chinese nationalism fanning it along.

3511. This is a China-born habit; would you agree with that?—Yes, it is China-born principally.

3512. Then really you would have it that the Straits-born are leading the way in eliminating what I call a China-born habit?—I think so; but there is still the political propaganda side of it, which is China-born.

3513. But if the great proportion of the strength comes from the Straits-born side, the difficulty of educating the China-born by them to the elimination of this habit will be increased?—Yes.

3514. Would you say that the position of influence of the Straits-born with the China-born in the Federated Malay States is very pronounced or not?—I should not think it is very pronounced. We have had instances where they simply turned the Straits-born down entirely. With regard to the peace celebrations in Kuala Lumpur, for example, the China-born scared the Straits-born people until they hardly took part in it. The Straits-born did not take any lead in that; I mean they were not able to put the brake on the agitation not to take part in the celebrations at all: they were not able to control it here in Kuala Lumpur.

3515. The Hague Convention goes for gradual suppression of opium smoking in the places where it is practised. Have you any suggestions for gradual suppression to make?—The only real way, of course, is to educate the people against it.

3516. Can the Government do very much in that way?—Through the schools, I think. The only way is to start when they are young.

3517. In the English schools?—Yes, in the English schools, and we hope to be able to do it in the Chinese schools.

3518. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you consider it a bad habit, excepting in the case of the "sot"?—Economically, probably; not otherwise.

3519. Then the only education you would give would be on the economic side, that they are wasting their money?—Yes.

3520. *Mr. McLean.*—It has been suggested that cinema shows showing the evils of opium smoking would have a great effect in preventing the coolie from smoking. Do you agree with that?—Can you eliminate the medical side of it? The people would probably be the horrible examples who were suffering from phithisis or something of that sort. It seems to me that it would take a long time to get a proper film.

3521. *Sir David Galloway.*—You think that many of those horrible examples are not being killed by opium but are being kept alive—the people with phthisis, for instance?—Quite likely; I understand so from medical sources.

3522. *Chairman.*—You say that is primary; can you suggest any secondary forms of suppressive measures?—I think that we might here reduce the size of the smallest amount which you can buy. There are a lot of people who buy 40 cents worth simply because they cannot get anything less, and, having got 40 cents worth, they are afraid it will dry up and they will lose some of it and so they do not keep it. But if you had your smaller amount, the smaller quantity would come to be the normal amount of the man who just took a little. Have a 2-hoon packet instead of a 3-hoon packet.

3523. *Sir David Galloway.*—Or a 1½-hoon packet?—That was my original suggestion. I think that eventually that would come to be the amount which the small standard smoker would take. I also think it would be much better to have tubes.

3524. *Chairman.*—On the other side of that argument would you be afraid of being told that if you reduced it you brought it more nearly within the capacity of the poor man to buy a dose?—He only buys a dose if he wants it. There is the danger in what you say, but I think the advantage would be in having your smaller dose. If he wanted to buy his 20 cents worth, he would have more money in his pocket at the end of the day.

3525. *Sir David Galloway.*—You think the objections are more theoretical than practical?—Yes.

3526. *Mr. Jelf.*—You think a man would not, after buying a 1½-hoon packet, want to buy another 20 cents worth? You think he would be content with the one smoke?—We could have 1-hoon and 2-hoon packets.

3527. *Chairman.*—Could you support your preference with any actual enquiries?—I think that the number of one-packet people is very large; that is what I have gleaned from enquiries.

3528. And you hope they will be weaned to 2-hoons instead of 3?—Yes, and that people who might possibly start will not go beyond the 2-hoons.

3529. *Mr. Jelf.*—You think that there is a reasonable chance of a one-packet man remaining a one-packet man even if the packet is reduced in size?—There is another thing. If you had the tubes there would be less wastage than with the bamboo leaf, and I think the 2-hoon tube would enable the 3-hoon packet man to carry on.

3530. *Chairman.*—You favour the tube?—Yes, I think it is less likely to be tampered with.

3531. When you talk of the tube system, what are you referring to? Have you seen any tubes?—No, I have had them explained to me. I refer to the Javanese tube.

3532. You would gather they are something like those tubes we buy all our ointments in now, except that they are hermetically sealed?—Yes; I understood they were lead foils.

3533. It will be a very much more costly system than the present one?—I expect it will.

3534. *Sir David Galloway.*—The margin of profit would stand it?—Yes, I agree.

3535. *Mr. Jelf.*—You think it is up to us to reduce it?—To do what we can.

3536. In what direction?—If we can get the coolie down to taking only 2 hoons of chandu, from 3, we shall be saving his money. He will have more money to spend on other things; what he will spend it on, I do not know..

3537. You are not saving his morals?—No, I do not think so.

3538. *Chairman.*—With the absence of tampering, you are in a measure reducing the channels by which illicit opium can be got through under a licit cover?—Yes, if the seal is good enough. I am certainly strongly in favour of the tube system because I am not satisfied with the present system.

3539. Any further measures?—I am afraid you will have to wait for others until China comes into line.

3540. The system of licensing and registration that I believe you were responsible for 4 years ago; would you say that that would also have to wait until China comes along, apart from any other questions?—Certainly. I have altered my opinion very considerably since I wrote that report. We have had the experience of rubber restriction and I am afraid I have lost a certain amount of my trust in the Chinese better class people since rubber restriction came in.

3541. In 1919, may I suggest that you held, not as a thing you recommended but as the only possible means finally of suppressing, licensing and registration?—That is so.

3542. Have you changed your mind as to that? Is that the only possible one or not?—The only possible one I think we recommended in that was the absolute control of the sources of chandu. Any system is entirely dependant on control of all the sources.

3543. *Mr. Jelf.*—Just as it was in the War?—Yes; you must have control of all your sources of opium before you can hope to suppress a habit of this kind.

3544. You do not think licensing and registration a universal panacea for it, then?—It won't touch it here now.

3545. Why?—Because opium will come down from China.

3546. How would it get in?—I think it does get in now. That is my opinion.

3547. Would it get in in increasingly large quantities as we reduced the official quantity?—Yes, as the difficulty of getting it here increased, as long as it is grown to the extent it is in China now, the only result of putting difficulties here would be that a system of regular smuggling would be built up from China; and it is cheaper in China than it is here, from all I understand.

3548. And the amount consumed will remain much the same?—Much the same, except that the people will be using illicit chandu instead of Government chandu, and probably an inferior chandu.

3549. Less licit chandu would mean less revenue to the Government, more illicit chandu would mean more expenditure on prevention of that illicit chandu; so that there would be a double loss on the division?—Yes.

3550. *Chairman.*—As to this licensing and registration, may I ask if you were the inventor of the details of the 1919 one?—Mr. Rex and I discussed it.

3551. You have seen Mr. Cheah Cheang Lim's scheme of registration and licensing?—Yes.

3552. Do you think it is workable?—No.

3553. Do you think it is likely to be effective?—I have said that I do not think any scheme is likely to be effective, because you will have this smuggling in from China. The man who does not want to be registered will not register; he will get his chandu from somewhere else.

3554. And the beneficial nature of such a measure would be directly dependent on its effectiveness?—Yes, you will also get the man who is not a smoker registering and making a business of it. You would get the registered nominee who was not a smoker. Even to attempt to run it properly would be extremely expensive.

3555. Are you prepared to hazard a guess as to how many a scheme like this would affect—that is to say how many smokers there are in your territory here or in British Malaya?—No.

3556. If the numbers are very very great the difficulties would be rather disproportionately increased, I should say; supposing, for instance, there were 50,000 in the whole of British Malaya that might be called fairly easy, but if there are 100,000 it would be more than twice as difficult?—The difficulty would increase in geometrical progression instead of arithmetical.

3557. Would you agree that the consuming population turns over frequently?—Yes, it does.

3558. Would it be an exaggeration to say that it turns over, say, once in 7 years?—I should say it does. It depends on the state of the country rather. If things are going well it probably turns over in a less period. If things are going less well it probably may be a little longer. I think 7 years would be about right.

3559. *Mr. Jelf.*—Because in bad times people have not got the money to go backward and forward?—Yes.

3560. *Chairman.*—A bad harvest in China would also drive them down here, apart from the conditions here?—Yes.

3561. What we had in figures was this. We got it that the adult males from China were, in 7 years, more than the adult males enumerated in 1921. That is why I give you the figure. It seems a reasonable inference to draw, that the population turns itself over once in 7 years?—Yes; of course, some of them do not go back.

3562. Apart from China movement of population would you say there is much inter-state and inter-colonial movement of population, or not?—There is a good deal of inter-state and a certain amount of inter-colonial movement, from the Colony here. People come out to the Colony, stay there for a short time and then come up here.

3563. Dr. CONNOLLY Says.—"Once a Kinta miner, always a Kinta miner", do you agree?—That is not true. I can give you cases. People who come to the Decrepit Ward come to me to write out their statement before they are sent round to the Committee for the Decrepit Ward. You will find that you have a man who starts up in Perak, who will have been down in Negri Sembilan, and then come along here. I had two or three cases of that sort recently of men who in the course of time had been in all those 3 States:

3564. In fact, his movements are not controlled by any sentiment or local attachment but by economic conditions?—Yes. Take, for instance, *Kwongsais*. They are people whom I can talk about, because there are not so many of them. There is a regular *Kwongsai* migration to the Tronoh Mines. Here, just outside, at Ampang we get another colony of *Kwongsais* and there is another also in Bentong. The *Kwongsais* run around those 3 places to a great extent. Many of the Chinese who were originally intended for Tronoh, go to Tronoh, after that they get fed up with Tronoh for a time

and come back here to Ampang or they go over to Bentong. That is only one small thing that I know, and I know that that happens in plenty of cases, especially with regard to miners; and then you get the flow between mines and estates according to which is more profitable.

3565. If you have that inter-state movement, it makes any measures of this description essentially a Federal measure, not a State measure?—Yes, it must be Federal. I am not sure you would not have to make it Malayan.

3566. You would not go a little further and say it would be essential to make it Malayan?—As you have a through railway, I think it would be essential.

3567. *Mr. Jelf.*—Twenty-five years ago you might have run it in separate compartments?—Yes.

3568. *Chairman.*—The system of licensing and registration to which you were a party reduced underlings to a minimum. But take Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme, for instance, which is before us. That requires an enormous lot of subordinate staff?—Yes.

3569. If you begin to multiply requirements in the way of subordinate staff and of Chinese, you get rather down into the corrupt ranks, don't you think?—Certainly; you could not get away from it.

3570. With your experience of informers in connection with your official duties, would not you agree that offences which were created by a licencing and registration of opium smokers system would bring into being an enormous crowd of these informers?—Yes, it must do.

3571. In fact they might arise in such numbers that they might alienate from this system any support that the present Anti-opium Societies were willing to give to it?—If the Anti-opium Societies had to deal with the complaints of corruption amongst *chintings* they would very soon get tired of it.

3572. I suggest that a certain amount of additional searching will become very necessary, too?—Not only would people landing in the country have to be searched, but every package of merchandise would have to be opened and searched; everything coming from China would have to be opened.

3573. *Mr. Jelf.*—Not only that, but would not you have to search the clothing that they were wearing, opium being so small and easily carried?—That goes without saying.

3574. *Chairman.*—The Chinese are a very tolerant race, but they do reach the stage of intolerance of searching?—I have complaints made by people even going down to Singapore at the present time being searched by the *chintings*, who ask, why should they be searched?

3575. Then a system of licensing and registration such as is sketched to us does really require the element of incorruptibility in the staff as a pronounced feature of it?—Certainly.

3576. Because the intolerance of those who are being registered and licensed would be due, in the great majority of cases, to the fact of the corruption to which they were unwilling to give way. I can conceive, as one of the features of a system like this, that "planting", from my experience of it, is the worst feature?—Yes. Your vegetable gardener, for instance; what is he to do if two *chintings* who have not had a case for a fortnight come along and say he has been smoking and plant a pipe on him.

3577. *Mr. McLean.*—Could not he demand to be medically examined?—That would not be practicable in the case of a moderate smoker.

3578. *Mr. Jelf.*—You do not think you can ordinarily spot a moderate smoker?—I do not think so; not the man who smokes very little.

3579. *Chairman.*—Could we go so far as to ask you what you would call the limit of "very little"? What number of hoons a day man would

you begin to be able to spot?—I cannot give anything for that. Probably the man I should spot is the man who is either smoking chees a day or is swallowing dross.

3580. Can you imagine a system of registration which does not carry with it licensing?—It would be useless. I do not see that it would effect what is desired.

3581. Tell me what is the objective?—The objective is to restrict the amount of opium smoked.

3582. Do you think it would be so far away from effecting its objective as to be totally ineffective?—I think it would merely be an annoyance. The result of that would be that you would only get a percentage of the number of smokers.

3583. So low a percentage as to make this a valueless proposition?—Absolutely.

3584. How do you get that it is so low a percentage as to make it valueless? Do you say that the nominee under this to whom we referred earlier, would be more numerous than the genuine registered smoker?—Undoubtedly.

3585. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you think that a number of people who never smoked would come and apply to be registered?—Yes.

3586. With what object?—Selling to people who do not want to have their finger-prints and photographs taken.

3587. *Sir David Galloway.*—The Chinese as a race strongly object to anything which fixes their identity, finger-prints or photographs?—I am sure they do.

3588. That is your experience?—Yes.

3589. *Mr. McLean.*—Supposing this system were introduced and it were made an offence to possess or smoke opium without a permit. Do you think that would not prevent a certain number of people from beginning to smoke?—Why should it?

3590. Do not the anti-gaming laws prevent a certain number of people from gambling, and would not the same apply to opium smoking?—I doubt it. People who want to gamble, gamble.

3691. You do not agree that the anti-gaming laws prevent a certain number of people from gambling?—I do not think so; it is not an offence to gamble.

3592. *Chairman.*—You say the number of nominees defeats the object of the registration system. The nominee requires to be paid. Most of the smokers, in numbers, are coolies. How can the coolies afford to pay the nominees?—The coolie is going to save his time coming away from the jungle. You would get your regular man who would buy for quite a number of people and distribute it all round the place. It will save the coolie time; if he has got to come in 10 miles it is cheaper for him to pay something to the nominee than for him to lose his day's work.

3593. Then why not recognise the nominee, provided he brings the registration cards of his customers?—But you are practically going back to your shop. You are only moving it a step further off. In that case you are only making your licensee your shop. You have got a retail travelling shop instead of your ordinary shop.

3594. *Sir David Galloway.*—Very much like the hawker system that applied to Burma before?—I do not know much about the Burma system, but it evidently is so.

3595. Then if you found a man practically hawking chandu which, we will assume, is Government chandu, by and by he might find it paid him

better to hawk other chandu than Government?—It almost certainly would, unless you have got the control of all sources of supply.

3596. All these States are under one Enactment, are not they, with regard to chandu generally?—Yes, in the Federated Malay States.

3597. Are there any rules or instructions for separate States in which there is a difference between the different States?—I do not think so.

3598. As an average, how many coolies arrive in the Federated Malay States from China, per month or per year?—I could not say. Some of them come by train, and the only details we have by train are the third class passengers. It is very difficult to work that out.

3599. You spoke a little while ago about decrepit wards. Are you aware of much pauperism among the immigrant Chinese coolies? If there is no employment for them here, don't they clear off, and go back to China?—They used to, more than they do now.

3600. Do you find many of these men destitute; wanting food or anything of that sort?—There were in the slump, of course; we had to help them.

3601. But in normal times?—In normal times I do not think it is bad.

3602. About those decrepit wards. Is it your opinion that many of those men have arrived in those wards through the abuse of opium, or of physical decrepitude the first thing?—The people who come to me are the physical decrepits. We have two kinds. There are the very old miners and the people who lose a limb or lose their eye-sight.

3603. They are real decrepits, then?—Yes, a man who has been here 40 or 50 years and had luck against him.

3604. Then about the swallowing of dross; you are quite aware of it being a prevalent habit?—Yes, I think it is prevalent. A good deal of dross is swallowed because people cannot afford to buy chandu.

3605. You divided your anti-opium propaganda into two, one local and the other one engineered from China, what you would call the political propaganda. You think there are two distinct sides to this anti-opium agitation?—There are two distinct people taking part in it; they combine.

3606. Organised in China?—I would not say organised in China; it has its roots in China.

3607. Has there been much of that latter kind here lately?—You get it continually in the Chinese newspapers that are coming down from China. Very recently, of course, it has been rather fanned by this question of the customs revenue in Kwangtung. I got a paper the other day in which they find fault with the Hongkong Monopoly system whilst some people at home are talking about reducing production in China.

3608. Do you think that as part of a measure for the suppression of opium Government might do something towards extending a hand to help to cure opium smokers?—I certainly think so. If a man wants to cure himself of the opium habit, he can cure himself.

3609. If he comes of his own free will?—Yes, it is absolutely a matter of will.

3610. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you think there would be many who would come?—Personally, I doubt it; you might get people for a time.

3611. *Mr. Jelf.*—You said that there would be unique facilities for everybody to bring chandu in in their luggage, and so on. Do you consider that this country, apart from those facilities, presents any special opportunities for smuggling?—Of course, the shape and configuration of the place.

3612. Chinese sailing vessels of all descriptions can quite easily run in contraband?—Certainly; they could do if they wanted to.

3613. If the smoking of opium was suppressed or heavily restricted, do you consider it would have any effect on our labour supply from China?—I think it would.

3614. Could you say something further on that point?—I think it would have a very considerable effect. You have got to consider this. Your opium smoker is a man who is not going to lose his job if he can possibly help it; and although, of course, possibly the number of smokers who come down in any particular batch is not very great, it is cumulative, because down here he can usually get a job and he can stay here, whereas the man who does not smoke opium may go wandering off somewhere else. So you get an accumulation here, where there is pretty certain work, of people who smoke.

3615. Then, if they knew there was no smoking allowed in Malaya, what effect would that have in Kwangtung, Amoy or Swatow and other places where we get our labour from?—They would not come. They would probably go somewhere else where they could smoke, and people who are here now would go elsewhere.

3616. *Mr. McLean.*—At what age do *sinkhehs* usually come to this country?—It is impossible to say. You get a man coming here as a *sinkheh* who is 40 years of age.

3617. Usually what is it?—Usually, a man who has no connection with this country would be coming here between the ages of 18 to 27.

3618. We have a good deal of evidence that *sinkhehs* learn to smoke in this country. Sir David Galloway has compiled a table of a thousand smokers giving the ages at which they all began to smoke. That table shows that about 30 per cent began to smoke when they were under 23. Now, if the facilities for smoking were the same in China as they are here, what percentage of *sinkhehs* would you expect to be smokers when they arrived here? My point is that is possible that a number of *sinkhehs* learn to smoke here because they are too young to smoke when they leave China?—It is impossible to say, because the man in China, while he is there, is living in the bosom of his family and possibly he would be punished by his father for daring to smoke. Also he would not be allowed to have control of money up there. I should expect the proportion of people of that class who come here and who smoke here under 23 would be higher than in China.

3619. Then you would expect the proportion of *sinkhehs* coming here who smoke to be very small?—Yes, of the young people, because they would not be allowed to have the money.

3620. *Mr. Chan.*—You said that licensing would lead to an increase of smuggling. If, by licensing, you do not try to reduce the supply, but only to prevent the demand from increasing, why should smuggling increase?—Because of the difficulty of getting your licence and the difficulty of coming into town.

3621. You mean that there would be some people who would not register and who would have recourse to illicit opium?—Yes.

3622. Would these people be sure of getting their regular dose?—Yes, after a short time. My own opinion is that it is coming in now.

3623. The Chairman referred to certain objections to registration, for example, corruption, informers, nominees, search and a few others. Would not these objections apply if we were to bring in registration, say, 50 years hence?—In 50 years time I sincerely hope that there will be a Government in China capable of controlling opium there. That would reduce the possibility of smuggling here. If you had perfect control in China there would not be the same amount of search here. You could make it much more effective. The damage from the other things would be very much reduced.

3624. You spoke of the anti-opium movement here as a temporary blaze. I am of the opinion that there is a firm conviction among the Chinese that opium is a bad thing though that conviction may not be articulate. Would you say I was wrong?—Chinese will always say it. If you put that to them, they will say that opium is a bad thing. It is, economically.

3625. Do they say it merely for the sake of saying it or do they believe it? I say they believe it?—Some of them certainly do. I can tell you some who I am sure are absolutely firmly convinced of it.

3626. Would you call that movement a purely Straits-born movement? Are not there some influential China-born among the members of the Kuala Lumpur Anti-opium Society?—Yes, there are China-born members.

3627. And the Chinese Chamber of Commerce is not a purely Straits-born body either, is it?—No, but it is a political body.

3628. As regards the distinction between the China-born and the Straits-born, is there not a much stronger distinction in Singapore and Malacca than there is here? In Singapore, for example, the Straits-born speak practically no Chinese and have their own clubs and the China-born have their own clubs. But here the Straits-born speak a dialect and I have been to some clubs and I find them both mixing very freely?—You will get some clubs which are practically confined to Straits-born and some to China-born and some are mixtures. I should say that there is probably less division up here than there is in Singapore and Malacca, but the feeling still exists. Take your Selangor Athletic Club here. It is almost entirely Malaya-born.

3629. That may be, because the China-born do not take so much to athletics?—On the other hand you have got your Selangor Chinese Athletic Association, which is purely China-born. Then you get other clubs where they both mix.

3630. Early in your evidence you spoke of substitutional relaxations, gambling, women and wine. You, of course, meant substitutional vices?—Is it possible for a man to exist without relaxation of some sort?

3631. You are not one of those who believe in the sweeping statement that every one must have some vice or other?—If you mean by vice what I mean by relaxation, I say yes.

3632. Supposing opium was stopped, do you think the smoker would try to find a substitute?—I think he would.

3633. But the stopping of opium would make no difference to the non-smoker?—No.

3634. It would not be necessary for the non-smoker to find a substitute for what he had never taken?—He has probably got it.

3635. So that when you speak of a substitute you really refer to the smoker only?—Yes.

3636. You will agree with me that if the opium smoker is allowed to smoke till his death and no non-smoker is permitted to begin, it will be necessary for neither to look for a substitute?—Yes, but I do not think you will prevent the non-smoker beginning.

3637. If that is the case, any comparison between opium and other vices is not going to be very helpful if the question of a substitute does not arise?—You are assuming that your non-smoker is going to be perfect.

3638. What I am saying is that the stopping of opium would not drive the non-smoker to look for a substitute. It would not affect him?—It won't affect him if you can prevent him from starting.

3639. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—If the Government took away all the licences from the licensees you said just now the Government would not be

bound to pay any compensation?—I say they are not legally bound to pay compensation.

3640. What is your opinion, should the Government pay any compensation to them or not?—In equity, Government ought to pay, I suppose, but legally they have no claim.

3641. If the Government reduced the 3-hoon packets to 2-hoon tubes do you think that would prevent the coolie from swallowing dross?—I think it might do. He might be able to afford 20 or 26 cents as against 40 cents.

3642. You think it will help in a way to prevent the coolie from swallowing dross?—I think so.

3643. *Chairman.*—Have you anything to add to the questions that we have asked you and the answers you have given?—The one thing that strikes me is that if, as a result of this, the coolie up in the jungles is going to be prevented from getting chandu you are going to do a great injustice to him, making it more difficult for him; because the coolie up in the jungle uses chandu as a cure for all sorts of ills. He uses it both as a preventitive and as medicine. I know in February to July, 1918, when I was going about the Perak hills with the late Mr. D. M. BARRY after gang-robbers, that we came across tin-stealers' places and in them we usually found paraphernalia for smoking; we always found either chandu pipes or dross up there. You would not find very much else, possibly a table and a chair; but we always found these things, smoking materials, away from anywhere. As far as the *towkays* are concerned, they can afford to pay, but the thing one wants to avoid is to put hardships on the coolie. I think, myself, that the country has been opened up on chandu.

3644. *Sir David Galloway.*—From all you have said, you are firmly of the belief that opium is of considerable use in pioneer countries?—Yes, although it may be abused, just like drink.

3645. *Chairman.*—You would not go so far as to hazard a guess in what proportion of cases it is of use?—It is not nearly so bad as drink at home. I am very doubtful whether it really causes as much harm as tobacco smoking in young people, in view of the early age at which people begin to smoke tobacco. I should like to have it worked out, the relative ill effects of very strong Burma cheroots and of moderate smoking of opium.

3646. *Mr. Chan.*—Would you go so far as to say that the price that is being charged now for chandu is not justifiable?—If one could turn the clock back 10 years, I would certainly advise against its going as high as it has gone now. But I do not see how you are going to deal with it now.

This concluded Mr. CHAPMAN'S evidence.

Mr. ROGER FRANCIS ROSS SWETTENHAM was re-called.

3647. *Chairman.*—You hand in a memorandum* of a scheme for the extension of the present system of Government retail chandu shops?—Yes.

3648. You are not stressing the money part? This is simply put up for our information?—I consider the scheme ought to be adopted irrespective of any profit at all because of better control.

3649. You say that 85 per cent is sold "off" and 15 per cent "on"?—Yes.

3650. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that this scheme were accepted by the Government, how long would it take to make it fully operative?—About 12 to 18 months, I think.

3651. Are you of the same opinion as Mr. CHAPMAN that you must not touch the "on" until you have got off with the "off"?—That is my opinion, to obtain control of the "off" sales first, and then deal with the "on" licensees afterwards.

3652. You hand in a proposed scheme† for the purchase and control of chandu dross?—Yes.

3653. As to this, you are assuming that the licensee will always get all the dross that results from the chandu smoked on his premises?—Yes.

3654. If he has not got any right to demand it, what is to prevent the smoker from taking it away?—The licensee has to stop that. He is not allowed to permit dross to be taken off the premises. It is a very difficult point, as a matter of fact, and one which was raised by the Resident of Perak the other day. I gave an opinion there that we could not prosecute the licensee because he innocently sells for consumption on the premises.

3654*a*. Supposing a man buys a packet of chandu and smokes half and puts the other half in his pocket, has he committed any offence?—That is a legal point that I cannot deal with.

3655. *Mr. McLean.*—Could not you alter the laws so as to make it an offence?—You could make it an offence for a smoker to remove opium from licensed premises.

3656. *Chairman.*—To make this scheme effective, don't you think it would be advisable to make it a legal right to demand that the chandu dross be not removed?—Yes, we should have to do something of the sort.

3657. *Sir David Galloway.*—If a man smokes half his chandu and takes away the other half, is not that converting that shop from being an "on" to an "off"?—We had a case reported only yesterday of a man who bought a packet of chandu at an "on" licence shop and took it away in spite of protests by the licensee. Messrs. MAXWELL and KENYON, lawyers, Ipoh, have written to me asking whether the law should not be amended in this respect.

This concluded Mr. SWETTENHAM'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned till 2 P.M.

* Appendix XLIII. † Appendix LV.

TUESDAY, 15TH JANUARY, 1924.

2 P.M.

Dr. P. G. EDGAR was called.

3658. *Sir David Galloway.*—What is your full name?—PETER GALSTOUN EDGAR.

3659. You graduated in medicine at?—Edinburgh.

3660. In what year?—In 1893.

3661. And you came out here when?—In September, 1894.

3662. You were in practice here for how long?—I was in the Government service for the first ten years, and then I resigned and practised and at the same time was planting and mining. I have been in practice the whole time, but lately not in active practice.

3663. But your whole time was occupied in practice for the first ten years?—Yes.

3664. And your practice was not confined to any one race?—No.

3665. You saw a good number of Chinese in that time?—I did.

3666. Both Straits-born and the immigrant Chinese?—Quite.

3667. Did you see a number of opium-smokers in that time?—Yes, especially in the gaols.

3668. It is probably too late to ask for figures, but possibly you may remember what proportion the opium-smokers in the gaols bore to the general population?—I could not tell you that, but so far as I can remember practically about thirty per cent of the inmates were smokers.

3669. And in the gaol what did you do when an opium-smoker came in?—If he was a moderate smoker we used to cut him off without any compunction, but in the worst cases we gradually reduced.

3670. Did you ever see any serious effects from the immediate cutting off in the moderate smoker?—Not in the moderate smoker.

3671. What effects did you notice in the confirmed heavy smoker when his supplies were cut off?—Collapse, chiefly.

3672. Can you form any idea of the amount; in other words what would you consider is a moderate amount for a man to smoke?—I hold rather a peculiar view on that. I consider a man a moderate smoker as long as he is able to do his work. I would never bind him down to any amount like a man taking alcohol or tobacco. A moderate smoker is a man able to do his business in an ordinary way, a cooly able to do his hard work, a man who can carry on a conversation as if he had not taken his opium.

3673. Tolerance varies?—Absolutely.

3674. How much do you consider makes a man a sot?—There again it is a question of tolerance.

3675. Have you any idea of the amount—a tahil a day?—Perhaps more than that. Of course in the old days they had not this packet system. It was given out in pots.

3676. After these men were cut off from their opium, these moderate smokers, were they able to take their food and do their full punishment, their full work?—Not for the first day or two or so, but afterwards. When they were discharged and came back again they had again taken to opium, in spite of having been cured in the gaol.

3677. As a fact, in looking round among your patients during the ten years you were in practice, have you seen that mental and moral degradation which we are told is the inevitable result of opium-smoking?—I have always tried to find it, but I believe it is absolutely in the imagination of these novelists. I have never seen these degraded people, with their ashy skins and broken down constitutions.

3678. Not among the average moderate smokers?—No.

3679. But you have seen it among those who have absolutely given themselves up to it?—Yes. But the man who is a sot, and cannot possibly do any work, we do not see him. He is either huddled up in his house or is not seen.

3680. Would you compare him with the alcoholic soaker?—To a certain extent.

3681. Have you ever known any suicide from opium, as a result of taking it first?—I have known them take opium to commit suicide, a different matter altogether, but as a result of taking opium, never.

3682. Have you ever known opium used as a means of committing suicide?—Yes.

3683. Is that very common?—Not in my experience. When I was looking after the Taiping hospital we had three or four cases brought in.

3684. What length of time was that?—I was three years in Taiping hospital. We had a lunatic ward there the same time, and there were one or two cases, I think, of suicide amongst the inmates, from opium given in solution.

3685. As a means of committing suicide?—Yes. Neither have I known a single case of lunacy or insanity as a result of opium.

3686. Have you ever seen any mental disturbance as a result of the rapid cutting off of opium?—In confirmed smokers—maniacal?

3687. Yes?—No, never.

3688. Besides your experience as a doctor you have had a large experience as a prospector and employer of labour?—Yes. When I was looking after Tronoh Mines my brother was Managing Director and I acted for him for a year. We had over two thousand coolies there, and quite fifty per cent of them were opium-smokers. That is about twenty years ago.

3689. Do you remember chiefly what tribe those men belonged to?—We had all kinds, but chiefly they were Hokkiens. Not many Tiechius, not many Hailams.

3690. What percentage smoked?—About fifty per cent of them. The moderate smokers used to come out to their work, underground, very hard work.

3691. Have you ever compared the results of their work with the results of the work of the non-smokers?—No, except the ones that smoked more than the moderate smoker did, in which case they simply punished themselves by not getting their full days work.

3692. What I want to get at is this, were the moderate smokers and the non-smokers about equal as regards work?—Yes, as far as we know just the same.

3693. But undoubtedly there were a number of men who smoked rather more than they ought to have done who were decidedly of less value than the non-smoker?—Yes.

3694. Again, can you give me any idea of what they use in a day?—I could not tell you that. I have a mine just now where they smoke two or three pipes a day, and those men to me do absolutely the same work as the non-smokers. I can give you rather an interesting instance about three months ago. We had a slight outbreak of malaria owing to some blukar

having been cut down round the neighbourhood, and some of our coolies developed malaria, but it did not touch the opium-smokers. They put down their immunity to their pipe, and chaffed their friends for not taking opium. That was rather interesting to me, because I have found the same thing right up in the *ulu* where Chinese were prospecting for tin. I found those men right up in the interior all had opium pipes. I do not think this country could have been opened up without the opium pipe. They use it as a stimulant when tired, they can go without food for a longer period, they say it prevents diarrhœa and dysentery. That is the Chinese coolies' firm conviction, and they dare not go into the interior without the opium pipe.

3695. In what way do you think it affects malaria, how does it act as a preventive of malaria?—I can't say. I only know that in practice I found that in many instances the combination of opium with quinine cut fever short, when quinine alone did not do so.

3696. Would you ascribe a distinct anti-malarial action to opium?—I think so. That is borne out by Dr. GHOSH in the latest edition of his book, "A Treatise on *Materia Medica and Therapeutics*," in which he says; on page 346: "It is a fact that opium eaters are less liable to malarial poisoning and they enjoy better health in malarial districts. Opium occasionally cures malarial fever where quinine fails, or the two drugs combined are more successful than either given alone. The writer has seen a few cases of filarial fever checked by the habitual use of opium".

3697. That is your considered opinion? You can corroborate from your own experience?—Absolutely.

3698. That being so, are you in favour of means being taken to suppress the use of opium in this country?—No, I think it would be criminal on the part of Government to do a thing of that sort.

3699. It is suggested to us that there are certain things we ought to do, all towards this end of reducing the consumption of opium. The first of them is the registration of opium-smokers. Do you think that is possible here?—I think it is most impracticable.

3700. On what ground would you assume it to be so?—Because of the constantly fluctuating population, and because in face of China now planting opium more than any other country in the world, such a procedure here would be a farce. If China were to help us in the matter there might be something to consider, but in view of the fact that she is planting up opium the introduction of such registration would be a farce, I think.

3701. You have it in the back of your head, because opium would be so easily obtainable outside?—Yes, and the idea of registration I believe is gradually to do away with opium-smoking altogether, but if you have a new draft coming in from China every year I do not see the good of it.

3702. Two points, that opium is to be had readily, and second, the constant influx of immigrants from China?—Yes.

3703. On the question as a whole. The League of Nations, in considering this question, make no difference between the drug user, the opium user in civilised countries, and in Asia by Asiatics. Do you consider those three should be lumped together like that, or discussed entirely separately?—They should certainly be discussed separately, because they are three different questions.

3704. You think the use of opium by Asiatics in Asia is a question *per se*, to be discussed alone?—Quite so.

3705. The question does not affect us here, but have you met with much drug using here?—I can't say that I have.

3706. Do you remember that about 1903, 1904 and 1905, there was a good deal about?—Yes, by hypodermic injection. That was stopped, I think.

3707. Next as to the fixing of a uniform maximum amount. You mentioned just now that most of the men in your mine were Hokkiens, and we have evidence to show that they are by far the heaviest smokers, and that the other tribes don't smoke nearly so much. Do you consider that the fixing of a uniform limit to cover the whole of this country is possible?—Do you mean a maximum amount to smoke?

3708. Yes?—I do not see how you can do that. One man smokes more than another. It is like a man taking his stengah. Some can take three or four without feeling the effects, whereas I with one would be very much *hors de combat.* It is a question of tolerance. It is the same with the question of opium. The amount that one man takes might not satisfy another. I am not in favour of any such fixed amount. I should give every man what he considers necessary, so long as he smokes moderately. If he wants to become an inveterate smoker nothing will stop him.

3709. I would ask you also, if it were possible to convert the ordinary licensed opium selling shop into a Government establishment run by the Government on official lines, do you think that that would be a good thing?—I believe we have it now, but I have no experience about that. I do not see why a Chinese should be called upon to smoke a certain amount of opium, while we are allowed to smoke as much tobacco and drink as much liquor as we like. At one time I was nearly joining the anti-opium movement, but when I saw it was only a question of stopping the Chinese from his opium and not interfering with the liberty of other nationalities I came to the conclusion that I could not take part in a movement of that description. Up to this day I cannot see why a Chinese should be called upon to smoke only a certain amount of opium and other nationalities have other things. It is, I think, interfering with the liberty of one subject and not with that of another. I have always held that there should be no limit. If they want to smoke let them consume as much as they like.

3710. You spoke a moment ago of movements of people from China to here. Is there not a great deal of movement between different parts of the Peninsula?—Yes, they simply go where they can find work.

3711. They work all over the place?—Yes, I have had men from everywhere applying for work.

3712. We suggested that to a witness, who said that his observation over twenty-five years in Kinta was that he had continually seen the same coolies and *kapalas* go to China and return and make their homes here?—Some of them do that, but it is not general. Some have their own little bit of land, and come back to it, but it is not general.

3713. The same witness, asked to tell us what he considered the outstanding evils of opium-smoking, said that from actual experience he put the loss of physical efficiency at fifty per cent. What do you say to that?—That is not my experience.

3714. He also spoke of reduction of mental efficiency and even loss of power of concentration?—That is not my experience.

3715. And of general degeneration?—I cannot agree with that. I remember that when the anti-opium movement was first started, Mr. Foo Choon was very keen to stop all opium-smoking. I had worked with him for over eighteen years, and I told him if he did that he would have to shut up his mine. He said he would not have any opium-smoker, and all he did was to put up a notice board, "Opium-smokers need not apply". That was all he put up. After three or four months I did not see the notice board there any more, and asked the old towkay, who said, "They will smoke their opium, and I can't stop it".

3716. Are you still actively engaged with labour?—Yes.

3717. Could you fill your demands for labour if you threw out the opium-smoker?—I doubt it.

3718. Without the smokers is there a sufficiency of labour in the Peninsula?—No, that is absolutely certain. Even the Chinese will tell you that. That is the reason why they want registration. They do not want abolition. If they had this registration they would be able to keep their opium-smokers on.

3719. You are speaking of whom at present?—The owners. They are anxious to have registration, not abolition altogether, which would do away with coolie labour.

3720. *Mr. Jelf.*—If a notice were posted in the shipping offices in Amoy, "No opium-smokers allowed", it would be difficult to obtain labour?—I should think so.

3721. *Sir David Galloway.*—Is there any comparison between the effects of alcohol and opium?—No comparison. In the one you have definite tissue changes, and in the other you have not, except in very grave cases of morphine injection. I have never discovered in a post-mortem examination any tissue changes.

3722. As a member of society which is the more acceptable, the opium-smoker to excess or the man who takes alcohol to excess?—I would rather be in the company of the opium-smoker to excess than with the alcoholic subject. The former is peaceful and quiet. He certainly smokes away his earnings, but so does the drunkard. One gives you no trouble, but the other man is up to all sorts of tricks and very possibly does you harm physically.

3723. Have you ever met highly intellectual men who were smokers?—Yes, two or three. One, a very acute business man, was not a moderate smoker, but more on the inveterate side. He died in Penang some time ago. I knew two or three others in Ipoh. I will not mention any names, but they are intellectual, quite good business men, and very difficult to deal with sometimes, in the way of being too acute, in spite of their opium-smoking. One celebrated his seventieth birthday the other day and had three thousand guests at various places. Though he had had his quantum of opium, and he is not a moderate smoker, he came round that night, and was quite intelligible, very amusing at times. He came round to each table and had his glass of champagne.

3724. Looking back over the men you have known in the Federated Malay States, you must recollect at least half-a-dozen, who though opium-smokers, made their way in life from coolies to millionaires practically?—Yes, and most of them were opium-smokers.

3725. Did you know Mr. T. T. S. in Singapore?—Yes.

3726. You will probably remember him as one of the most intellectual Chinese you ever met, and a member of the Straits Philosophical Society?—Yes.

3727. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—How many employees have you at present?—At present I have about two or three hundred coolies.

3728. All of them Chinese?—Practically ninety per cent.

3729. How many per cent are smoking opium?—I should say about twenty-five per cent.

3730. Do the smokers get any malaria fever?—I have already pointed out that last instance when we had that outbreak, the smokers came out to work when the others were laid up. Then we had another attack of influenza, and these opium-smokers to my surprise were out to work.

3731. Are smokers and non-smokers getting the same pay?—Oh yes. But these are all very moderate smokers.

3732. How much do your coolies get a day?—They vary between eighty cents and a dollar. Of course they are asking for more now as soon as the price of tin has gone up.

3733. So they cannot afford to buy two packets, only one?—I suppose not.

This concluded Dr. EDGAR'S evidence.

Dr. D. C. MACASKILL was called.

3734. *Sir David Galloway.*—Your full name is?—DONALD CAMERON MACASKILL.

3735. And your degrees?—M. D., Edinburgh.

3736. You came out to Government service when?—In 1912.

3737. Your work then was Health Officer I think?—No, I was Medical Officer for about four years, and for two years I was an acting Health Officer.

3738. Since then you have resigned the service and are now in private practice?—Yes.

3739. During your term of Government service you came across all sorts of people?—Yes.

3740. Including Chinese?—Yes.

3741. What class of Chinese specially?—Mining coolies in great part, especially in Kuala Kangsar.

3742. Did you meet with any of the better class Chinese here?—In Kuala Lumpur, yes.

3743. Proprietors and mine owners, and so on?—Yes.

3344. Were there many of them opium-smokers?—Not a great number that I know of.

3745. Some of them were?—Yes, some of them were. Do you mean in Kuala Lumpur?

3746. Among good class Chinese you came across?—So far as my enquiries went, only a few.

3747. As regards the mining coolies, what tribes did they chiefly belong to?—I really can't remember that. I think they were both Hailams and Hokkiens so far as I remember.

3748. Have you any idea how many of those were opium-smokers?—I have not any notes, but so far as my recollection goes I should say in Kuala Kangsar about fifty per cent.

3749. All engaged in tin mining?—Yes. They were mostly admitted for ulcers which they got through working in impure water.

3750. Could you distinguish between a smoker and a non-smoker through looking at him?—No, I think not.

3751. You soon knew when they were in hospital?—Yes.

3752. Did you notice any difference in the power of recovery between the smoker and the non-smoker?—No, I can't say that I did. They were very resistant to treatment altogether, ulcers of that type, but I do not think there was any difference between the smoker and the non-smoker.

3753. Have you seen any of that mental and moral degradation which is described by the literature on the subject as being due to opium-smoking?—No.

3754. Have you seen physical degeneration appear in a smoker?—A certain amount of emaciation, but nothing further than that.

3755. Is there any mental change you have noticed?—Not in a vicious sense. A certain amount of introspection.

3756. Sleepiness, laziness?—Yes.

3757. Any moral degradation?—No.

3758. Have you had any cases of suicide from opium?—None that I recollect.

3759. Have you ever heard of any cases?—No. I should think it would be rather to the contrary from what little experience I have had of mental work.

3759a. No case of insanity from opium?—No. I have not done asylum work out here. I have at home.

3760. You have not heard of any here?—I have not heard of any here at all.

3761. Do you think there is any urgent necessity for the suppression of the opium habit throughout this place?—No.

3762. You do not think it is causing any widespread degeneration among the population?—No.

3763. In spite of that we are asked to consider means of suppressing opium here, and the one which is set up as the most necessary one is the registration of all smokers. From your experience of the position of the population here, do you think that would be an easy task?—I do not.

3764. Do you think it is a possible task?—I think it is an impossible task.

3765. And on what do you base that answer?—On the constant movement of the population.

3766. The next suggestion is the question of rationing, fixing a maximum amount for each smoker. Of course that would naturally follow a tabulation of all smokers. Do you think it would be possible to fix a uniform rate, either a maximum or a minimum, for any smoker?—No, I do not think so. I have not given any consideration to that question, but I think not.

3767. Our evidence goes to show that no two tribes of Chinese consume alike. The Hokkiens consumes about three times as much as the Cantonese, and there is a difference between other tribes. That does not simplify matters, does it?—Certainly not, and it strikes one at once that the amount may be largely a matter of idiosyncracy in any case.

3768. Do you consider that drug taking, opium taking in Europe by the Caucasian, and opium taking in Asia by the Asiatic, can possibly be considered on one level?—Certainly not. It is only an isolated example, but I remember when I was in Baghdad there was an Indian admitted to hospital making the most appalling row. He was admitted for mumps, and he happened to speak a dialect none of the native staff knew. It was about a day and a half before we found out what was really the trouble, and the trouble was that he was an opium-eater. I have never heard in this country anything approaching the noise he made. The most a Chinese says here is that it is a little *susah* that he cannot get his opium.

3769. What was his race?—A northern Indian. He was not a Gurkha, but approaching him.

3770. *Mr. Jelf.*—He was an opium-eater?—Yes, not an opium-smoker.

3771. *Sir David Galloway.*—What is your opinion as to the comparative effects of morphine injection on a European and opium-smoking on a Chinese?—There is no comparison. The former is very much worse of course.

3772. Carrying that a bit further, you have seen the effects of morphine injection on a Chinese?—Yes.

3773. Do you consider that that is more harmful or less so than the smoking of opium by a Chinese?—It is more harmful I think.

3774. One suggestion is that all opium shops shall be taken over by Government. Have you any ideas upon the question. Do you think there would be any benefit if the Government took over the management of the ordinary retail shop?—No, I think not.

3775. Then as regards smoking shops, have you been in any of them?—I have at times.

3776. I believe here they are rather better than elsewhere. You have never been in them in Singapore?—No.

3777. Do you see anything very harmful in the condition of these opium shops?—No.

3778. Would you prefer a man to smoke in an opium shop or in his own private house? From the point of view of setting an example to others, which would be the more harmful to the morale of the people, a man smoking in a shop or in his own house?—I think the more open it is the better.

3779. Have you known a father who was a smoker being succeeded by a son who was a smoker?—Yes, I think so.

3780. Do you think that these opium-smoking shops might better be dealt with by a health department?—It might make a difference.

3781. A great trouble which we meet with here is the swallowing of dross. A good deal of that goes on here I presume?—I can't say, but I have heard of it.

3782. The great trouble is to get hold of that dross, and so far apparently we have failed. Have you any suggestions as to the way it should be got hold of? For instance, one suggestion is that the opium-smoking shopkeeper shall be allowed no profit upon his opium, but should be paid $6.50 for every tahil of dross he delivers back to the Government. Does that appear to you to be practicable?—How is one to know that it is dross.

3783. That it is Government dross?—Yes, how is Government to know?

3784. We are informed by the Government Analyst that it can be known. Then as regards the shops where you can buy and take away, a very reasonable suggestion has come from Mr. CHAN, who says that when a man buys three chees of chandu he should return its equivalent in dross, that is, forty per cent. Does that seem to you to be reasonable?—Yes, I think so, provided the dross is analysed.

3785. That would be carefully looked after?—I think that is quite a good suggestion.

3786. Have you been a supporter of any of these Anti-opium Societies?—No.

3787. Have you noticed any of the work they have done?—No.

3788. Do they have meetings and that sort of thing?—I have not heard much about them. I have seen references to two interviews with the Chief Secretary. Is that what you refer to?

3789. What I want to get at is this. Do you think there is a sufficiently strong moral backbone to form a really good Anti-opium Society which might be a help to the Government in carrying on propaganda?—Not so far as my knowledge and experience goes. I was not aware that it existed to any extent until you asked the question.

3790. It would be of great assistance to Government in trying to work out a scheme of suppression if they could rely on a very strong Anti-Opium Society to do the propaganda work?—Quite so.

3791. Do you think that the use of opium, as it is used here, generally increases pauperism at all?—Not so far as I am aware of.

3792. Do you think it increases disease at all?—No.

3793. Do you think it increases crime at all?—Certainly not.

3794. Have you ever seen any opium-using Malays?—Yes, I have.

3795. Is it your opinion that the effects are more severe upon them than upon Chinese?—Much more.

3796. Then you agree with me that there is a certain selective capacity in all races?—Yes.

3797. That some races can take chandu with less inconvenience, or even with benefit?—Yes.

3798. And you cite the Malay as a typical example of a race demoralised by the use of opium?—Yes, I have cases in my mind.

3799. *Chairman.*—Do you examine at all for insurance?—I do.

3800. Have you any instructions not to pass an opium smoker?—Well, that is a question always asked. I do not know that there are any definite instructions not to pass an opium smoker, but a question is asked as to opium, what the daily habit is and whether they take it to excess.

3801. Have you personally any standard in the matter?—As a matter of fact all the Chinese I have examined in insurance have said that they have not smoked opium in answering the question, but I certainly should not allow it to influence my mind adversely to any extent if a man were an opium smoker, so long as I could pass him first class for insurance, if all his organs were in order. It would be absolutely wrong to keep a man back from insurance because he is an opium smoker.

3802. You do not think it would necessarily shorten life?—Certainly not.

3803. *Sir David Galloway.*—Do you think it might have the other effect and lengthen life?—I might almost go to that extent I think. There is freedom from worry.

3804. *Mr. McLean.*—Are they also asked whether they take alcohol?—Yes.

3805. *Chairman.*—We were told by one medical witness about a form of taking opium here that was quite unknown to me. It was suggested that a very common way amongst the middle class Chinese was to take chandu and mix it with samsu, and drink the resulting mixture?—I have never heard of that at all.

3806. And this particular doctor put this as the most deleterious form of taking opium?—No, I never heard of it. I do not come across Chinese very much unless on estates, but I certainly have never heard of that.

3807. *Mr. McLean.*—You have seen something of the swallowing of opium by Indians?—Yes.

3808. Is that swallowing of raw opium?—Yes.

3809. Would you say that that would be as harmful as the swallowing of prepared opium?—I am afraid I do not know.

3810. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—If a smoker goes into hospital can he easily stop?—That depends upon whether he is an excessive smoker or a smoker in moderation. But my experience of coolies in hospital was that there was not a great deal of trouble in their stopping it. Some of them we had to diet for a period by giving them a little opium, but as a general rule I do not think it was difficult.

3811. How long was it before a coolie would be well again?—About a week.

3812. *Sir David Galloway.*—Do you think the Government should provide wards or beds so that anybody who of his own free-will wanted to be cured could go in?—I do not think it would be a good idea to have a special ward, because I do not think they would go into it.

3813. *Mr. Jelf.*—Are they ashamed of smoking opium?—To a certain extent. I do not know that they are actually ashamed of it, but they do not like being charged with it. I suppose because it is so very much talked about. Possibly it is the psychological effect.

3814. *Mr. McLean.*—A man who takes his stengah does not mind admitting it?—He would mind being put in a special ward for a cure.

This concluded Dr. MACASKILL's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

KUALA LUMPUR.

Seventeenth Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 16TH JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY.	Mr. L. MCLEAN.
Mr. A. S. JELF.	Mr. LIM NEE SOON.
Mr. S. J. CHAN.	Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

Mr. J. W. SIMMONS was called.

3815. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—JAMES WILLIAM SIMMONS.

3816. You are Acting District Officer, Kinta?—Yes.

3817. You joined the Federated Malay States Civil Service in 1900?—Yes.

3818. You have spent some 10 years, or thereabouts, in the service of Johore, I believe?—Yes, 10 years.

3819. And, while you were in Johore, you were once Commissioner of Customs?—Yes.

3820. Did that carry with it the duties of the Government Monopolies?—No, it carried with it the preventive work and smuggling from outside only; the rest was done by the Monopolies Department.

3821. In your days, when you were in charge of the Customs, was the preventive work carried out by a large force in Johore or a small force?—A small force, mainly because all the chief preventive work for Johore was done in Singapore. There was practically no foreign-going boat that ever came to Johore.

3822. But you could have smuggling, I suppose, on the long coast line you have got there if smuggling became really profitable?—Yes.

3823. For instance, it could come in on the East-coast, I suppose, up the creeks, from China?—We practically never had a Chinese boat coming straight there.

3824. *Mr. Jelf.*—Sailing vessels used to come down from China?—I only heard of one or two that came.

3825. *Chairman.*—Your seizures of illicit chandu were few and far between?—Yes, very few.

3826. Mainly, we want your opinion as a District Officer on this proposal which is pressed on us as the only way to settle the opium question, that is, by registering and licensing all opium-smokers? Have you seen any actual schemes for carrying that into effect?—I have seen and read Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme and discussed it with him.

3827. Generally speaking, would you say that that scheme could be made effective in Kinta?—You could do all that he says there fairly simply, I think, but the running of the thing and the checks afterwards would be very difficult.

3828. But take it, if we may, from the effective side; that is the one I would like to get at. You can do the details you say. The result of doing those details, would it be to make this scheme effective—that is to say, to effect its real object?—Not unless you had a vast staff, I think.

3829. Any quality of staff?—Yes, it would have to be very high quality.

3830. Having read that scheme did it strike you that the corruptibility of the lower class people that you might have to employ would be a feature that would militate against its effectiveness?—Yes, very much.

3831. Now, on the general question, from the point of view of your experience in Johore; would you say that you could make that scheme effective in Johore?—I suppose you could make it as effective there as you could in any other place if you have got the right type of people to run it.

3832. As effective as in Kinta?—I do not know very much about the running of the Monopolies Department in Johore. All these departments now are run with European heads.

3833. Would one European be sufficient?—You would have to have a great many more. The same number of Europeans as you have got now could not run this scheme in Kinta. You must have several more.

3834. I should like to draw your attention to one fact. I compared, rightly or wrongly, at the hint you gave me, between a District in the State of Perak and the State of Johore as a whole. Have you looked at Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme solely for the purpose of a district as a self-contained entity, or otherwise?—It is impossible to do that, because his scheme allows a man not only to buy opium in a particular district but to buy it any where in the Federated Malay States.

3835. And therefore you have only looked upon the district of Kinta as being a district in the Federated Malay States?—Yes; I do not know that he even limits it to that.

3836. Don't you think you would have to make his scheme apply to the Colony as well?—And the Unfederated Malay States as well; undoubtedly you would.

3837. Would you agree that there is any considerable movement of population goes on as between districts, as between states in the Federated Malay States, and as between the Federated Malay States and the Colony?—At times there certainly is. I think when you get more or less settled conditions there will be considerably less movement. Take, for instance, my own experience. A new tin deposit was discovered at Mersing, and immediately labour flocked in there, even from the Dutch islands. But when you have got ordinary settled conditions, I suppose there is not any very great amount of movement.

3838. Would you accept the statement that once a Kinta man always a Kinta man, still speaking of the Chinese adult males?—No, I would not.

3839. You think it quite possible that if a Kinta miner went back to China and returned here again it is not essential that he should come back to Kinta?—He might go to Batang Padang, or some where in Selangor, or anywhere where he heard of a mine.

3840. If Kelantan were flourishing and a tin field was found there, he might go there?—Yes, or to Trengganu, which is more likely. If they found a very large deposit of tin in Trengganu they would have to call on these people. They would send people to recruit miners from the Federated Malay States.

3841. Then, from the population point of view, and in regard to this scheme that is under consideration, we might really look upon British Malaya as a whole?—Yes.

3842. And looking upon it as a whole would be better than to attempt to discriminate between the different Administrations?—I think it is absolutely essential to look upon it as a whole for the purposes of this scheme.

3843. In thinking over this scheme, have you had any idea as to the number of people to whom it would have to apply?—No, I find it very

difficult indeed to get any figures as to the proportion of Chinese who smoke opium. As regards this scheme, I have mainly looked upon it from the point of view of Kinta and I got out a few figures for Kinta. But of course the proportion of those who smoke opium is really difficult to say.

3844. You have treated all Chinese alike in your attempts to go into this?—I have taken the number of Chinese males over a certain age in Kinta and then made a guess at the proportion of those which might be opium-smokers.

3845. As it is only a guess, perhaps you would not mind having the guess recorded as a guess?—In Kinta there are 72,000 odd male Chinese over 15 years old. I took the possibility of 20,000 being opium-smokers, but I think that is very high.

3846. Having arrived at that, which you put forward merely as a guess, you were satisfied that in so far as the district of Kinta was concerned you could deal with 20,000 under this scheme?—Oh yes, we could do the details of the scheme.

3847. Well, now, having a figure in your mind—guess or not does not matter—did you think of the size of the staff required to deal with 20,000 under Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme?—I did not make any effort to get actually at the number because I did not quite know in what way he is going to run his scheme. He allows for ordinary "off" licences. In my opinion if the scheme is going to be run, you cannot have any private "off" licences; the whole thing has to be Government.

3848. *Mr. Jelf.*—Where does he allow for "off" licences?—Perhaps I got it from talking to him.

3849. *Chairman.*—What is the difference, from that point of view, between an "off" and an "on"?—My point is between a Government "off" licence and a private "off" licence.

3850. And I want to know what is the difference between "off" and "on" for the purpose of the consideration of this scheme?—One difference is that in the "on" licence you are supposed to smoke all that you get on the premises—you do not necessarily. You will not go and get your week's supply at an "on" licence.

3851. You would only make it a condition precedent to this scheme, if this scheme were decided on, that the retail shops, the "off" licences, were Government shops, all of them?—I think that would be the only way to run it.

3852. Then, would you develop it in any way? What would your next step be?—Even then you may not have very great control over the people. But you cannot have an "off" licencee endeavouring to run this scheme if it is to his advantage to sell more opium. He must only sell a definite amount. At present it is to the advantage of the "off" licensee that the more opium he sells the more profit he gets.

3853. But then he must only sell so much opium to such and such people under this scheme*?—Quite so, but he will always try to sell more. He will get it somehow or other, because there will be a demand for illicit opium.

3854. I am assuming that he does not get the necessary chandu. Don't you think he will choose his own purchasers and sell at his own price to such and such people?—I agree that that will occur.

3855. One of the primary features of this scheme is that it will give you the number of opium-smokers in whatever is the registering district, will it not?—Yes.

3856. Then, these registered people go back to China. What do you do about them? How do you correct the register? They do not come along and tell you they are going; they simply go by the next ship?—That

* Mr. SIMMONS makes the following communication to the Committee:—

"I may have said this: but it is not, of course, the case. The Licensee under the scheme is not limited to 'such and such' clients: he may sell to any registered consumer".

is going to be one very great difficulty. You have got to search through every shop register to see if this particular man with this licence number has been purchasing.

3857. As to the means of identification—because identification is a very important point in this scheme—would you think that photographs, where identification is necessary, would be adequate or would you want something else?—I should have thought that in most cases you would want a thumb print as well.

3858. Then are all your staff, from top to bottom—the staff that you have thought of—finger-print experts?—You would not ordinarily worry about it, but only in cases where you thought there was some particular reason for doing so.

3859. That is to say, that in order to make the inquiries as to how many defects there are in the system you have got to get the public informer?—I should think probably you would have the public informer.

3860. You know that informers, when any of these new offences are invented, spring up like mushrooms. With all the new offences that are invented by this scheme, don't you think the informer will become rather a prominent person?—Very.

3861. Do you think the Chinese themselves would not resent the existence of a further large body of informers?—Undoubtedly the Chinese would strongly object to any increase in the number of informers.

3862. Do you think from your experience in Kinta, and the talk you have heard from Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM and others, that there will be willing registration by the mining coolies generally?—Yes, I should think, as a matter of fact, if he really thinks that the scheme is going to work and that this is the only way to get his opium he certainly will willingly register. He will have to, won't he?

3863. What about the illicit chandu that you spoke of?—I do not think that would start until the difficulties of the system show themselves.

3864. You think the illicit chandu would only become a prominent feature of it when you started to reduce the amount he could get?—Yes, when one of the various things would occur that are outlined in the scheme. For instance, a man has not bought any for a week; then, if you can get hold of him, you chop his book. According to Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM you do not give him any more at all.

3865. Ever?—Yes, ever; that is part of the scheme. Whatever figure he drops to in one particular week has to be the maximum.

3866. Then you will want one man per smoker to run that sort of thing?—No, the next time he comes and brings his book along to any shop to buy, according to the scheme, it will be noticed that he only bought, instead of his weekly allowance of say 5 chees, 2 chees. Very well, the seller will not give him more than 2 chees for that week.

3867. *Mr. Jelf.*—How often do coolies get paid?—In the case of mining coolies, some are on* daily pay and some on the ordinary profit-sharing system.

3868. Do you think that on any given day of the week they will have enough money to buy a week's supply?—No.

3869. I think that knocks the bottom out of the scheme?—There are various things which will knock the bottom out of this scheme.

3870. You and I know very distant mines right up in the *Ulu.* How is a man going to get his week's supply from a place to which it may take him a whole day to get and from which it may take him another day to get back? Is not that another practical difficulty?—It is; I imagine that in certain cases it will be found that such hardship is caused that they will give a man permission to buy a month's supply, if he can afford it.

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* Mr. SIMMONS makes the following communication to the Committee :—

"I did not, of course, mean to suggest that mining coolies ever get paid daily, I do not remember Mr. JELF saying 'How *often*', but only 'how' ".

3871. But he never will be able to afford it?—If he cannot, what does that man do as it is?

3872. These details strike me as quite impracticable?—At present the man you are postulating, the man who lives right up in the *Ulu*, if he cannot buy his week's supply, because he is too far away, and cannot buy a month's supply, because he has not got the money, probably does not smoke.

3873. He gets his daily supplies from quite close by?—If he gets them from quite close by, then there will be a dealer there.

3874. One man goes and buys for a lot of them?—He may but he is not supposed to; I think that is against the regulations.

3875. But there are no regulations?—I do not think you are allowed to do that now.

3876. *Chairman.*—What about the strength of the anti-opium feeling in the district of Kinta; is that active enough to give active support to the Government to carry a measure of this kind through?—I find it very difficult to answer that. I have spoken to many people; some anti-opium and some pro-opium also are very keen, but I have never found any spontaneous feeling against opium sufficient to bring in such a drastic scheme.

3877. My point is that this sort of measure will require a considerable active support from a race which is other than the race to which most civil servants belong, in order to make it thoroughly effective. Do you think that active help is forthcoming?—No, I should not think it would be.

3878. It should be active and continuous; not active for a period; it should be continuous until the whole thing was done?—I should think it would not be forthcoming any more than it has been with rubber.

3879. You say you have spoken to Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM. Did you by any chance discuss a point of that nature with him?—I do not think I did in so many words. I confined myself more to the way he was going to run his scheme.

3880. Would your Kinta impression be that the blessing of the great is with this scheme, but their active help will be found wanting?—Their active help certainly would be found wanting.

3881. And you do agree, speaking as a District Officer and speaking with your knowledge of Kinta, that that active help is a very important thing, in view of the fact that your few incorruptible servants are your Europeans who have very little knowledge of the Chinese?—Exactly; and most of the staff to make this thing a success would have to be Chinese.

3882. *Sir David Galloway.*—You said a little while ago that in the "off" shops there would be a demand for more chandu than he got licitly, and that he might take to selling illicit chandu. What is your idea underlying that?—As against the Government "off" shops? From my point of view, I was differentiating between the Government "off" shops and the present licensees. In the Government "off" shops there is no particular reason for selling more than any quantity; the man gets a salary, he does not get any commission. In the case of the private "off" shops it is to the advantage of the shop-keeper at present to sell as much as possible.

3883. I think the idea was that after registration there might be a demand for more chandu than these shop-keepers could supply?—There might be. No particular shop will be licensed for any particular amount, I take it, under this scheme; because he has got to supply not only the demands of his ordinary customers but the demands of anybody who may come in there to get some chandu.

3884. That would all have to be shown in his book?—Yes, but if he makes so much profit it makes for false entries.

3885. But he would account for all that he had sold in his book and his stock would tally with the amount in his book. It would simply be a question of the two sides of an account. Is there not a very strong temptation for him to sell other chandu even though he is a Government official? For instance, there will always be a certain residuum of non-registered smokers and they have got to get their chandu, and they will naturally look for it somewhere about a chandu shop. The temptation to that man to bring other chandu in so as not to disturb his accounts and sell illicit chandu will be very strong?—It will be, but I imagine that most of the illicit chandu will not be got at the shops but outside.

3886. Then, of course, the idea is to register only opium-smokers?—Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM does not say that, apparently, in his scheme.

3887. It is a very essential point for the success of this scheme that the man registered ought to be an opium-smoker?—Yes, before he gets registered.

3888. Have we any guarantee that the man is a smoker when he applies for registration?—None at all at present.

3889. Can you suggest any test that we could apply to him to make out that he is a smoker?—According to the scheme it does not matter very much.

3890. *Mr. Jelf.*—Then what is the point of the scheme?—For the working of the scheme it does not matter very much. Supposing he is not a smoker but registers for as much as a *tahil* a day. He has got to be a capitalist to buy so much and he has got to know where to dispose of that, because opium does not keep indefinitely. If at any time he buys less than seven *tahils* in a week, he is cut down to that amount. That is what Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM thinks is a safeguard. It is not my scheme; I am only explaining Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme to you.

3891. *Sir David Galloway.*—Don't you think, knowing the Chinaman as you do, that he will be able to sell his *tahil* a day and a lot more?—If everybody can get registered for as much chandu as they want I do not think there will be any difficulty for the first few months. I do not see why there should.

3892. Then you would not ask for any test that the man was actually an opium-smoker?—What I would suggest is that the man should declare on the application form that he was an opium-smoker, for whatever that is worth.

3893. You would not ask him to produce a sworn statement before a Notary Public that he was a smoker?—No, I should not; not for the purposes of this scheme.

3894. *Mr. McLean.*—Would there be any guarantee that the amount entered in a man's licence was the amount actually sold to him?—The man has got to account for all the opium he gets. The seller himself must put in the same amount in his book otherwise he is liable to be confronted with this book and a different entry.

3895. That would mean that the seller must keep a separate account for each person?—I do not think so. He has a daily sales book and he puts down the number of the licence and the amount sold.

3896. He would have to search through the whole of the Day Book to find out whether the sale to a particular man was correct?—Here is a rough sample of the licence book which would be held by the smoker.

3897. I am speaking of the seller. Would not he want a separate account for each person?—I should not think so. If you wanted to check any particular entry you would get hold of the seller's book and compare it with the smoker's book, and *vice versâ*.

3898. The seller, in that case, can put any name he likes in his book?—Exactly; that is another weak point in the system. You could never check one book without getting hold of the other, and that other book may be in Negri Sembilan.

3899. *Mr. Jelf.*—Under section 19 of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme, he proposes that no permits shall be issued to new consumers except immigrant labourers, which could be dealt with by a Board or Committee. An important omission, is it not, from the point of view of reducing the smoking of opium? How are you going to know whether a man is an immigrant labourer or not?—It will be dealt with by a Board or Committee according to this scheme.

3900. Does not that sound to you as very difficult?—Very difficult I should think.

3901. *Chairman.*—Do you think, if you stop opium-smoking here, you will get enough labour in Kinta?—It is very difficult to say, because I have not the faintest notion what proportion of immigrants from China are opium-smokers.

3902. The only figures we have give 14 per cent of the *sinkhehs* as opium-smokers?—I think it would be difficult to start with, but I should think they would be able to get them. So far as I know, the mining coolies are not increasing very much, because the coolie-saving machinery is getting so enormous. Enormous areas are being worked by dredges.

3903. Of course that answer you gave would be affected by the position with regard to opium in China?—Undoubtedly.

3904. If we stop it and they do not—that is the point—and the position in China remains as at present, you might be willing to agree that you would not get sufficient labour as long as there was anywhere else in the world where the opium-smoker could go to?—This scheme depends very much on similar action being taken elsewhere.

3905. Do you think we should lead the way, or should we follow?—I do not know.

3906. Is it better for us to go first with this scheme? In spite of our knowledge of the position in China at present and the possibility of that continuing for some years, is it still wise for us to go ahead?—From the point of view of getting labour, I have already said that we should not get our labour so readily; but if only 14 per cent of *sinkhehs* are opium-smokers (I am surprised that it is so small) it would not make anything like the difference to the labour force that I thought it would. I find in Kinta about half the admissions, 7/15, into gaol are opium-smokers. As most of them have not been in the country very long, I presume that almost as soon as they come into the country they take up the habit.

3907. Because they have the money they pick it up?—Quite so; an increase in their prosperity nearly always means a similar increase in the amount they smoke.

3908. Why don't they take to something else if they get over-flush of money?—I suppose the only thing is they like this and they never get enough of it when they are on ordinary wages. The ordinary coolie can always do with more than he can afford. When they get a little bit more money the first thing they go for is to get a little more opium.

3909. Why don't they go a "bust" on something else?—That I cannot say; partly familiarity I should say.

3910. *Sir David Galloway.*—Don't you think there is another element that increases the number of opium-smokers in the place? As a witness put it yesterday it is cumulative. A man comes here and takes to opium, and he stays here because he cannot afford to get away. In fact, cumulative is the only adjective that covers the position. Don't you think that is an element in raising the number of opium-smokers in the Peninsula?—I should think that would be so.

This concluded Mr. SIMMONS' evidence.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. S. HOSE, C.M.G., was called.

3911. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—EDWARD SHAW HOSE.

3912. You joined the Civil Service in 1891?—Yes.

3913. And you are now British Resident, Negri Sembilan?—Yes.

3914. Lately acting as Chief Secretary, Federated Malay States?—Yes.

3915. You have had service in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and the Colony, I gather?—Yes.

3916. When you were acting as Chief Secretary a deputation of the Anti-opium Society waited on you, I believe?—That is so.

3917. And they brought as their main pillar, a scheme for the registration and licensing of opium-smokers?—That is so.

3918. It is the one that is said to emanate from the brain of Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM, I believe?—I do not know that it was the same. I do not think that they went into details in the petition that was presented as the basis of the interview. I am speaking from memory only but there was a printed petition and they did advocate a simple scheme of registration of consumers with a view to gradual restriction and extermination of the use of the drug. But I do not think they put up the scheme in its details, as far as I remember.

3919. Did they discuss any details of that particular scheme when they came as a deputation?—I do not think so, speaking from memory again. I think they read their petition and I gave them my reply which, as I explained to them, was my personal opinion, on broad lines. We did not go into the details of any scheme.

3920. Have you ever seen any scheme?—I have seen Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme within the last month. I have seen two schemes, in fact, one of 1919 and one by Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM.

3921. May I ask which one you prefer?—If one can say that one prefers one of two things that one dislikes very much, I should say that it was the later one by Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM. which does, at any rate, provide for the admission of immigrant labourers into the scheme—I mean registering them as consumers.

3922. But that part of the scheme, I judge, is rather in the nature of an after-thought, because, in a way, there is a considerable conflict between the beginning of this scheme and the end of it. You have sort of got P. S. 1, P. S. 2, and P. S. 3, and you are getting very far away from the original thing at the start. It is the after-birth of the interview with you?—All my remarks were in the nature of the difficulties and objections that occurred to me. I did not make any constructive suggestions, I am afraid.

3923. Did you take any stand at all, or do you even now, on the question of the acceptance of the principle of licensing and registration, in view of its effect on the liberty of the subject?—I am personally opposed to it on those grounds of principle certainly. I consider that this is a matter in which State legislation and control is almost inevitably going to be futile, and my view is that the way to tackle a vice of this kind is purely and simply by education. But if State control is considered essential, then I would say that control of consumption in the first place is beginning at the wrong end. You have got to control production, and until you effectively control production in a country which is so easily accessible to this country as China, you will never effectively control consumption in this country because it is so perfectly easy to bring it in in an illicit manner.

3924. That is assuming that China is producing opium?—Yes, I think it is an assumption we may make without much danger of being contradicted.

3925. And that she will produce opium until she gets a far more effective Government than she has at the present time?—I am afraid so, if the recent history of the Government of China is to be relied upon.

3926. *Sir David Galloway.*—You are of opinion that our opium position, as regards consumption, is entirely dependent upon production in China?—I do not think I would go so far as to say that, but it is entirely dependent on abundant supplies of opium being available for this country. It seems to me that not only in China but in all opium producing countries your first step is to get that production down to the medicinal requirements of the world.

3927. I am speaking more from the point of view simply of the geographical position?—Yes, I have every reason to believe that, as a matter of fact, the amount of opium produced in China is an enormous factor.

3928. The Chairman said that registration was an interference with the liberty of the subject. They are not our subjects at all, the people most affected?—I should say interference with individuals. I do not wish to go into the political position of individuals who happen to live in this country, but I think that legislation to interfere with the liberty of the individual is undesirable.

3929. The only point I wanted to bring out was that the race chiefly implicated, the immigrant Chinese, are not our subjects?—But I take it that they, while they are living in this country, are amenable to the laws of this country.

3930. That is quite true, but we can scarcely deal with them as we would deal with our own subjects?—I should have said that in the matter of internal laws, we have an inherent right to deal with them; but I am merely going on the undesirability of it whosesoever subjects they are.

3931. *Chairman.*—You spoke of the question of its being considered essential to introduce legislation of this nature or desirable, I forget which. Would you say that this particular relaxation, I will call it, of opium smoking as practised in Malaya has reached such a crying stage as to necessitate introduction of legislation of this form?—My own impression is, from my experience of the last thirty years, that there is not anything like the same crying need for restrictive measures, let us say, from the point of view of the harm that is done, as there was 30 years ago. I should say that the consumption of opium, generally speaking, affects a distinctly smaller proportion of our population to day than it did 30 years ago. I am not speaking from any figures that I have studied; I am only speaking of the impression left upon me and from my memory of what the conditions were when I first came to this country.

3932. When it was far less developed than it is now?—Yes, far less developed than it is now. The population was very much smaller but the proportion of the population that indulged in opium, I should say, was distinctly larger, rather than smaller, 30 years ago. I am thinking more particularly of the change that has come over the Malay part of the population. When I first came to this country opium smoking was not an uncommon vice among the *kampong* Malays; but it is almost unknown now. They simply don't do it. Why, I do not know, but I imagine that one factor may be the dissemination of cheap brands of cigarettes. But the fact remains that the number of Malays who smoke opium now in this country is quite negligible.

3933. *Mr. Jelf.*—You simply don't meet them?—No, it is not done.

3934. *Chairman.*—It has been suggested that the opium pipe is a comfort and a help in malarial districts, of which there were many more 30 years ago than there are now. But development in virgin jungle was commencing in a great measure at that time?—That may be so.

3935. As to the practical side of this scheme apart from its desirability; are you prepared to offer any remarks on whether it could be made effective?—I am afraid I have not gone very closely into it. There have been remarks made by some of the District Officers in Negri Sembilan and I myself have looked through the scheme more than once, but I have made no notes as to the details of it.

3936. Are your District Officers generally in favour of the feasibility of it? Feasibility as opposed to effectiveness I am now referring to?—They are all critical of the scheme in detail but some of them seem to think that with modification it might be workable. If you like I will have these comments of the District Officers summarised—I only got them 3 days ago—and submitted to the committee.

3937. With your permission we will publish* them exactly the same as we are doing with the Perak ones. There is staff involved in a question of carrying out a scheme of this description?—Yes, if I may, I should like to state the measure of control that I should be inclined to assent to in present circumstances. I should not feel inclined to assent to any measure of control which involved restriction of consumption, because I think that that is hopeless in present conditions. But I do not see any objection to the principle of Government retail shops being extended so as to put the whole of the retail trade in Government hands—in the hands of paid managers. You would have to select your managers extremely carefully for their integrity, and, as a further means of getting down to the bed-rock of facts about the consumption of opium in this country, I think it would not be a bad thing to have a man appointed in each shop as an observer. You might call him a clerk, but his business would be to just quietly study the people who come to buy opium and gradually compile facts as to the number and the class of consumers with a view to seeing what our next step might be. You would be able to ascertain then whether consumption was increasing or decreasing and what the individual consumption was and what classes of the people were affected.

3938. You would get a rough and ready number of the opium smokers in that place you mean?—Yes, and the sort of people that they are.

3939. But then we are, of course, faced very considerably with this question of the nominee purchaser, that one man buys for 20 or one man buys for 50?—This is merely preliminary to any further measures that may become feasible later on. Your nominee purchaser, under present conditions, is generally an employer of labour and you could ascertain whether he was a large or a small employer of labour and what sort of labour he was employing; all that would help you to arrive at a clear understanding of the facts with regard to opium consumption in this country.

3940. To employers of labour being nominee purchasers you see no particular objection, although it is, strictly speaking, illegal?—No, I think it would be a very severe hardship on each individual one of those labourers to have to come, say, once a week, or whatever it was, from possibly 20 miles away to get his opium.

3941. You see my point; it is, strictly speaking, illegal and is only winked at at the present moment except in one Unfederated Malay State, Kedah, I believe. There it is specifically provided for, but here for an employer to take in bulk and retail to his coolies would be a breach of the law?—Well it is a breach of the law, I believe, which is made every day of the year.

3942. It is one that may well be winked at?—Yes, certainly.

3943. And in tightening up measures you would see no objection to making it part of the law?—I think it might be possible to devise some arrangement by which a man could get opium for his own labourers.

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*This Summary is printed in Appendix LXI.

3944. The observer, of course, will have to be another of these incorruptibles which we want in the Government shops, I suppose?—Oh yes, they have all got to be incorruptible; that is the trouble.

3945. I would like to ask an old Civil Servant like yourself, do you think there is an inexhaustible supply of incorruptible subordinates here?—I certainly do not. I think we have already got two very fruitful sources of corruption in our gallant attempts to suppress gaming and in the rubber restriction. The Rubber Restriction Enactment is having a most disastrous effect on the subordinate ranks of the service, I consider, and this would be another. If it comes to restricting consumption, that consumption will be supplied in illicit ways and there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that there will be an enormous amount of corruption in connection with it.

3946. And the preventive staff, externally, to keep the illicit opium out, and the internal preventive staff to prevent these internal offences, would mean almost an inexhaustible staff?—It would be almost an army and a very corrupt army at that.

3947. In fact, we of the senior ranks ought to do nothing else, if we admit this scheme *in toto*, but supervise the carrying out of a scheme like that?—As a matter of fact, what would happen, I suppose, would be that you would enormously increase your senior appointments too. You would have to have a very large number of highly paid officials to see that the lower paid ones do their duty properly.

3948. Of course, you understand I was talking of this not as an eyewash suggestion but discussing it as one with the intention of making it absolutely effective, and so were you, I take it?—I am afraid that it would result in practice very largely in nothing but eye-wash, I mean directly you come down to cutting down the supplies, unless your supplies are not easily available in an illicit manner. I am quite sure that if we are going to do this thing honestly and reduce the consumption of opium in the world, we have got to reduce its production first. You will never do it unless you do that.

3949. *Sir David Galloway.*—You spoke a moment ago of a man having to go 20 miles to get his supplies. Does it not appeal to you that that man would possibly change his residence and get nearer a place where he can get his supplies?—If he is a labourer he has got to go where he can get wages, I take it.

3950. But he would give a preference to a place where he could get his opium supplies?—Yes, I think he would, and I think for that reason your places of employment 20 miles away would be very unattractive.

3951. Don't you think that those far-away districts would be denuded of their labour considerably?—Either that or you would have to pay much higher wages.

3952. What do you think would be the effect of restriction of opium supply upon the supply of labour generally?—I really have nothing much more to say on that point than what I said to the deputation—"The problem of immigrant Chinese coming to this country with the opium habit has already been hinted at. This class constitutes a very considerable proportion of our available labour forces and any policy which resulted in materially checking the flow of such labour into Malaya would be nothing short of disastrous". I really have nothing to say, I am afraid, of any value to this Committee beyond exactly what I said to this deputation. I adhere to every word of that.

3953. *Mr. Chan.*—You said a little while ago that in your opinion State control of consumption was futile?—In the present circumstances.

3954. If State control is futile, the high price charged by the State would not be justifiable, would it?—The high price charged by the State is intended as a discouragement. I do not think you can go further than that. It is intended to make a greater luxury of it and I think that it is effective in that respect to a certain extent; although, of course, even so, the high

price alone I admit is an incentive to illicit trade. Already we have great difficulty in keeping down the illicit trade.

3955. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Are the Malays allowed to smoke opium in the Federated Malay States?—I am afraid, speaking from memory, I cannot remember whether there is any legislation against it, but there has certainly never been any prosecution of a Malay for smoking opium

3956. *Mr. Jelf.*—I think they have to get a licence?—Yes, that is what it is; there are individual licences granted to them.

3957. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Why are Malays not allowed to smoke opium without obtaning a licence?—It is contrary to their religion, I believe, for one thing.

3958. You spoke just now about stopping the production before stopping consumption?—Yes, if your stopping of consumption is to be effective. I do not think that you can ever hope that it will be effective so long as there is practically unlimited production of the drug.

3959. If we stop the consumption first, then the production will be of no use?—That is so, but the whole question is whether you can.

3960. How about rubber at present? The consumption in America and the Continent is getting less and, of course, we must stop our production. Supposing there was a great demand, it would increase?—It has not been absolutely successful. However, we are trying to stop production there and we have had a certain measure of success. In this case you are trying to stop consumption.

3961. If the consumption is less the production will get less?—If the consumption is less; but will you make it less: that is the trouble.

3962. If the Government bring in strong measures of restriction?—I am afraid you are too flattering to the capabilities of a Government.

3963. Do you think it is wise for the Government to make a special ward in every hospital for the treatment of opium-smokers who wish to give up the habit?—I think that would largely depend on the number of patients available. I should think that the Government would be prepared to do anything in reason to assist in that direction.

This concluded Mr. HOSE's evidence

The Hon'ble Mr. H. W. THOMSON was called.

3964. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—HENRY WAGSTAFFE THOMSON.

3965. You joined the Federated Malay States Civil Service in 1896?—Yes.

3966. And are now British Resident, Pahang?—Yes.

3967. You have spent a considerable portion of your service in Kelantan?—Yes, nearly ten years of it.

3968. And the rest in which of the States?—4 years in Selangor, then 2 years and a bit in Kuantan in Pahang, then 6 years in Kelantan, then 3 years again in Klang, then 6 years mostly in Perak, then 3 years again in Kelantan and now a year and a bit in Pahang.

3969. Have you seen any scheme that has been proposed for the purpose of registering and licensing opium-smokers?—I have seen the two schemes that were circulated, CHEAH CHEANG LIM's and the Federated Malay States Committee one of 1919.

3970. Speaking generally, which do you think the more feasible, if either was feasible?—I do not think either is feasible, but the one I prefer, if you are going to take a scheme of that sort, is the Federated Malay States Committee one. It seems to me a fairer thing.

3971. As to the feasibility of the preferable one, speaking in regard to the State of Pahang at present, do you think you could make it feasible?—I do not think the District Officers can take it on. I do not think they have the time. I do not mean they could not do it. If they were given the staff I think they could do it.

3972. Carry that one step further. If you agree that it is feasible, do you think that the degree of feasibility would amount to effectiveness?—May I explain. I think you can make this thing feasible as an open scheme; but if you make it as feasible as you can and as effective as you can, unless you are also going to be able to prevent the consequent smuggling that is going to take place, then I say no, it would be useless. I can get my District Officers to work this scheme with clerks and make it exceedingly efficient; but I think then you will want such an enormous staff that the nett result to the country will not be much use. You can take a dry sponge and you can hold it in your hand and keep it dry in the air; but you keep it in a basin of water and you cannot keep it dry any longer. Chandu is so very easy to smuggle in that if you make this scheme too tight you are simply going to induce them to bring it in in other ways.

3973. Would you say that this scheme was a distinct interference with the liberty of the subject?—I think so.

3974. Do you think the opium position in the Federated Malay States is such as to call for this interference with the liberty of the subject?—No, I do not. From my own personal knowledge I cannot honestly say that I know of anybody who has been really ruined by the use of opium. I have seen lots of wrecks whom I am told are heavy opium-smokers, but I have never had enough personal knowledge of those cases to say whether they are physical wrecks because they took opium or whether they took opium and increased the amount of opium because they were physical wrecks, and as a layman it has always been at the back of my mind that that is why many of them increased their dose of opium. As against that, I have known plenty of clerks, interpreters, mining coolies and others who took their opium regularly in reasonable quantities and I cannot see personally that it has done them any more harm than it does a man to have a *stengah* whisky and soda.

3975. We have been told that opium smokers lose 50 per cent of their physical efficiency as a general proposition. Would you accept that as a

general proposition?—I should not accept it. I am a layman, but that is my own idea.

3976. You granted my proposition that this is an extraordinary interference with the liberty of the subject. Would you also grant the proposition that such an interference would require to be followed by an extraordinary measure of effectiveness to justify you commencing it?—Yes.

3977. A scheme of this sort which resulted merely in eye-wash would be criminal to introduce in a place like this?—I think so.

3978. You spoke of potential smuggling in China if you started on restriction of supply measures. Do you think that, under the present position, smuggling could become sufficient to replace every bit that we drew away by restriction?—I do not know, of course, what other countries are going to do, but if you have got a supply of opium—an example comes to my mind very forcibly. If you have got available opium in Siam, you have got a frontier between Siam and Kelantan over 20 miles of a narrow river which they can cross anywhere and the land on the Kelantan side is as flat as a billiard table. There is no difficulty of transport and after all it can be packed in very small packets. They can get it through in a bundle of cane or anything, and I believe you can get an enormous quantity brought in in that way. It depends on what Siam is going to do. On the East Coast you can bring it in very easily..

3979. When you refer to Siam do you mean Siam licit opium or illicit opium *viâ* Siam?—Licit opium.

3980. Licit opium in Siam is fairly costly. I will give you the point that it is practically the same as the Colony and the Federated Malay States price; that smuggling would require to offer a considerable margin of profit to make it attractive at all, and, therefore, you would naturally go first to the cheaper source of supply before you thought of anything like the Siam opium?—That is so.

3981. We are told that the opium from China under Chinese present rate of production is very much cheaper than this $12 a *tahil* and $12 a *tamlung*—which I think is the Siamese word—($12 wholesale and $15 retail). That being so, the more natural source of smuggled opium would be China under those conditions given?—Yes certainly.

3982. Well now, would you say, governing almost the largest coast line of the Federated Malay States, that supplies *via* Pahang from China could easily be brought in?—Yes. You have got these big schooners that come up for timber to Rompin, for instance, quite a fleet of them; they could bring it in. Of course, you would have to take your steps to search them and so on but still they could bring it in. I am sure in practice you would find that they would be able to smuggle in quite a lot. One of my District Officers told me that there is a certain amount of Government chandu being smuggled in the Pekkan district now, but he says it is probably being brought down from Kelantan and Trengganu. Those States probably sell it a little cheaper.

3983. Take China direct and assume a relatively unlimited production there and a restricted supply here. Do you think they could fill in the gap, *viâ* Pahang we will say, from China?—To my mind it depends on your preventive staff, whether you can make it so efficient that you can detect anything that is brought in illicitly.

3984. You could have the direct junks from China going up the creeks on your coast line?—Yes.

3985. A small part of its cargo being extremely valuable would quite justify a call at a creek in Pahang?—Yes, and there is this. These boats sail up that coast. They can drop anchor anywhere they like. They can put in a small boat at any point. In calm weather they can put in a boat and land anywhere they like along that coast. We have got small fishing villages

all along that coast with a *kolch* or two. They have only got to arrange a system of light signals or they might wait until a *koleh* came and took over the stuff.

3986. *Mr. Jelf.*—Practically the whole of the East-coast is sandy?—Yes.

3987. *Mr. McLean.*—How would it be taken on to the interior?—If you once get it ashore I think they would manage to distribute it, wouldn't they?

3988. *Chairman.*—Once landed it would pay to distribute and it would be easy to distribute?—Quite easy to distribute. Once landed on the coast North or South of Kuantan, it would be easy to get it on to the railway at Jerantut by means of mail motor car and once on the railway, it could be taken anywhere.

3989. Under the registration scheme identification is somewhat necessary. Would you be satisfied with identification by photographs or do you think anything else would be required?—You would certainly want the thumb-print.

3990. Does everybody like giving the thumb-print?—Certainly not. It makes them equivalent to a criminal or prostitute or something of that kind. I think it has a distinct stigma.

3991. Do you think there would be a rush voluntarily to register if you started this scheme?—The people who were dependent on opium would have to come and register, but I do not think they would like it. I think they would protest.

3992. Or probably send a man to register in their place?—Yes.

3993. Is the potential corruption arising out of this scheme a big enough feature to have any chance of wrecking it?—My own opinion is that it is, because I think that this scheme of registration will drive a lot of the use of chandu underground, so to speak. I think corruption will be rife; it is exactly the kind of subject which does produce corruption. A kind of traffic would immediately be started based on corruption, and I think it would grow and grow.

3994. Take Pahang, in which distances are very great, some of the mines are far away from villages. How would you work a coolie in a mine at the back of beyond in Pahang in regard to this scheme. He could not come down to a village every time?—The idea of taking a supply weekly is impossible for a far-off estate or mine.

3995. The *individual* taking of a week's supply?—Yes.

3996. In fact, with the consent of the mine-owner, the only way that these coolies at the back of beyond could get their supplies would be for the mine-owner to supply them or to authorise the *kapala* to supply them?—Yes.

3997. You don't think that a mine-owner would be willing to allow a man to come down once a week for his supply if that involved a considerable absence from labour?—I cannot conceive that he would.

3998. And if he wanted to make the period of coming down more infrequent, he, the mine-owner, would have to advance more money to the coolie to buy his supplies?—Quite so; he would have to buy comparatively in bulk.

3999. The mine-owner would not like that?—Exactly.

4000. So that really, for the far up-country coolies this scheme must contemplate somebody buying for them and therefore the individual nature of this scheme dies a natural death?—I think so. I cannot see any other solution.

4001. *Mr. Jelf.*—Speaking from your knowledge of Malaya, do you think restriction or suppression of opium-smoking would have any effect on the labour for Malaya?—Yes, unless the Chinese labourer is satisfied in China that there is such an efficient system of smuggling that he can get all the chandu he wants.

4002. Assuming that there was no smuggling possible and that opium was suppressed, what effect will it have?—I think it will affect the Chinese labour question very severely, indeed.

4003. *Chairman.*—From your long experience of Kelantan, would you say that all you have said in regard to Pahang and this scheme, would apply with equal or greater force to Kelantan?—Certainly with equal force and, at the present time, with greater force because you have less preventive staff. The staff is not big enough to cope with it.

4004. *Mr. Jelf.*—When you first came to this country did you have this impression that I, perhaps, had, too, that practically every Chinese national smoked opium?—I suppose that was at the back of my mind when I was coming out.

4005. Now, what is your impression?—One does not see very much of it really.

4006. And what do you say as to smoking by the Malays, with whom you are specially acquainted, compared with 25 years ago?—Very much less, I think.

4007. Do you consider it almost negligible now?—In Pahang it is practically negligible.

4008. *Mr. McLean.*—What about Kelantan?—In Kelantan very little indeed.

4009. *Chairman.*—Is there more mischief from chandu out here than mischief from alcohol in the West?—I think not; that is my opinion.

4010. You would not place the opium habit as having any direct connection with crimes of violence, would you?—No, none whatever.

4011. It, in fact, keeps the coolie quiet?—Yes.

4012. If you took away opium from these coolies at the back of beyond, it is suggested to us that they ought simply to twiddle their thumbs and go to bed. They would not be likely to do that?—I think they are bound either to take to cocaine or morphine injection or possibly to drink. As a matter of fact, one sees extraordinarily little drinking amongst Chinese. Think of one's experience on the bench; how very few Chinese come up for being drunk and disorderly.

4013. With either of these, the last stage of the Chinese would be worse than the first?—Certainly.

4014. *Mr. Chan.*—You spoke of licensing and smuggling practically in one breadth. That is what Mr. CHAPMAN did, and I want to ask you the same question that I asked him. If in licensing we do not cut down supplies but merely prevent the demand from increasing, why should smuggling increase?—There is one place where undoubtedly I think it will increase. I think there are a lot of people who will decline to register and will depend on illicit supplies. Under the proposal, you have got to apply in person once a week for your chandu and you have got to produce a ticket with your photograph and your thumb-print, I think. There are a lot of people who will resent that up to the point of not doing it and will depend on illicit supplies which will have to be smuggled in.

4015. As you know an opium-smoker must get his supply regularly. Would he not prefer to register and make sure of his supply rather than run the risk of getting it irregularly from an illicit source?—The personal equation comes in there. I think that a lot of them would prefer to rely on the smuggled supply.

4016. *Sir David Galloway.*—Your belief in the capacity or ability of the smugglers is very large?—I am afraid it is. With an article that you can easily sell and where the profits are going to be large I think they are bound to be successful.

4017. You might give us the other components of the argument, a very large sea coast and a supply of cheap opium in close proximity. Has that nothing to do with the smuggling?—Yes.

4018. Then you mentioned another. Assuming that the smuggling is a failure and that men refuse to register or do not register and are dependent upon an inconstant supply like smuggling, what about drugs? Would not they at once fly to injecting drugs such as morphine, etc.?—My own opinion is that they must get something. If they cannot get their chandu they will take to drugs or to drink, whichever suits their fancy.

4019. Then you think that restriction of opium either by registration or by limiting the supplies or anything of that sort is surrounded by so many evils that it would be better to leave it as it is?—That is my opinion.

4020. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Which of the two is more harmful, whisky or opium?—In my own experience I should say that whisky is more harmful to the oriental and that opium would be much more harmful to Western people.

4021. But the Eastern people are taking whisky as well; Western people have not taken to opium. Eastern peoples have got two harmful things. In England they have now revised the law as regards smoking opium and the punishment has been increased from £100 fine and 6 months imprisonment to a fine of £1,000 and 5 years imprisonment. Therefore, it would appear that opium is considered the more harmful?—The effect of opium on the Western is so bad that apparently the home authorities have thought it necessary to increase the penalties.

4022. Supposing you were an employer of labour, which would you prefer to engage, a man who smoked opium, or a man who drank whisky?—Out in the East, the man who smoked opium.

4023. The Chinese coolie does not drink much whisky, which would you prefer, the moderate Chinese drinker of *samsu* or the moderate smoker of opium?—I should prefer the man who smoked a little opium, because, honestly, my own impression is that the bulk of them do not increase their consumption of chandu to the point of doing themselves any material harm. I am always suspicious of an oriental who takes to drink.

4024. *Mr. Jelf.*—Just as you are suspicious of the Western who takes to opium?—I am immensely suspicious of any Western who takes to opium or any drug in the slightest.

This concluded Mr. THOMSON'S evidence.

The Hon'ble Mr. RALPH SCOTT was called.

4025. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—RALPH SCOTT.

4026. You joined the Straits Settlements Civil Service in 1895?—Yes.

4027. You are now Acting British Resident, Selangor, lately acting British Resident, Negri Sembilan?—Yes.

4028. Nearly all your service has been in the Colony, I think?—I had never been in the Federated Malay States until last May.

4029. You have done a good deal of work in the Colony on the bench, I believe?—Very nearly the whole of the last 9 years before I came up here.

4030. In your general experience in the Colony and your relatively short experience here, have you noticed that opium is such a crying evil that it is necessary to take drastic measures in regard to it?—No, I have not.

4031. Would you accept the proposition that every opium smoker is only half as physically efficient as a non-smoker?—That is a medical point of view I could not pass an opinion on.

4032. That is to say that the smoker could only do half a day's work as against a non-smoker if measured?—The actual occasions on which I have come into personal contact with opium-smokers, I think, have been when I was a District Officer. I was in Malacca when there were large tapioca estates there which were worked entirely by Chinese labour, mostly *sinkhehs*. I used to visit the coolie *bangsals* (houses) on the various estates and I know that a certain proportion of them—I do not know what proportion —did smoke opium. I never noticed any particular difference between the coolies I saw. I could not say whether a man was an opium-smoker or not. Then again, I may say when I was a District Officer in the Dindings for over 2 years we had a big timber industry down there. We had timber-cutters and saw-yards on the river banks and we had a large number of *bakau* cutters. A large proportion, I believe, of those men were opium-smokers. I used to visit those *bangsals* at various times and I could not say which were opium-smokers and which were not from looking at them. Work in the saw-yard is particularly heavy and very exhausting. The men who were working as sawyers had to be in very good physical condition to stand up to the work at all.

4033. In regard to your experience on the bench?—On the bench, as far as accused persons go, I cannot call to mind any proportion who were obviously heavy opium smokers.

4034. Do you think the habit leads to crime?—From my experience as a magistrate, I should say not.

4035. Compared with alcohol in the West, would you say that opium leads more to crime than alcohol, or the other way about?—There is no comparison at all.

4036. You have seen two schemes for the licensing and registration of opium smokers. I would like to ask you whether you have formed the opinion that either of them is a feasible scheme?—The last line of paragraph 31 of the Federated Malay States Report reads:—"If other countries, and especially China, do not adopt and carry out effectively similar stringent measures, the introduction of the system here will be disastrous". I am inclined to look upon that as the crux of the whole question of registration.

4037. How do you read that? Disastrous, from what point of view?—That as long as there are large stocks of opium available elsewhere and the consumption of opium is not restricted to persons who are allowed to smoke under licence, my opinion is we will have heavy smuggling.

4038. Do you think the smuggling would be effective?—I think myself it would affect the position. That is to say people here who were not licensed might get supplies of smuggled chandu for smoking.

4039. Would you suggest the country of origin of the smuggled opium?—China, for instance; if the traffic was sufficiently profitable you might get chandu smuggled in from Java.

4040. But Java licit chandu is very high priced?—Yes, I take it that smuggling would go on, if they could get sufficient profit on the actual cost of getting it in, they would get it in.

4041. That is to say, smuggling *per se* into this country is not a very difficult matter?—I should say it is quite possible, unless you have a very strict preventive service. You have a long coast line on which *sampans* and *kolehs* can land at any time. Take the coast line in Selangor—all the Sabak Barnam coast. You have got a lot of little rivers there. You have got practically no population. I say, it could filter in through fishing-boats and *sampans* getting their smuggled stuff, say, from *tongkangs* or *twakos*.

4042. You said a very big preventive staff. Granted the cost of the preventive staff, have you the personnel of the preventive staff?—That is a question which the Commissioner of Trade and Customs could answer better.

4043. Have you the incorruptible personnel in sufficient numbers to create an adequate preventive service?—Judging by what I have heard of other restrictions, I should say, not.

4044. Rubber Restriction, for example, has brought in its train quite an appreciable amount of corruption?—I should say certainly.

4045. Your District Officers, are they generally in favour of introducing this scheme if anything is to be introduced?—The District Officer, Kuala Selangor—that is the coast district writes:—"I am of the opinion that neither scheme is feasible". The District Officer, Ulu Langat, considers the 1919 Federated Malay States Committee's scheme a workable one and, on the whole, better than the system suggested by Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM. The District Officer, Kuala Langat—the other coast district—considers that the 1919 Federated Malay States Committee's scheme is feasible. He refers to paragraph 31, the one I quoted, as being the crux. He suggests that a new department and staff would have to be created. A new District Officer has just taken over in Ulu Selangor, and I have not had any reply from him.

4046. This matter is a matter of the Chinese adult male population, we are told. Would you say from your experience of all these years that there is a considerable movement amongst that population?—Yes.

4047. The movement is rather an important element in a scheme like this?—That is what one of the District Officers comments on.

4048. It is, in fact, the real primary difficulty?—Yes, licensees moving away from one place to another.

4049. That is one, and when they go back to China, that is a double dose of difficulty?—Yes, I should think so

4050. The *laukheh* who comes back again has got to be re-registered. If you are going to allow anything like that you would have to collect his licence from the *laukheh* who is going back to China?—Unless the licence was in such a form as to be practically non-transferable, you might not get the licence back from the man going back to China.

4051. Do your District Officers seem very anxious to introduce this scheme?—I gather they are not; that is to say if it means they have anything to do with the working of the scheme. Most of them have got more than they can do already.

4052. *Sir David Galloway.*—That means a large increase of staff then, in your districts?—I think so.

4053. The men you have there at present are unable to take on any more work?—The District Officers certainly cannot take on more work.

4054. New men and a new staff would have to be introduced?—I think so.

4055. You told us at the beginning that you gave adherence to paragraph 31 of the Federated Malay States Committee's Report. It has been suggested that we should not wait upon any action from China but should precede her in action as regards this opium restriction policy. Do you consider that that is feasible?—No, I do not think it feasible. It has got to start at the other end.

4056. Then you do not think it possible?—I do not think so.

4057. *Chairman.*—Any remarks arising out of your personal experience?—I have been a Superintendent of the Penang Prison for about 3 years off and on. We had a daily average of probably 300 and vagrants in the Vagrants Wards in addition. I seldom noticed persons who showed signs of opium-smoking. In regard to vagrants, of course, it is very difficult to judge what their condition is due to. They come in with various diseases, physically broken down, most of them. I know a few cases myself where I knew that people in prison were opium-smokers and I have asked about them. I have never been informed by the Medical Officer that he has had to treat people for opium craving. Certainly in the Penang prison I do not think there is any percentage of prisoners who come in who could be said to have a craving for opium and have to be treated for it.

This concluded Mr. R. Scott's evidence.

Mr. F. E. TAYLOR was called.

4058. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—FREDERICK EDWARD TAYLOR.

4059. You joined the Federated Malay States Civil Service in 1900?—Yes

4060. You are now Acting District Officer, Klang?—Yes.

4061. You have had experience in the Federated Malay States and in Johore?—Yes.

4062. In any other States?—No.

4063. You, as one of the District Officers in Selangor, have had to go into this licensing and registration scheme question. We should like to have your views in person as to whether it is feasible or not from your point of view?—I should prefer to say possible. Feasible rather means practicable.

4064. When you say possible can you make it effective?—Not entirely.

4065. Not water-tight?—No, certainly not.

4066. Are you going to require a staff to carry it out, or are you going to do it yourself?—That is quite impossible.

4067. Do you think it should be made a Police matter?—I should prefer to see a separate staff.

4068. What about making it a separate matter entirely?—I should prefer that.

4069. If every District Officer says the same, make it a separate matter, we should be landed with requisitions for rather a considerable staff before we are done with it?—That is so.

4070. And to endeavour to make it effective it should be not a corruptible staff?—That is where your greatest difficulty would come in.

4071. We will grant you all the cost of the staff. Can you get an adequate incorruptible staff to carry it out in so far as the District of Klang is concerned?—With unlimited expenditure?

4072. Leaving the matter of expenditure out of the question for the moment, can you do so?—No, it is not available in the District.

4073. As to the details of identification inherent in this scheme, are you satisfied with photographs as being the way to identify persons?—No, photographs with finger-prints.

4074. You would insist on finger-prints?—Yes.

4075. That means anybody dealing with the thing becomes a finger-print expert?—I do not think you would require a high degree of expertness.

4076. You think a rough and ready knowledge would be enough?—I think so.

4077. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you consider that any stigma attaches to finger-prints now?—Only a slight stigma.

4078. Because you use it in the Land Office?—Yes.

4079. *Chairman.*—Did you conceive of this scheme, when you were reading it, as a District scheme, or a State scheme, or a Federated Malay States scheme, or a British Malaya scheme?—When I saw that when a permit holder failed to purchase for seven days the Registrar would cancel the permit, I gathered that would mean at least a District scheme. Possibly more than one Registrar would be required for each District.

4080. There would be considerable movement in and out of a District, when you take that low unit, every day?—Yes. Men from Klang would come up to Kuala Lumpur and spend the day here, and they would want chandu.

4081. In fact, to reduce the movement of the Chinese adult male population from the point of view of this scheme, you must take the unit that only allows for the movement of the population to China and back again?—Then you get into another difficulty.

4082. What is the other difficulty?—Checking the individual's consumption, which, I gather, is intended by this scheme.

4083. Do you understand that it is going to pin down a registered consumer to a purchasing place or not?—That I think is Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme.

4084. Allowing that that is his scheme; do you think it is feasible to do that?—No, I do not.

4085. What I mean is, if you are going to pin him down to the one shop—he can with enormous difficulty either get a transfer or he can stop in his own place and prevent the free movement of population, which is probably not a bad thing—the man would stick by his opium shop?—The man who purchased would take his chandu with him. If he is leaving one district for another, then he would have to get a transfer.

4086. This inter-district transfer is going to make an enormous amount of work?—Oh yes, I realise that.

4087. If you reduce the number of areas from which you can transfer or have to transfer permits, you reduce the work?—You will increase the work on checking the individual's consumption. There is no provision in either of these schemes for comparing the consumption by the individual.

4088. Comparing it with what?—With his allowed amount.

4089. What are you going to do, sit over him all the time he is smoking in order to see how much he takes?—This is not my scheme.

4090. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you mean that, by examining the books of the sellers of opium it will not be possible to find out whether each man has got no more than he is entitled to?—That is it.

4091. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you any suggested scheme of your own?— I would not go so far as that. It seems to me that the utmost that can be attempted is to require all users to be licensed, such licence to carry thumb-print and photograph and to be on the person whenever opium is purchased or consumed. When the licensee is in possession of opium, the licence should be either on the person or with the opium.

4092. *Mr. McLean.*—Do you mean that there would be no limit to the amount a man can buy?—I do not think it is feasible to limit the amount a man can buy. There is no suggestion in either of these schemes as to how the original allowance is to be granted; how you are going to compare the consumption of a mining coolie with that of a shop assistant or a man who has been at it for ten years with the man who has been at it for one year.

4093. *Sir David Galloway.*—Or the man who has not smoked at all?—He is not supposed to get any.

4094. How are you going to keep him out?—Originally you could. The other part of it would depend on whether it is possible to distinguish the newcomer to the country from the resident.

4095. *Chairman.*—Mr. TAN POW TECK, who comes from Klang suggested that in the case of all those getting on to the register the amount should be decided by the recommendation of guilds. Would you agree with that?—I do not think I have enough knowledge of the working of guilds to answer. It does not sound very possible.

4096. Have you discussed it by any chance with this gentleman that I have mentioned?—No.

4097. Do you follow his suggestion? That to get over all the difficulties of knowing who is an opium-smoker and who is not, how much that fellow ought to smoke and how much the other fellow ought to smoke, we would accept the word of Chinese Guilds. Do you agree with that or not?—No.

4098. Would you, as a District Officer, be prepared to sign blind on that?—I should not like to.

4099. Then supposing somebody applies to you to get his licence; if you were in charge of it in your district, how would you ascertain the

amount?—I say that it is not possible to regulate the amount. If you ask me how I should do it if I had to do it, I can only give the man as much as he asks for. I do not see any other way.

4100 Would you accept the man's answer?—I cannot see any way out of it. You can fix a man's ration of rice, bread or meat; but I do not think you can fix a man's ration of opium.

4101. You have no suggestions to make on those lines. Do you agree that you have not got any further than saying that you have to take the man's word?—Yes.

4102. It is as good as anything else you can think of?—Yes.

4103. The man's word is likely to be as good as any empirical formula that you can put up. That is all it amounts to?—Yes.

4104. *Mr. McLean.*—I think you were Superintendent of the Chandu Department in Johore for a year before you came to Klang?—Yes.

4105. Are you in favour of having Government shops there?—Yes.

4106. How long do you think it would take to introduce Government shops in Johore, both retail and smoking shops?—I do not think anything has yet been done in the way of introducing Government smoking shops in the Federated Malay States so that would be quite new and I could not say.

4107. Take the case of retail shops?—Retail shops, I do not see why within a year from the time the scheme was started they should not be introduced.

4108. Whom would you put in charge of these shops, Malays or Chinese?—I do not see why Malays in Johore should not do the work satisfactorily.

4109. Would they at any time have a large amount of money in their possession?—They would, and there would be your risk of peculation.

4110. You think there would not be much loss to Government?—I think the loss to Government would probably be more than covered by the extra profit.

4111. In Kedah they have retail shops in Police Stations. Could that be done in Johore, do you think?—It could be done.

4112. Would you be in favour of it?—On the whole, no.

4113. You don't think that the chandu and money would be very much safer in the Police Station than in any other place?—It has been kept for some time now in the Federated Malay States in ordinary shop houses and I have not heard of any robberies.

4114. Are there, in your opinion, far too many retail shops in Johore?—Yes.

4115. I suppose it would not be possible for you to say now how many there should be at present without going into the matter?—No.

4116. You could not give a very rough figure?—No.

4117. Are there many shops in Johore in very out-of-the-way places, do you know?—There are.

4118. A great many?—Yes. Remnants of the old river rights.

4119. But, I suppose there are many mines and estates in Johore which are many miles away from a chandu shop, are there not?—There are.

4120. Wherever there are woodcutting *kongsis* they are a long way away from any shops?—Yes.

4121. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—In your district is there much smuggling of illicit chandu?—I have no knowledge of any, but I know it was suspected that there was smuggling on a fairly large scale there within the last six months.

4122. From where?—That I cannot say.

This concluded Mr. TAYLOR'S evidence.

Dr. A. T. STANTON, M.D., Tor., M.R.C.P., Lond., M.R.C.S., Eng., D.T.M.H., Cambr. D.P.H., Lond. was called.

4123. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—AMBROSE THOMAS STANTON.

4124. You are Director of Government Laboratories, Federated Malay States, now Acting Principal Medical Officer, Federated Malay States?—Yes.

4125. *Sir David Galloway.*—How many years have you been here?—17 years.

4126. In that time you have acquired a fairly good working acquaintance of the prevalent race here—the Chinese?—Yes.

4127. And of their habits?—That is so.

4128. As regards the opium-smoking habit, have you made any clinical observations on them?—Only in so far as I have come in contact with Chinese in hospitals. My work has been rather on the pathological and laboratory side.

4129. Do you think that the opium habit contributes very largely to the death-rate or to the morbidity rate?—No, I do not.

4130. *Chairman.*—As the Principal Medical Officer, you have been responsible for censuses in the various hospitals in the Federated Malay States. I pointed out to you that the lowest proportion of opium-smokers in any institution was in the Decrepit Asylum at Port Swettenham* and I asked you if you could get a report throwing any light on it from the Medical Officer in Charge. Have you any answer to give me?—I referred the question suggested by the Chairman to the Medical Officer, and the following is his reply:—"In answer to your communication of yesterday, the investigations were made most thoroughly and systematically by the able Senior Dresser (a Chinese himself) at the Decrepit Asylum. He fully expected to get a percentage of 90 or over and was surprised at the result. He faithfully followed out the instruction that each inmate was to be told he would suffer nothing for answering in the affirmative and even went further by suggesting that Government might be cogitating granting them a supply—the answer in many cases was that if opium were put in front of them they wouldn't touch it. Of those that owned to the habit he took down the names, nationality and duration of the habit, etc. We can offer no explanation for the low percentage, at which we were all surprised: the decrepits are mere haphazard collections and there has been no deliberate exclusion of opium-smokers: none are blind. Most of them of course have been for some years in hospital or Vagrant wards but there is no ground for supposing that their memories are unduly impaired. It is perhaps worth mentioning that of the 39 who owned to the habit all of them are workers and the best workers in the factory—it is assumed they are so in order to earn money to procure opium in one form or another".

4131. Then the next lowest in point of view of proportion also came from the Federated Malay States from a ward known as the Tai Wah Ward in Kuala Lumpur, and I asked you to make similar enquiries. Have you any answer to make as to that?—I referred this question to the Medical Officer of the District Hospital at Kuala Lumpur, and he replies as follows:—"Result of enquiries made in Tai Wah Wards,—(1) Two opium pipes found. (2) Fifteen inmates confessed to eating opium. Five inmates confessed to smoking opium. Those who eat opium are either blind or too crippled to be able to prepare a pipe".

4132. Were you not rather surprised when you received my letter?—I was greatly surprised. I should have supposed, considering the common statement that is made that the opium-eater tends to drift into circumstances such as these, Decrepit Asylums, Tai Wah Wards, and the like, that the investigation there would have yielded a higher percentage than the ordinary hospital population.

4133. *Sir David Galloway.*—Were they swallowing chandu or dross?—That I cannot say definitely. I did not make any special enquiries.

* Appendix XX.

4134. Have you made any special experiments or pathological observations on the effects of opium smoking on opium smokers?—In our experience of the *postmortem* appearances and diseases in this country we recognise, that certain findings are associated with certain diseases such as phthisis, dysentery, or the like, but I do not recognise any findings characteristic of death from opium smoking or the opium habit as having contributed to such a result.

4135. Then you do not consider that the use of opium produces any pathological changes?—I, personally, do not. It is known that such changes are described by certain writers, but they are ill-defined and fanciful, in my judgment.

4136. Have you ever had an opium suicide?—I have never done a *postmortem* on an opium suicide.

4137. Have you ever heard of any?—There is none in my mind at the moment.

4138. Taking it all round, although you have given us already fairly specific proof, do you consider that the habit is undermining or deteriorating the population in any way?—Considered from that large point of view, the question of the public health of the country, I should say that the habit of opium smoking is not a serious menace; that it is perhaps rather more serious than tobacco smoking and definitely less serious than the consumption of alcohol.

4139. In spite of all that, there are some people who think that restriction is a vital necessity if we are going to exist and one or two points are put up for our consideration, namely, registration, licensing, the fixation of a uniform limit of supply and quite a lot of other things. Do you consider that the effects of opium—in spite of what you have told us I put the question—do you consider that such things as those are called for?—From the public health point of view, I think not.

4140. Then you hold the opinion that much less drastic measures than those proposed would be quite effective?—That is so.

4141. What action would you suppose would be necessary to carry on a less stringent campaign than this one, having for its end the eventual extinction of the habit?—I would advocate the education of the people in the possible dangers of the habit by various means, such propaganda by means of posters, generally on the lines along which we have proceeded with regard to diseases such as malaria.

4142. In fact an anti-opium campaign might be carried on very much on the same lines as an anti-malaria campaign?—I think so.

4143. Chiefly illustrative work, pamphlets and so on; getting people to know what they are dealing with?—Yes, calling the attention of the people to the possible dangers of the habit by any means that can be devised; among these are advertisements in newspapers, posters, and, as has been suggested to me by Mr. Loke Chow Thye, plays in Chinese theatres. These are admirable methods, I consider.

4144. Those are more on the question of prevention. Is there any possibility of dealing with the evil as it exists?—In that connection, an offer on the part of Government has already been made to treat those opium-smokers who wished to get rid of the habit in Government hospitals under favourable conditions by special methods of treatment. The Anti-Opium Societies had an interview with the Chief Secretary to Government about the 25th November last and the Chief Secretary made certain suggestions to the members amongst them the suggestion that one Chinese member should be appointed to the Public Health Education Committee, that this question of the cure of opium-smokers and those who wished to undergo treatment in hospital should be considered, and that certain investigations should be carried out with regard to cures for opium. These were the suggestions made by Mr. Maxwell and they have been carried out. At a meeting of this committee which was held last Friday and at which Mr. Loke Chow Thye of Selangor and Mr. Cheah Cheang Lim of Perak were present, the question of this Anti-Opium Society campaign was dis-

cussed and certain proposals were agreed to. I hand in two ducuments* which explain all this. One is a cutting from the Malay Mail reporting the interview of the delegation with the Chief Secretary to Government, and the second is a record of the minutes of a meeting of the Committee for Public Health Education held on Friday the 11th January, 1924. If the minutes of this meeting are printed, they will show what the activities of the Public Health Committee are, particularly with reference to opium.

4145. Government having made the offer to treat opium smokers, you would not advocate their treatment in a special hospital?—That point was specially raised and we decided definitely not, for the reason that it may be thought that a stigma attached to the habit.

4146. Just in the same way as a Venereal Diseases Hospital or a Lunatic Asylum?—Yes.

4147. Have you ever made any observations on the content of opium smoke?—That matter was investigated some years ago by my colleagues, Dr. FRASER and Mr. EATON. It has also been investigated by others. The content of opium smoke is, as is well-known, very small in morphine, about 0.1 per cent.

4148. That is about 1/10th of 1 per cent?—Yes.

4149. And you are firmly of opinion that the smoking of opium is less injurious than the swallowing?—Very definitely so.

4150. And that the swallowing of opium is infinitely less deleterious than the using of injectable alkaloids?—Yes.

4151. *Mr. McLean.*—Would you say that the swallowing of raw opium as compared with the swallowing of chandu was also harmful?—Raw opium is an ill-defined term; its content in morphine is very variable. Content for content of morphine, I judge the effect would be the same. As chandu is on the average about twice the content of ordinary medicinal opium in morphine, I judge that the swallowing of chandu of the same quantity would be twice as harmful as the swallowing of raw opium.

4152. Where would you class the swallowing of chandu mixed with brandy, making a rough tincture of opium?—I do not recognize that the combination is specially harmful.

4153. *Mr. Jelf.*—You are aware that the swallowing of opium is permitted in India and apparently acquiesced in by opium conferences?—Yes, I am; in the Punjab in particular.

4154. Would you prefer to go along the present lines that we are adopting rather than introduce drastic remedies such as are suggested?—From the point of view of the public health, I consider that all that is required is what I have outlined in the way of educational measures, facilities for the treatment of such as wish to undergo treatment and the trial of various anti-opium remedies that may be suggested.

4155. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You said just now that opium is not so harmful as alcohol?—I speak of the habit as it exists here in Malaya as compared with the alcohol habit in the West. I consider that alcohol does more harm in the countries of the West than opium smoking does in the countries of the East.

4156. Why has the League of Nations taken such drastic steps to stop opium and not to stop alcohol?—I think that the League of Nations has been over-impressed with the importance of the opium question in the East, because the evils of the opium habit have been over-stated.

4157. Do you think that the next step that the League of Nations will take will be to stop alcohol?—To be consistent, they should certainly. They shoud have tackled the alcohol question before the opium one, I think.

4158. Most of the members of the League of Nations are Western people?—Yes, but the nations of the East are also members.

This concluded Dr. STANTON'S evidence.

The Committee adjourned till 2 P.M.

* Appendix LXVII.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16TH, 1924.

2 P.M.

Dr. K. T. KHONG was called.

4159. *Sir David Galloway.*—What is your full name?—KAM TAK KHONG.

4160. And your degrees?—M.A., M.B., B.C. of Cambridge.

4161. You are a Straits-born Cantonese?—Yes.

4162. You are a Queen's Scholar, I think?—No.

4163. How long have you been back at work here?—Since the end of 1910.

4164. Thirteen years?—Nearly.

4165. And your practice is among all classes of Chinese chiefly?—Yes.

4166. You have a good working knowledge of all the diseases and ailments which the Chinese are subject to in this place?—I hope so.

4167. Do you have among your patients any opium-smokers?—A good few.

4168. And among your friends there are also some?—There are some.

4169. From a study of them do you see any great difference between them and the other people?—A little, I should say. A certain amount.

4170. In the ordinary average smoker or in the excessive smoker?—More so of course in the heavy smoker.

4171. Over all you think there is a difference?—A slight difference.

4172. Do you consider that they are fifty per cent inefficient?—No.

4173. What would you put it at, the loss of efficiency?—About fifteen per cent.

4174. How do you notice that inefficiency shows itself?—It is difficult for them to keep an early appointment. If you fix it at six o'clock in the morning they will probably want it to be made a little later.

4175. Are they untruthful or vicious?—No.

4176. Do they run up against the police and cause trouble?—Not that I know of.

4177. Do you see in any of them any marked mental or moral degradation?—Very few indeed.

4178. As a social question, do you think it is one demanding instant and drastic attention?—No.

4179. It seems to occupy the minds of people, not in Asia, but in Europe, to a very great extent, that some action is necessary to stop it. Are you of that opinion?—I think the present restrictions are quite enough to cope with the situation.

4180. We are told that registration is absolutely necessary that licensing and rationing are all parts of a necessary scheme whereby we have to combat this great evil. You do not consider that necessary?—I think they are both unnecessary and unfair to the smoker.

4181. If you think they are unfair, have you any suggestions to make as to how opium-smoking, assuming it to be simply a vicious habit and not a vice, as I think you do assume it to be, should be dealt with?—Education is the principal thing I should think.

4182. And on what lines would you like that education to run?—Propaganda in the way of cinema films, pamphlets, lectures.

4183. How much do you think would be an average amount to smoke?—To satisfy the moderate smoker?

4184. Among your friends what is the average smoke?—About two packets a day, eight pipes, six hoons.

4185. Haven't you any friends, well-to-do people, who smoke two or three times a day?—Yes.

4186. Any the worse for it?—No, he keeps in fairly good health.

4187. You do examinations for insurance?—Yes.

4188. There is a particular office, which I shall not name, which gives you two chees a day. Have you ever known them to refuse people smoking double that amount?—No.

4189. Then it is evident they do not think opium has much effect in shortening life. Do you think it shortens life?—Indirectly a little, perhaps.

4190. Have you any idea of the percentage of smokers among the general population of all classes?—Including females and children?

4191. Among adult males say?—Not more than fifteen per cent.

4192. Is there any particular class of the population that uses it more than any other?—The cooly immigrants from China.

4193. Do you think it is very prevalent among these men as they come from China?—Very prevalent.

4194. You think it is more than fifteen per cent?—Much more.

4195. Among the *sinkhehs*, how much?—Forty per cent.

4196. On what do you base your estimate?—On the prisoners at Batu Gajah Gaol. About forty per cent of them are smokers.

4197. But have they not learned here?—They might have.

4198. It is rather an important question. Do you think that as many learn here as bring the habit with them from China?—No, I do not think so.

4199. You think most of them bring the habit with them?—Yes.

4200. And if they have not brought the habit they have brought the familiarity?—That is so.

4201. And when they have money to spare they take to spending it on opium instead of in other ways?—Yes.

4202. In fact you think it has been the national type of relaxation in China?—Yes.

4203. They are familiar with it as a means of enjoyment?—Yes.

4204. And when they get the money they use it?—Yes.

4205. Of these three things which is the most deadly, smoking opium, swallowing chandu or dross, or the injection of opium alkaloids?—The injection of morphia alkaloids.

4206. There are very few injectors now?—Very few indeed.

4207. Did you know that at one time it was very prevalent?—Yes.

4208. You know quite a number of men who swallow dross?—Yes.

4209. In fact it is a very common habit?—Yes.

4210. What do you ascribe that to?—The high price of chandu.

4211. When you spoke of the two-packet man just now you meant the man who bought two packets and smoked them and then swallowed all the dross?—I should say yes.

4212. Have you ever known of any cases of suicide by swallowing opium, as a means of suicide that is?—Yes.

4213. Frequently?—I have had about six cases during twelve years.

4214. Taking it all round, not as a doctor but as an observant man, if opium were drastically stopped here what effect would it have upon the general situation as regards labour. You say most of the coolies are smokers. If opium were difficult to get, I do not say stopped, but difficult

to get, or could only be got under certain restrictions, do you think it would have any effect upon labour?—Not very much.

4215. You think we would still be able to get plenty of coolies from China?—I think so.

4216. *Mr. Chan.*—We were told that it was necessary for coolies in this country to smoke to prevent themselves from becoming ill. Is there any truth in that?—I do not think so.

4217. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you had much to do with malarial camps, camps of coolies exposed to malaria?—No, not very much.

4218. Have you ever heard anybody praising opium as a means of stopping malaria, or the effects of malaria?—I have heard it from the smokers themselves.

4219. What do they say?—They say that they do not get the attacks as often if they get enough opium to smoke.

4220. And when they do get an attack?—Is when they do not get enough to smoke.

4221. When they do get an attack is it as bad as it would be with a non-smoker?—Yes, I think so.

4222. Is there any other disease you have heard opium spoken of as being beneficial in?—Diabetes, chronic dry cough, phthisis.

4223. The latter especially if there is blood?—Yes.

4224. Have you seen any practical effects of it?—Yes.

4225. In both diabetes and phthisis?—Yes.

4226. And it is good?—It seems so.

4227. In those people you would never dream of stopping the habit?—No.

4228. Comparing opium and alcohol among the Chinese, which do you think is the worst. Is the effect of opium upon the Chinese worse than the effect of alcohol?—I do not think so.

4229. Would you go a bit further and say that alcohol is worse than opium?—I think that in time to come alcohol will be worse than opium has been.

4230. Why do you believe that, because it induces permanent changes?—Yes.

4231. Then you think we should do all we can to avoid any chance of the alcohol habit being acquired?—Yes.

4232. If opium is stopped do you think there is much chance of the Chinese taking to drinking alcohol?—Amongst the poorer classes there is a belief that they cannot cure the opium habit without the use of alcohol

4233. Then you would look upon that as a very distinct danger in the suppressing of the use of opium, the danger of alcohol?—Yes. I take it we would suppress in the way suggested by the Anti-opium Society.

4234. The use of alcohol might become quite a dangerous thing if opium were not to be had?—Yes.

4235. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You say that alcohol is more dangerous than opium. Did you ever see a drunken Chinese?—Yes.

4236. How often?—As often as I have seen a Chinese having an overdose of opium.

4237. In your place?—Yes.

4238. Supposing two men came for employment, one a man who drinks liquor and one a man who smokes opium, which would you prefer?—You mean smoking and drinking in moderation?

4239. Yes?—I do not think there is much difference between the two if both do it in moderation.

4240. What do you call moderation, one stengah?—Two stengahs after dinner and one after tiffin, say.

4241. Did you ever see a Chinese cooly taking a stengah?—I have very often seen a Chinese 'rikisha cooly leave his 'rikisha and go in for a drink of *samsu*.

4242. Which would you prefer?—As I said before, if they both smoke and drink in moderation it would not make any difference. If they were both excessive I would prefer the smoker.

4243. And as between the non-smoker and the smoker?—I would prefer the non-smoker.

4244. Do you know why the League of Nations is going to suppress opium?—I am certainly in favour of seeing it eradicated from the Chinese race, but I think the present restrictions are quite adequate to deal with the situation, that the opium habit is dropping out gradually and that with the passing of this generation the habit will drop out altogether.

4245. How?—Statistics show that the consumption is getting less and less.

4246. Owing to the increasing of the price?—The increasing of the price, the stopping of opium smoking in Chinese brothels, the stopping of opium smoking in Chinese clubs.

4247. If you increase the price the coolie will take to dross?—When they smoke in moderation they can easily give it up, as proved by the prisoners in the gaol.

4248. If there was no opium to buy do you think the Chinese would stop?—Yes, by proper education.

4249. How many years would it take?—It might take ten, it might take half a generation.

4250. *Sir David Galloway.*—You are aware that opium is being produced in very large quantities in China?— So I was told.

4251. Do you think that that fact makes matters any more difficult for us?—I think so. It would make smuggling a very profitable business.

4252. But in spite of all that we are told that we should take the lead in suppression; not wait upon China but take the lead in suppressing opium within our territories, with China lying alongside and offering unlimited quantities of chandu. Do you think there is much chance of success in any measure we may take?—I think not.

4253. You think in fact that the reasonable way would be to enter into a compact with China to take certain measures simultaneously, which should be agreed upon, and that we should go as it were hand in hand in the question of suppressing the use of opium?—Yes, I think there ought to be some combination.

4254. Have you any idea how many of the Chinese population here are Chinese subjects, not British?—I have no idea.

4255. *Chairman.*—Have you anything in addition to what has been asked that you would like to tell this Committee?—I think it is unfair to bring any stress upon the present smokers. I consider that there are other offences which are worse than opium smoking that are being countenanced by Government.

4256. For example?—For example, alcohol drinking, prostitution.

4257. *Sir David Galloway.*—What do you mean by prostitution being countenanced by the Government?—The man who wishes to visit a brothel need not get a licence.

4258. Then because the Government do not do anything as regards prostitution you say it countenances it?—The opium smoker would have to get a licence.

This concluded Dr. KHONG'S evidence.

Mr. FOO BAN SENG was called

4259. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—FOO BAN SENG.

4260. What is your age?—44.

4261. What tribe do you belong to?—Kheh.

4262. Are you China-born or Straits-born?—I was born in Rangoon.

4263. What is your occupation?—I am a miner and planter.

4264. Where?—In Perak.

4265. Are you an employer of a considerable number of Chinese labourers?—Yes.

4266. How many?—About four hundred miners.

4267. Are they of one tribe?—No, a mixture of tribes.

4268. Which is the predominant tribe?—Hokkiens.

4269. Have you got any opium smokers amongst them?—Yes.

4270. Have you any idea of the percentage?—I have two kinds of coolies. The first one is the *kung-sz-kung*, comprising about forty per cent of opium smokers. The other one is the *nai cheang*, with about eighty per cent. Also I am advancing firewood contractors on account of the scarcity of firewood owing to the number of new mines being opened up following the high price of tin. Amongst the wood cutters about eighty per cent are opium smokers.

4271. Is there any difference between the proportion of Hokkiens who smoke and the proportion of Khehs who smoke?—No difference.

4272. What are your views on this opium question? Ought opium to be suppressed?—In consideration of the scores of new mines being opened up the mining labourers are imperatively necessary. I have just opened up a mine at Kampar, and the *padang* is under erection. I tried to get a hundred and twenty coolies, and I posted a notice in Chinese just at the back of Kampar town, yet I could get only eighty coolies. If there is any control by restrictions or by any other methods I am afraid the coolies might leave this country. The reason why I say that is that in Siam, as you are all fully aware, the mining industry is going up by leaps and bounds, and I think that they in Siam are in want of mining labour. The mining labourers from here, although they are opium smokers, would be welcomed by the miners in Siam. Another thing to consider is this. It is only a short distance from this country to the Siam boundary, especially as compared with olden times. Now you can go by train to Perak, Kedah or Siam. Therefore if the Government is really going to put control on the opium I am afraid the labour shortage will be felt.

4273. Unless places like Siam also control it in a similar manner?—Yes, and especially in Siam. I am told there is no control there over opium. That would be the persuasion for them to go over there.

4274. We were told on the other hand that there is a far greater measure of control in Siam than there is here?—That I could not say. I have been to Siam, but the present conditions there I do not know.

4275. Have you been to China?—No. But I know something about China.

4276. Do you know it from conversation or from reading the newspapers?—From conversation. From my relations who come from China. My place in China is in the Hokkien province, and from what I could gather regarding the opium in that province, the people there are compulsorily cultivating opium at the rate of two hundred trees per family.

4277. What do you mean by compulsorily cultivating?—The officers there force them to plant at that rate, in default of which a fine of twenty-five dollars is imposed upon them.

4278. Do you think that that is happening in any other province?—It is only hearsay, but I was told it was so in Yunnnan and Kwangsi. I could not say how far that is true.

4279. Do you think the position in China affects the question down here at all or not?—I think it does.

4280. If there is unlimited compulsory production of opium in China do you think that we ought to go slow with our measures or ought we to go ahead as hard as we can?—Go slow. If you take drastic measures for the abolition of opium in this country I am afraid there will be smuggling in from China.

4281. Amongst the coolies you have employed have you ever found it necessary to get rid of a coolie because he smoked opium?—The wood cutter's life is generally spent in the jungle, which is full of sickness, and as far as I could know the opium smoker resists such sickness. That was my personal experience. Some ten years ago I got a prospecting licence for about three hundred acres about fourteen miles from Tronoh. After I got the prospecting licence I set out with two gangs of prospecting coolies composed of ten men each. Out of the twenty I found that twelve were opium smokers and eight non-smokers. They were fourteen miles from the nearest town and in thick jungle. After two months I found that six of my coolies fell sick. Out of the six four were non-smokers and two were smokers. I could not say whether it was due to the smoking of opium or not.

4282. But they think it is?—Yes.

4283. Supposing the Government decided to register and licence all opium smokers, do you think the coolies would willingly come in and register?—I do not think so. The trouble will be that once they have registered you will have to fix a minimum quantity, either daily, weekly or monthly. If it is fixed as the minimum quantity per day, and they have to buy daily, it will cause hardship and great inconvenience, as they could not work in the mines the proper time. Supposing it is six miles from the nearest village or town. The working day is eight hours. If they have to walk from the *kongsi* to the nearest town, six miles, it will take them about four hours for the return journey, which with half an hour in town means four and a half hours out of eight hours, leaving three and a half hours, which is less than half a day's work.

4284. Supposing you did not fix any quantity that they should buy, merely that they had to be registered to be the possessors of opium, would that create any difficulty? That would mean walking in once a year to get registered only?—Another trouble would come. They might have lost their licence, or their licence might be stolen. That would cause great trouble in coming over to the place where they were registered, and it might take days to get it.

4285. The loss or theft of licence would not be an every-day occurrence?—It is only an example I am giving.

4286. You have never smoked opium?—Never in my life. Neither am I directly or indirectly interested in the opium business.

4287. But you have not got a down against the opium-smokers, not very hot against them?—No.

4288. You do not want it suppressed?—I wish to give them the time.

4289. What sort of time are you thinking of?—To get rid of it, make it twenty years.

4290. How do you fix that?—In twenty years, the reduction of the importation of opium at the rate of five per cent, each year, and an increase of the price at the rate of five per cent per year.

We have had something like that given to us as coming from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Ipoh, and the suggestion is to put the price up five per cent per year until nobody will want to buy opium at all?—But you must as well look to the importation, inform the public that at the end of twenty years there will be no opium. There will be two advantages. One is the decrease of the importation, and the other is the raising of the price.

4292. But do you think that further raising of the price of opium will have any effect in reducing consumption at all?—I think so.

4293. You do not think they will all take to selling their goods in order to have money to buy opium?—I do not think so. The effect on the pocket of the opium smoker will be little. In the case of an opium smoker who smokes one packet a day at the present price of forty cents, an additional five per cent, or two cents a packet, or sixty cents a month, will not affect him. The ordinary coolie can afford it.

4294. Provided you raise his wages?—Raising the wages or not it will not affect him.

4295. *Mr. McLean.*—You would also reduce the size of the packet?—No, the same packet.

4296. This proposal for an increase of the price and restriction of supply, is that the proposal of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Ipoh or not?—I do not know. It is my own individual opinion.

4297. You really pin your faith to this combination of raising of the price and a reduction of the amount supplied?—Yes.

4298. You think that that will kill the opium habit?—I think so. If they are informed that within twenty years there will be no opium in this country, and that in the meantime the price of the opium will yearly be raised.

4299. *Sir David Galloway.*—You propose raising the price of opium two cents a year?—Five per cent on the present price.

4300. And you would go on increasing five per cent each year?—Up to one hundred per cent, and at the same time reduce the importation by Government of opium at the same rate, five per cent.

4301. Do you think that those two would work into each other, that by increasing the price five per cent annually it would lead to five per cent less demand annually?—I think it will work automatically.

4302. *Chairman.*—Why worry about the price and the amount as well?—That is to discourage them from increasing their smoking.

4303. *Mr. Chan.*—Is it your idea that the smoker will keep on spending only forty cents and buy less opium?—That comes to the same thing.

4304. You could get the same result by increasing the strength of the opium or the size of the packet?—I mean to say the same weight of opium in the packet, only to give less to the opium dealers.

4305. Would not the rich man go and buy up the whole lot and leave nothing for the poor man?—Yes, but at the end of twenty years the opium will be no use in this country.

4306. *Sir David Galloway.*—Supposing at the end of one year, because that will be the test, you reduce the amount you give to the opium shop keeper by five per cent and increase the price by five per cent, to forty-two cents, don't you think there would be some trouble then?—In view of the yearly increment of price the smoker will naturally reduce his smoking.

4307. But you are aiming at reducing the number of smokers. For instance, on December 31st there are one hundred smokers, but on January 1st the price goes up by two cents, and the amount they are allowed to take

falls by five per cent, so that the dealer is only able to supply ninety-five men. Is there not going to be trouble. He is reducing the number of smokers all at once.

4308. *Mr. Chan.*—Your hope is that each man will reduce his consumption by five per cent?—Yes.

4309. *Sir David Galloway.*—Instead of from January 1st, allowing a dealer to have only ninety-five packets each containing three huns, wouldn't it be better to allow him his one hundred packets each containing a little less than three huns?—Yes, that is a good idea too.

4310. Supply his usual men, but with a smaller amount of chandu, that is what you want, isnt it?—Yes.

4311. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You said just now that of your wood-cutters eighty per cent were opium smokers?—That is my individual instance.

4312. If they do not smoke they always get malaria fever, is that so?—Not exactly.

4313. Are there any Malay wood-cutters?—Very few.

4314. Bakau-cutters?—I could not say how many.

4315. Do the Malay cutters smoke opium?—I could not say, I am sure.

4316. So you think the Malay wood-cutters do not smoke opium?—I have no idea.

4317. Do you know that in your province, the Hokkien province, there are two Governments, the Northern part being under the Pekin Government and the Southern part under the Southern Government, and that your own district is under the Southern Government. Is there any opium planted in the Northern part?—I could not tell you exactly about that. I have it only from my relations in China.

4318. Only in your own district you say they are compelled to plant opium?—Yes.

4319. By whose orders, by the Government's orders?—I do not know exactly, but from what I was told by the orders of the General.

4320. Of the Southern Government?—Yes.

This concluded Mr. Foo Ban Seng's evidence.

Mr. SHUM CHOOK SAM was called.

4321. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—SHUM CHOOK SAM.

4322. Are you a Cantonese?—Yes.

4323. What is your age?—Fifty-one.

4224. Are you China-born?—Yes.

4325. What is your occupation?—Miner and Rubber Planter.

4326. Where?—In Kinta, Perak.

4327. How many coolies have you got under you?—Over four hundred at present.

4328. Are they of one tribe?—No, of various tribes.

4329. Who are the most?—Hakkas and Kwongsai.

4330. Any Hokkiens among them?—A few.

4331. How many per cent are smokers?—Under ten per cent.

4332. About forty smokers in the four hundred?—Yes.

4333. You do not smoke opium?—No.

4334. What are your views on the opium habit. Is it a habit that is so ruinous to the country that we must stop it right away?—Yes.

4335. How do you suggest we should suppress it?—Every one in this country knows that opium-smoking is an evil and bad habit, but with regard to the present smokers we must devise means to enable them to give up that habit.

4336. How do you know there is a "yan" if you are not an opium-smoker?—I have been in this part of the world for thirty-five years and I know the evils of the habit.

4337. How do you know there is a "yan" in a habit you have never even tried?—It is impossible for an opium-smoker to work or do anything. That means a craving.

4338. Does this "yan" increase at all or not?—When a smoker can afford it then he is apt to increase.

4339. You go on increasing your dose if you have the money?—Yes.

4340. So that the one packet a day man who does not grow rich can stick to one packet a day, and all that happens is that he says, "Don't take my one packet a day away". Is that right?—The smoker who is in the habit of smoking one packet a day can pull on with a little less than three hoons.

4341. Then there is no craving at all?—I give you two instances, one is a drinker and one a rice eater. The drinker who is in the habit of drinking one tahil of brandy can do with a less quantity. A rice consumer is just the same.

4342. *Sir David Galloway.*—Aren't you in a great fear that the man may get into the habit of eating rice?—The opium smoker can consume less opium.

4343. *Chairman.*—How do you propose to get rid of the habit, make him reduce?—If an opium-smoker smokes one chee a day he can have the quantity reduced greatly.

4344. The man who smokes one hoon a day, can he have his reduced too?—Yes.

4345. Then there is no "yan" in it?—I have seen the opium-smokers share their packets of opium between two or three smokers.

4346. Now you want to divide it between four or five and say they will still be satisfied?—I cannot say, but I have seen three persons sharing one packet.

4347. Is it necessary that every opium smoker shall increase his dose provided that there is an unlimited supply?—If he can afford it or has the money he can increase his dose.

4348. Then the habit has not got a very serious hold if it merely depends upon the money?—There are several kinds of smokers. Those who have money and can afford to smoke opium or increase the dose differ from those who can't afford to do so. Smokers consume their opium in two ways. The one way is to smoke the opium in pipes with a lamp and the others simply swallow the chandu.

4349. The raw chandu?—If he can't get the raw chandu he has to swallow the dross.

4350. Which is the worst?—The last one, the swallowing of the dross.

4351. Also don't they cook up the opium dross and smoke that with the lamp?—Yes, they do. They adulterate it with tea.

4352. If we could reduce the amount of dross available to swallow, would that be a good thing?—If he can't afford to buy a certain quantity of chandu dross to smoke then he is bound to have a smaller quantity.

4353. Supposing the Government buy the dross so that it is not available for this kind of sale?—The opium smoking shops could sell what they have collected from the consumers to the Government, but other consumers who get their chandu from the retail shops consume it elsewhere and keep their own dross.

4354. Supposing we offered them a very good price for it, wouldn't they rather give it back to us than put it down their throats?—The Government would not buy it from them in small quantities.

4355. Are you in favour of the licensing and registration of opium smokers?—I am in favour of registration, but there is one difficulty. The registration must be carried on perfectly, otherwise the smokers will be hindered.

4356. Do you think that if we called upon every opium smoker to register, all the opium smoking mining coolies would come into some central place and register their names as opium smokers?—Registration is the best method, then non-smokers will never become smokers. Opium-smokers who are licensed can get their chandu with their licence on its production. But there would be difficulties with miners or those who live in the country and in the vegetable gardens. Their residences are far away from the opium shops, so that if they are required to come there and get opium daily they will have some difficulties.

4357. What would you do?—I think it would be a good thing for the Government to allow the mining advancers and estate owners to keep a stock of chandu to meet the requirements of their coolies, who could get their supplies according to their licence.

4358. Would you undertake that the mining advancers would never make any profit on that?—The Government should take measures to supervise it.

4359. The Government can't prevent a Chinese from making a profit if he really wants to do so?—Yes, but if this system is not adopted then the coolies will have to travel a long way and their work will be affected.

4360. Are you a member of the Anti-opium Society of Perak?—Yes.

4361. A committee member?—An ordinary member.

4362. How long have you been a member?—From the beginning of the Society.

4363. Right from the very beginning?—Yes.

4364. What were you when it started? Were you a mining advancer then?—I was engaged in mining.

4365. Did you join with the other towkays who wished to put up notices and prevent the engagement of opium-smokers?—I was then attorney for CHOK THYE LEE, and in my time I did not engage any opium-smokers.

4366. Did you get enough labour?—Yes, I had enough labour.

4367. Supposing you said you would not engage an opium smoker now, do you think you could get enough?—I can reply in two ways. One is that if I carried on mining operations myself I would not care to engage opium smokers, as I am not an opium smoker. There are a few of my coolies who smoke. There are several kinds of mining coolies. There are three of them. One is the co-operative system coolies. The second one is the *nai cheang*. The third is the *kung-sz-kung* coolies. In the first two cases the number of opium smokers is greater than in the third one.

4368. How do you account for that?—The opium smoking coolies prefer to do night work. They are late risers, and so prefer to do night work. The truck coolies also smoke opium.

4369. *Sir David Galloway.*—Would you mind telling us why you think the opium habit should be put down?—It affects one's health to smoke opium.

4370. Do you find that among your coolies?—Yes.

4371. Do you find that the opium smoking coolie is only worth fifty per cent of the non-smoking coolie?—The robust coolie who can do good work, I would give him better wages. The non-opium smoker can do more than twenty-four days. The opium smokers are certainly not so strong as the non-opium smokers.

4372. Not more than half as strong?—Taking them on an average, I presume that the non-smoker can do a hundred per cent and the others seventy-five per cent.

4373. *Chairman.*—In the old days they used to give rewards for days of work in a month. If an opium smoker did twenty-seven days in a month he used to earn the right to have so much chandu every day of the next?—Twenty-four days, not twenty-seven.

4374. If they did not do twenty-four they got none?—If they did not do twenty-four then they would be given according to the number of days they worked.

4375. The old mining advancers were keen on making money, before the anti-opium movement, and they did not think opium a very bad thing?—Are you talking about events taking place some twenty years ago?

4376. Anything from fifty to seventeen years ago?—Yes.

4377. You agree that they did not think it was a very bad thing then?—In the old days the coolies got three tahils of chandu to smoke, and when they had consumed half the quantity then they had some dross. They sold this dross and then had some money to buy extras such as cooling drinks and other things.

4378. To sum it up, you want to tell me that the mining advancer made more money out of the stuff he sold to the coolies than he did out of the mine?—No.

This concluded Mr. SHUM CHOOK SAM'S evidence.

Mr. TAN BOON CHENG was called.

4379. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TAN BOON CHEANG.

4380. You are a member of the Chinese Advisory Board?—Yes.

4381. Are you a member of the Anti-opium Society?—Mr. CHOW THYE wrote asking me to join this Society.

4382. And you have not yet joined?—He sent for me, but I did not go. I was busy.

4383. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—You are not a member?—I am a member but I do not attend.

4384. *Chairman.*—Are you an opium smoker?—I was an opium smoker.

4385. You have reformed?—Yes.

4386. Do you think opium ought to be suppressed?—It is very good to suppress it, but when the steps are taken good principles must be adopted. There are three things to be discussed. The first is as to whether Government is to sell chandu by retail. The second is as to whether there should be limitation of opium. The third is as to the registration of opium-smokers.

4387. Are you in favour of all three?—I object to it, because as a miner it will be very hard to get labourers.

4388. It would be very hard to get them to register?—It is very difficult to get them to register because opium is sold by the Government and there is a fixed time for selling chandu.

4389. You mean the distance they have got to come after the day's work is over if they have to buy every day?—Yes, owing to the distance the coolies have to go to attend. They will not be in time to buy opium.

4390. Then they would go without and that would cure them of the opium habit?—But they cannot stop the habit all at once.

4391. You do not suggest they would only do half a day's work to get their opium?—If they do half a days work they cannot go to buy their opium.

4392. Why?—If they are sick they cannot get their friends to buy opium, and the sickness will be very serious.

4393. If the Anti-opium Society here supports licensing and registration, and you are a member of it, you cannot support it?—I will support the Anti-opium Society if good principles are adopted. The Government must take care to do so.

4394. *Mr. McLean.*—How long do you think the Government should take to suppress it?—It is very difficult for me to say that. If the Government is going to suppress opium the Government must erect more buildings for hospitals.

4395. *Sir David Galloway.*—Supposing that we follow your advice and reduce the strength of the opium, how much should we reduce it each year?—The strength of opium can be reduced greatly.

4396. Yes, but how much?—One hoon a year.

4397. Ten per cent per year?—We have to see whether the Government is going to suppress it quickly or not.

4398. That is just what we are out to find out?—If we want to suppress it quickly, in three months, we can reduce the strength of opium by one hoon.

4399. *Mr. McLean.*—You are on the Chinese Advisory Board, and we would like to know what we ought to do?—We should adopt this reducing

of the strength of opium rather than have the opium smokers registered. If we reduce the strength of opium greatly, then the opium will be imported into this country a little less every time.

4400. *Chairman.*—Would you have been satisfed with reducing the strength of opium when you were an opium smoker?—Yes, it would satisfy me.

4401. Can you tell us anything about the smuggling of opium here?—Yes, I believe there are smugglers.

4402. Where do you get your information from?—I hear from my coolies, and last year a coolie of mine was arrested and fined $300.

4403. Where did he get his opium from?—I do not know. I have mines at Serendah and Rawang and in Perak.

4404. *Mr. McLean.*—Is your mine at Rawang near the town?—Yes.

4405. And with registration could your coolies come in quite easily to be registered?—It would not be at all easy to get my coolies to register, because of their working hours and the fixed time of the selling of chandu.

4406. If the Government were willing to register them after the fixed hours it could easily be done?—The difficulty is to get the opium.

4407. How do they get it now?—There are opium-smoking shops, and if they are sick they can send some one to buy from the shops. If they are registered they cannot send a man to buy for them, and their sickness will be worse.

4408. Supposing they were registered and one man were allowed to buy for several others, would not that be all right?—I think it is not easy. We depend upon the labourers in this country. If they are registered I am afraid I cannot keep my coolies.

This concluded Mr. TAN BOON CHENG's evidence.

Mr. KHONG SU KEE was called.

4409. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—KHONG SU KEE.

4410. What is your occupation?—Rubber planter.

4411. You are a Hockchiu?—Yes.

4412. China-born?—Yes.

4413. How old are you ?—Forty-four.

4414. How long have you been in Malaya?—Twenty-two years.

4415. How many times have you been back to China?—I have never returned to China.

4416. What do you think of the opium habit here? Do you think it is a very bad habit?—Yes.

4417. Will you tell us what its bad effects are?—When the opium-smoker stops smoking he will get sick and will not be able to work.

4418. But if he does not stop smoking what is the matter?—If he smokes he will be very strong and he can work hard.

4419. He gets sick if you stop him smoking opium. Then why interfere and stop him?—He must take medicine to stop the opium craving.

4420. What are the really bad features about an opium smoker? What is wrong with him? Is he lazy, is he a liar?—If he is an opium smoker, if he continues smoking he will keep healthy and will not be sick. If he is a smoker and gets no money he will turn out to be a thief.

4421. Why is not the decrepit asylum in Port Swettenham, which is full of Chinese coolies who have become decrepit, full of opium-smokers? In the asylum there are four hundred Chinese but only thirty-nine of them smoke opium.—Because they have no money.

4422. Are you in favour of registering opium-smokers?—It is very bad.

4423. Why is it very bad?—If smokers are registered they have to produce a licence to get opium, and in this country there are very few *towkays* and there are many coolies.

4424. Do you think the opium-smoking coolies would come and register if the Government ordered them to?—I cannot say. But if they are forced to be registered it will be a difficult thing.

4425. You do not recommend the Government to do it?—No, I am not in favour of it.

4426. What do you recommend as the best way to suppress this habit, which you say is a bad habit?—Slowly. The first thing is that the Government must provide a building for the opium-smokers to go and get their food. If they are admitted to the ward, when they have got rid of the habit they will go out.

4427. How many opium-smokers are there in the Federated Malay States?—I cannot give you the exact number, but among Hokkien coolies about eighty per cent are opium-smokers.

4428. We shall have to open a fairly large establishment if they are all going to apply?—One establishment will not be sufficient. Many many establishments will be required.

4429. One like all this building* would not be of much use?—Even for Kuala Lumpur alone this building would not be sufficient.

4430. That is going to be very costly indeed. Where is the money to come from? Is the Government to put up all the money, or will the Anti-

* The Government Offices, Kuala Lumpur.

opium Society subscribe towards the upkeep of all these establishments?—The Government also must pay part of the expenses, and the Society must pay a part.

4431. Don't you think it would be best if the Anti-opium Society and the Government put up dollar for dollar?—I have not made any calculation.

4432. *Mr. McLean.*—Are you a member of the Anti-opium Society?—Yes, I was a member before.

4433. You are not a member now?—I have not joined this Society yet.

4434. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you been asked to join it?—No.

4435. *Chairman.*—The most effective way of stopping this habit is to educate the people who smoke that they should not smoke?—Yes.

4436. Who is to undertake that education, the Government or the Anti-Opium Society?—Both.

4437. What sort of education would you give?—The best thing for the Government to do is to give the opium-smokers a mixture. Either the Government or the Society should give them medicine to break down the habit.

4438. Do you think there are plenty of medicines going that will cure the habit?—At present there are no such medicines.

4439. The best suggestion of a medicine made to this committee is one which has to be drunk with chandu. The sort of medicine you take depends for its effect upon the opium that goes with it?—That is good if there is such a kind of medicine.

4440. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Just now you said that eighty per cent of the Hokkien coolies are smokers?—Yes.

4441. Where do these people get the habit. Do they learn it here or do they bring it from China?—Take for instance those people who come from China. Of ten of them only three or four are smokers, and when they come to the Federated Malay States there will be seven or eight smokers.

4442. *Chairman.*—Do you really believe that four out of every five Hokkiens are smokers?—Yes, among Hokkiens I believe there are.

4443. Among Cantonese?—Not so many.

4444. Khehs?—Not so many.

4445. More than Cantonese or not so many?—Cantonese and Hakkas are almost the same.

4446. Tiechius?—Very few.

4447. Hockchius?—Many.

4448. Then opium-smokers are many in the provinces where much opium is grown?—Quite so.

4449. Do you think it is any good for us to go faster than China in measures to suppress the opium habit?—We should suppress opium here quicker than in China.

This concluded Mr. KHONG SU KEE's evidence.

Mr. Lim Teow Chong was called.

4450. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—Lim Teow Chong.

4451. You were once a Government servant?—Yes.

4452. Now retired?—Yes.

4453. You were an interpreter in the Supreme Court for how long?—For eighteen years.

4454. And you are now a petition-writer?—Yes.

4455. Have you many children?—I have had fifteen, and eleven are still alive.

4456. How old are you?—Sixty.

4457. And I believe you are an opium-smoker?—Oh yes.

4458. You have been smoking how many years?—Thirty-two years.

4459. Have you had any of these children since you started opium-smoking?—My eldest son is thirty-seven, and my last child is 12.

4460. In spite of the fact that you take your dose yourself, do you think that it is a very bad habit?—I do not think so.

4461. Have you had to increase your dose to get satisfaction regularly?—It is not necessary, unless you have too much money to spend and want to go in for a little more luxury, otherwise not. I smoke a certain quantity every day, and no more. It is not necessary.

4462. Do you think it affects your brain at all?—No.

4463. Once you had taken to it you were not so bright if you did not have it?—I found I worked all right in spite of my opium habit.

4464. You have it at regular times?—Yes.

4465. And you manage to fit in these times with your work?—Quite so.

4466. And you did so when you were an interpreter?—It never interfered with my work.

4467. Are you China-born?—Straits-born, in Penang, a Hokkien.

4468. Would you tell us what your quantity is, how much a day?—About four chees a day. I smoked more before, but I have reduced.

4469. Are you in favour of any of these measures that are talked about to restrict the use of opium?—No.

4470. Have you any idea of what you would support?—The end the Government have in view is to prevent people who are not smokers now from becoming smokers of opium. I think in that case smokers should be licensed without any restriction on the quantity. If you do not make it compulsory to buy the opium himself with the licence and do not paste his photograph on it I do not see any objection to it.

4471. Do you think they will all go and get registered? Take people of your own standing, middle class Chinese, will they be willing to go to a public building and register their names as opium-smokers, or will they be ashamed to do it?—They will be ashamed to do it.

4472. *Mr. Jelf.*—Would you like to do it yourself?—No, certainly not. I have given you an idea of how the licensing should be carried out, but I am certainly not in favour of it.

4473. *Chairman.*—I want you to tell us some measure towards this objective you would support yourself?—I would leave things alone.

4474. You do not think that opium is ruining the country?—No.

4475. You do not think that it has ruined you?—No, I do not think it has had a bad effect on me. I think it does very little harm.

4476. You did a good day's work in the Courts I suppose?—Yes. In the morning I take very little. I smoke in the evening generally when I have time to spare.

4477. Can you do a good day's work even now?—I can put in six hours work a day.

4478. *Sir David Galloway.*—Have you seen men become useless for work after opium-smoking?—With people who are working I do not think it does them much harm.

4479. In fact it is the people who take a very large quantity who suffer?—Yes, people who smoke a tahil a day.

4480. To the general population do you think it does any harm?—None.

4481. Then if that is so there is no need for registration?—No need.

4482. *Mr. Chan.*—Do your children smoke?—No, they have no chance.

4483. Would you like them to smoke?—They never come near me when I am smoking.

4484. Don't you allow them?—No, I will not. Apart from the question of injurious effects, opium smoking means spending money. I don't want my children to spend money unnecessarily.

4485. *Chairman.*—It is a bad habit because it is a costly habit, is that it?—No doubt it is a bad habit.

4486. You would have a lot more money now if you had never smoked opium?—I can't say. I might have spent it in some other way.

4487. Do you think it really ruins the labour forces of this country?—Certainly not.

4488. Have you ever heard of them taking to it as a sort of medicine, these coolies?—If a sick coolie thinks a pipe of opium will do him good he takes it. It is absurd to say it ruins the labour of the country.

4489. *Sir David Galloway.*—Would registration of these opium-smokers tend to disturb the supply of labour?—Certainly.

4490. Do you think there is enough labour in the country if all the opium-smokers were eliminated?—I do not know. Not being a planter or miner I cannot speak on that point.

4491. Do you think registration and restriction generally undoubtedly would affect labour?—Oh yes, certainly.

This concluded Mr. LIM TEOW CHONG'S evidence.

Mr. TEH KE was called.

4492. *Chairman.*—What is your name?—TEH KE.

4493. Are you a Hokkien?—Yes.

4494. China-born?—Yes.

4495. How old are you?—Forty-five.

4496. How long have you been in the Federated Malay States?—About twenty-five years.

4497. What is your employment?—I was a miner, now I am working as a clerk.

4498. Are you an opium-smoker?—Yes.

4499. How long have you been smoking?—Thirty years.

4500. Are you a heavy smoker?—Only a little.

4501. How much a day?—Two packets a day.

4502. Have you ever smoked more than that?—Yes, when I had money.

4503. Have your ever smoked less than two packets a day?—No, never.

4504. What wages do you get now?—$30 a month, with food.

4505. Do you think opium-smoking is a bad habit?—It is a bad thing.

4506. Then it would be a good thing for the Government to stop it?—Yes.

4507. How would you get on if they stopped it?—I would be in trouble.

4508. *Sir David Galloway.*—What did you begin smoking for?—I was invited by my friend to smoke opium.

4509. You were not sick?—I smoked opium because I was sick.

4510. What was your sickness?—I was suffering from colic.

4511. Have you any suggestions as to how we could stop this bad habit?—I think it would be a good thing to mix opium with medicine to get rid of this bad habit.

4512. What sort of medicine?—I do not know what sort of medicine.

4513. Do you think it would be a good thing to take the thumb-prints of every opium-smoker?—I think it would be very hard.

4514. You would not like to put your thumb-prints down because you are an opium-smoker?—Yes, I am a smoker. I wish to know why should the thumb-print be affixed.

4515. Because we do not propose to allow anyone who has not done so to smoke opium?—It will be a difficult matter.

4516. You do not like the idea?—No.

4517. Do you think any of the other Chinese would like it?—No.

4518. Can you give any reason why they would not like it?—It will be very difficult to buy opium if he wishes to smoke more or smoke less.

4519. What is the objection that the Chinese have to thumb-prints?—It will be a disgrace to the smoker.

4520. That is the idea of the Chinese about thumb-prints, that they are a disgrace?—Yes.

4521. *Mr. Jelf.*—Did anybody ask you to come here?—I was invited by Mr. LIM TEOW CHONG.

This concluded Mr. TEH KE's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

SINGAPORE.

Eighteenth Meeting.

MONDAY, 21ST JANUARY, 1924.

PRESENT:

The Hon'ble Mr. A. M. POUNTNEY, C.M.G., C.B.E., (*Chairman*).

The Hon'ble Sir DAVID GALLOWAY. | Mr. A. S. JELF.
Mr. S. J. CHAN. | Mr. LIM NEE SOON.

Mr. A. F. RICHARDS, (*Secretary*).

ABSENT:

Mr. L. McLEAN.

Dr. FRANKLAND DENT, M.SC., PH.D., F.I.C. was called.

4522. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—FRANKLAND DENT.

4523. You are Government Analyst, Straits Settlements?—Yes.

4524. And you have been since 1906, I think?—Yes.

4525. You came out to the Colony in 1905 as Assistant Government Analyst and Opium Inspector?—Quite so.

4526. You hand in a list of prepared opium assays* ?—Yes.

4527. One of the first questions I should like to ask you is in order to get rid of a misapprehension. I will read you something from one of the local newspapers which has also appeared in almost all the papers here:—"There are many shops in the Straits, and the Government is quite aware of it, where any man who produces $64 can get 5 tahils of opium, each containing 160 grains of morphia and under the Deleterious Drugs Act, no chemist can sell to any one but a doctor, without a special permit, more than 3 grains of this drug". It is hopelessly wrong to say that there are 160 grains of morphia in a tahil of chandu?—Quite so.

4528. It is more nearly 60 grains than 160?—Somewhere about that, I should think.

4529. The first set of assays in 1920 give 8·85 per cent of morphine. Would you express an opinion why that is considerably lower than the 1923 figure?—No, I cannot in any way.

4530. There is a considerable difference?—There is a considerable difference but in 1908 it was 11·77 according to my former report, it subsequently went down and apparently it has now gone up again.

4531. What are the assays marked "Persian"? Are they chandu made solely from Persian opium?—Those marked "Persian" are from Persian opium only.

4532. That morphine content is very low indeed?—Very low, but it varies enormously.

4533. Do you know anything about Persian opium yourself?—No, except that it varies. It is much poorer in morphine than the Indian as we get it here; not necessarily as they get it elsewhere. I think it is very much adulterated.

4534. The Amoy prepared opium that you examine, that would be seized?—Yes, they are seized samples.

4535. Do you analyse that yourself?—Yes.

4536. Is it good chandu?—It is what is known as second class. We could not get any first class Amoy chandu.

* Appendix XIV.

4537. Second class would not necessarily mean second class as regards morphine content?—I do not know. I have only once assayed a first class one It was in an aluminium tin and I think it was higher in morphine. But one cannot rely on one sample only.

4538. As to the dross, you make that of low morphine content as compared with chandu. How then would it be that the smoking of re-prepared dross is supposed to be more deleterious than the smoking of chandu?—Because, to get anything out of dross requires a higher temperature. All those constituents that come off at a low temperature in chandu have already gone off and to get any more constituents vaporized out of dross requires a higher temperature, and that means more decomposition of the dross.

4539. When you speak of higher temperature, do you mean the higher temperature required to re-prepare the dross or the higher temperature required in smoking it?—In smoking it.

4540. *Mr. Jelf.*—Why is that deleterious to the smoker?—Because the smoke contains various deleterious constituents, pyridine included. The constituents are altogether heavier.

4541. But they were all in the original chandu?—No, those are all products of a decomposition, pretty much in the same way that you get tar by the destructive distillation of coal, but tar does not exist in coal; it is produced when coal is heated to a high temperature. The smoking of dross is to a certain extent a process of destructive distillation.

4542. *Chairman.*—Can you suggest any way in which we can bring the morphine contents down without spoiling the chandu?—I should say by putting in more Persian. That is the only way I can think of. When I did these assays in 1908 pure Indian opium was used, hence the high morphine. At the present time Persian is mixed with Indian and the morphine has gone down from 11·77 to 10·68 per cent. I suggest it is in consequence of it; but of course, I am not absolutely certain.

4543. *Sir David Galloway.*—Are you able to distinguish dross obtained from our own chandu in contradistinction to dross obtained from other chandu?—Quite well.

4544. That distinguishing element survives the smoking?—Quite so.

4545. What do you think would be a reasonable amount of dross to get out of the average chandu here?—I am afraid I cannot answer that. I do not know. That is in connection with the administration of the department more than my work. There should be figures* but I have never come across them.

4546. They get back 10 per cent. They do not make any statement as to what the amount ought to be?—10 per cent is far too little.

4547. In the Federated Malay States they believe that 40 per cent is nearer the figure?—I should suggest 40 per cent is the better figure.

4548. *Chairman.*—Did you conduct the analysis of the Dutch chandu?—Yes.

4549. Was it good chandu?—Yes, very good.

4550. Did you observe by any chance whether that was more liquid than our chandu?—One sample was more liquid. I have got the moisture in the column here. The 23·72 per cent, the last one of the three, was more liquid. 1 or 2 per cent makes a big difference. 20 per cent moisture is quite stiff. 23 per cent is somewhat liquid, 24 per cent or 25 per cent very liquid.

* Dr. DENT subsequently wrote to the Committee:—

"100 grammes prepared opium as sold to the public give 5·7 grammes ash (average result of a number of samples) and 100 grammes dross give 9·62 grammes ash.

"or $\frac{100 \times 5{\cdot}7}{9{\cdot}62}$ = 59·3 grammes dross give 5·7 grammes ash.

"or 100 grammes chandu should produce (theoretically) 59·3 (say 60) grammes dross."

4551. Then the idea of the Superintendent, Government Monopolies, that he could prepare it more and more liquid and so reduce the morphine content would not necessarily be a very sound idea?—I do not see the point in that. Because if you leave an extra 2 per cent of water in the chandu, the man dries the water off on the needle before he smokes and he gets the same thing.

4552. *Sir David Galloway.*—It is simply a question of the Government making a larger profit?—That is it; in fact there is nothing else in it.

4553. *Chairman.*—Is it the last column that is applicable to chandu as applied to the pipe?—No, that refers to the perfectly dry sample. They would never get it as dry as that before putting it in the pipe.

4554. *Sir David Galloway.*—You made some very elaborate experiments in 1908 for the last Opium Commission?—Yes.

4555. There is one experiment, the content of morphia in the opium smoke. You obtained almost exactly the same result as in the Kuala Lumpur experiment, namely 1/10th of 1 per cent of morphine?—Yes, on the weight of the chandu taken.

4556. If I am not mistaken, Dr. FRASER and Mr. EATON'S returns were very much the same as yours?—Yes, very much.

4557. They came to a mere fractional fraction under yours?—Yes, something like that.

4558. Practically, you would consider that 1/10th of 1 per cent is the standard figure?—I should say so, because we worked entirely independently of one another. There was no communication whatever between us, and our methods were entirely different. In fact, I did not hear of the Kuala Lumpur figure until months after it was published.

4559. You suggested that the only way of arriving at a complete comprehension of the use of chandu smoked was by a fractional distillation with physiological tests at certain intervals, and that those tests should be made upon living animals?—Yes.

4560. *Mr. Jelf.*—Smoking dross is not as agreeable as smoking chandu?—No, the more pleasant and lighter fumes have already been disposed of. It is like smoking a Burma cheroot as compared with a Three Castles cigarette. But coolies get hardened to smoking dross and some might possibly prefer it.

4561. Then swallowing dross would be a desperately bad thing?—Certainly, because all the constituents of the dross would be absorbed in the body. It would probably be more harmful than an equal weight of prepared opium.

4562. *Mr. Chan.*—You have here "Indain mixed, morphine on dry sample 13·43" and then you have "dross 6·45*". Would that mean that about 7 per cent of morphine was consumed in smoking?—The prepared opium as sold is 10·68, the dross as received is 6·45. The difference between those two figures would be a measure of the morphine destroyed or got rid of in some way or other.

This concluded Dr. DENT'S evidence.

* Special assays made in January, 1924 give 5·65 per cent as morphine content of dross. *Vide* Appendix XIV.

Mr. WILLIAM BARTLEY, M.B.E., was called.

4563. *Chairman.*—What is your full name?—WILLIAM BARTLEY.

4564. You are a member of the Malayan Civil Service?—Yes.

4565. You came to Malaya in 1908?—Yes.

4566. Was your service all in the Straits Settlements except this last tour in Kelantan?—Straits Settlements all the time except 18 months in Kuala Lumpur.

4567. How long have you been in Kelantan this time?—21 months almost to a day.

4568. As Assistant Adviser?—Yes.

4569. You appear before this Committee at the request of the British Adviser Kelantan, I think?—Yes.

4570. You are aware that the British Adviser has written an opinion on the references to this Committee to the Committee?—Yes.

4571. You have possibly seen that opinion?—Yes.

4572. As to the question whether anybody else other than Chinese adult males smoke, will you give us your observations?—There is certainly a proportion of the Siamese in Kelantan who smoke.

4573. How large is the Siamese population of Kelantan?—From the 1921 census returns, 6,255.

4574. Do you suggest that both male and female Siamese smoke?—I do not know much about the female Siamese. I could not answer for them. I have seen a number of male Siamese smoking. I have not seen females.

4575. So that, according to you, we may consider the male Siamese only?—I cannot say that, because I have not seen enough female Siamese to judge.

4576. The Siamese males are less than half the Chinese adult males?—Yes, I should think they are.

4577. Can you give us the number of Siamese males over 21?—I cannot give the exact figure, but it is, I should say, about 1,650. I make this estimate from the census returns of 1921 only.

4578. Have you any reason to believe that a larger proportion of Siamese males than of Chinese males smoke?—I could not venture an opinion on that.

4579. What is the price of chandu at present time in Kelantan?—The Government selling price is at present $10 a tahil.

4580. Is there any reason in your mind for the differentiation between that price and the Straits Settlements price of $12?—I know of no reason. I was not aware, as a matter of fact, that the Straits price was $12.

4581. I would suggest that it has nothing to do with smuggling?—No, we have not had any smuggling so far as I know.

4582. Do you know what the price in Siam is, over the border of Kelantan?—I could not give you the exact figure but I think it is roughly a little higher than Kelantan price.

4583. Sufficiently higher to prevent any chance of your ever having Siamese chandu unloaded on you?—We certainly have seen no signs of unloading on us, during the last two years in any case.

4584. The low price of Siam chandu, so I am told, is the equivalent of $12 a tahil?—That may be; I do not know.

4585. I suggest that you can smuggle from Kelantan into Siam?—Smuggling would certainly not be difficult.

4586. Either way?—Yes, either way. On the question of smuggling, I would like to add that the boundary with Siam is in part the Golok River, which is fordable in many places in ordinary weather. From Rantau Panjang to Bukit Bharu (the junction of Siam and Perak) there are no customs stations and that part is rarely visited by a European officer more than once a year. From its nature this whole boundary is an almost impossible one from the point of view of prevention of smuggling.

4587. Assuming that you do not raise it to a higher price than Siam, Trengganu or the Federated Malay States you see no reason for not raising it to the Straits Settlements level?—None at all.

4588. As to your facilities for purchasing prepared opium, I see you have got 24 retail shops and 11 public smoking rooms?—Yes.

4589. The smoking rooms have both the "on" and the "off" licences?—Yes.

4590. So that you have really got 35 shops to serve a certain population?—Yes.

4591. If this were solely a Chinese habit, you will find that you have got one shop for every 212 Chinese adult males?—Yes.

4592. That seems rather a small number of potential customers per shop?—Yes, but a number of those shops are in a position where they have quite a small clientele. Speaking from memory there are 7 in all of both kinds of licences in Kota Bharu, 2 in Tumpat, 2 in Tanah Merah and 1 only in Pasir Puteh.

4593. Is there any place with more than one shop?—Yes, in Kota Bharu there are 3 retail and 4 smoking shops with accommodation for 86 smokers.

4594. There are only 1,531 Chinese of all ages and both sexes in Kota Bharu?—Yes, but there is a Siamese settlement both on the right and on the left-hand side of the railway between Tumpat and Plekbang.

4595. Supposing you had the retailing of prepared opium in the hands of the Government it would not be necessary, of course, to have anything like 35 shops in Kelantan?—You could cut down Kota Bharu.

4596. With the cut down, do you think it would be possible to find the necessary staff to run the requisite number of Government shops?—Staff is a great difficulty in Kelantan. The staff is not of the highest standard there. The question of employing natives of the country would hardly come in, because I suppose Malays could not be employed in opium shops.

4597. Will you tell us why?—Under a Kelantan law, buying of opium by a Malay is an offence and possession of opium by a Malay is presumed to be buying until the contrary is proved. I take it that the law is intended to prevent Malays from smoking opium.

4598. But apart from these provisions of the law, would Kelantan Malays be suitable to put in charge of these shops?—Not unless there was very close supervision.

4599. Chinese only run the shops now?—Yes.

4600. You do not think you have got enough suitable and reliable Chinese in the place for you to engage them as Government servants?—Not at present certainly. The clerical staff in Kelantan is not paid as high as in the Federated Malay States and we have not as good a type of clerical staff there as in the Federated Malay States.

4601. Can you see any other objection beyond the difficulty of staff?—A number of the shops are very far out. Supervision would be very difficult to check.

4602. That depends upon how far you are going with supervision. At the present moment so long as he accounts to you for every packet of opium he has taken over from your head office that is really all this class of supervision that we are talking of that is required?—Yes, but in a place like Pulai it might be impossible to get there for three months at a time.

4603. *Mr. Jelf.*—In the North-East Monsoon do you mean?—Yes, and stocks would have to be carried to cover that period.

4604. *Chairman.*—Then you would want a very high security out of the man in charge at Pulai?—Yes.

4605. *Mr. Jelf.*—But that arrangement of Pulai will come to an end as soon as the railway gets there?—Yes.

4606. *Chairman.*—At the present moment communications are not good in Kelantan?—They are very bad.

4607. And that is one of the difficulties in adopting this system?—Yes.

4608. As to your views on the subject of licensing and registering opium-smokers, do you think it is possible in Kelantan to do so?—Certainly not at present. Because there is an enormous amount of prospecting going on over the whole of Ulu Kelantan and over parts of Kelantan Bharu.

4609. How does prospecting affect the question, in your view?—The parts being prospected are extremely inccessible in the ordinary way. There is prospecting going on beyond Pulai. Pulai is, under ordinary conditions, about 10 days journey from Kota Bharu and in Monsoon conditions communication is cut off. Up the river valleys many of these other places are in a comparatively similar position.

4610. But are not you slightly confusing the issue by thinking that you are going to come to the man and take the book to him to register in?—There is a mining district just over the border in Siam where Chinese miners are working in very large numbers and there is a constant flux in and out over this boundary which does not touch Kota Bharu at all. The difficulty is in getting at these people.

4611. You want only to register if and when Siam does?—I doubt whether it would be possible even if Siam had an effective system of registration.

4612. Will you please develop that?—I am unable to see at present how the scattered prospectors all over the country could be collected, identified and registered.

4613. That is the beginning of the thing; not the continuation of it. It is the first registration that is difficult?—If the first registration were effected there would come this difficulty. I do not know what the system of identification is proposed to be, but I take it that in the first place every registered opium-smoker would become immortal at once. There is no registration of deaths in Kelantan.

4614. What are you talking of, registration or licensing?—I understand that registration is to be a system by which every opium-smoker is to be identified, and that no one else except such identified smokers shall get supplies of opium.

4615. Then he is a licensed buyer, but he is not rationed, you are not going so far as rationing?—No, I am not going so far as rationing.

4616. What do you say about identification. It must be done in what method?—I do not know how it can be done there.

4617. Of course we are premising that the Government is retailing the chandu?—Yes, I understand that. The initial difficulty, of course, is collecting and registering the present smokers who are scattered over a large area with extremely bad communication and who are in constant movement.

4618. But still you boggle at identification. What is your idea of identifying a Chinese?—I take it that there is only one satisfactory system of identification and that is, photograph and finger-prints.

4619. Anyhow you would insist on finger-prints. You would not be satisfied with the photograph alone?—Finger-prints, of course, are the best identification; but with the type of man you would get to run a shop, I do not see how he could identify finger-prints. You cannot have a finger-print expert in every shop.

4620. We understand that to get a working knowledge, for this purpose, of the finger-print system is a very simple proposition. Do you agree with that?—I have not much experience of mining coolies' finger-prints, but I can answer that paddy planters' finger-prints are very often quite unidentifiable. The ridges are completely rubbed off.

4621. *Sir David Galloway.*—That would be more so with tin miners?—I cannot speak of tin miners, because I have not any experience of them. But I can speak of the others because I have seen it in their case.

4622. Do you think the photographs are better than the finger-prints in regard to Kelantan?—No, I do not think that, because if finger-prints can be identified, of course, they are the best.

4623. You do not set much stock by photographs of Chinese mining coolies?—Not a great deal. That brings us back to the question you asked before, that is security as to proper performance of work. There is no form of security that can be taken against a person running a Government shop not adhering to one of these identification cards or licences, whichever you please to call them.

4624. You have no surplus labour in Kelantan at present?—That is so.

4625. And you are not in a position, in your present state of development, to refuse any labour at all on the chance that you won't get sufficient labour to carry on with?—Yes, that is so.

4626. Therefore the view of the Kelantan Government would be to resist any measure that seemed likely prejudicially to affect the influx of labour?—Yes.

4627. *Mr. Jelf.*—Have you any figures to show what proportion of your labour smokes opium?—No, I am quite unwilling to make an estimate which might possibly be a very wild guess.

4628. But still there is an appreciable proportion of your labour which undoubtedly smokes opium?—Yes.

4629. *Sir David Galloway.*—I do not suppose you can tell us whether the coolies connected with these prospecting parties smoke opium?—I could not guess the percentage at all.

4630. Assuming that they did and being ten days away from anywhere they would have to take a considerable quantity with them?—Yes, except, of course, that in the two most inaccessible places there are shops. There is a shop at Pulai and one at Batu Melintang.

4631. But even those shops may be some days away from some of these parts. You calculate journeys by days in Kelantan not by hours?—Yes.

4632. Then if you were trying to introduce a system of registration you would have to take the man's own word for it that he was an opium-smoker?—Yes, to a large extent.

4633. You would not insist upon a signed affidavit before a notary public for every one of them?—I am afraid that would be impossible there.

4634. And, therefore, quite probably a lot of men who were not smokers would register?—I should think that is highly probable, because even the ones who are not opium-smokers would probably like to be in a position to get a certain quantity of opium for medicinal use.

4635. And for re-sale?—Possibly also for re-sale if it were a question of limitation.

4636. Do you see many of these awful mental, moral and physical wrecks around Kelantan due to opium?—I saw two in the time I was there who looked bad opium cases.

4637. Were they of the indigent class or were they carrying on some sort of business?—No, they were both elderly and poor, of the small vegetable gardener type.

4638. Otherwise you did not see much damage being done to the people by opium?—I saw no other sign at all.

4639. *Mr. Jelf.*—Do you know whether many Malays smoke opium in Kelantan?—That I cannot say. I understand that a certain quantity is consumed as febrifuge although it is definitely forbidden by law.

4640. You would not give a licence to a Malay who smoked opium?—We cannot.

4641. *Mr. Lim Nee Soon.*—Why don't you allow the Malays to smoke opium?—Because it is an order of the Sultan in Council, I think. I understand it is opposed to Mohamedan law.

4642. Twenty years ago when I visited Kelantan I saw Malays who smoked and swallowed opium. Are they allowed to swallow at present?—They are not allowed to buy at all; if any man is found with opium in his possession it is presumed that he has bought it until he can prove that he has not.

4643. *Chairman.*—What about the condition of possession by a Malay?—The law as it stands is that a Malay may not buy, and if he is found in possession of it, it shall be presumed, until he proves the contrary, that he has bought. In my opinion it is a slip in the law. The intention was to completely prohibit the possession of opium by Malays but it was not properly drafted.

4644. *Sir David Galloway.*—The Kelantan Malay, ethnically, is quite a different man from the Southern Malay. He is a much bigger fair-skinned man?—He is a bigger man, I should not say he is fair-skinned, and the language is distinctly different from the language elsewhere.

4645. Did you notice a distinct ethnical difference between him and the Johore or the Pahang Malay?—The Pahang Malay, I do not know. The Malays in Kelantan are distinctly big men. In parts you come across a very distinct type of very large men and of rather bellicose looking men. But I should not say that that is the ordinary type. I have seen documents which showed that that type had been in Kelantan over 100 years.

This concluded Mr. BARTLEY's evidence.

The Committee adjourned.

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BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE.

PAGES 1—13.

GEORGE GORDON WILSON, Malayan Civil Service, Superintendent of Government Monopolies, 24 years' experience in Malaya, speaks the Hokkien dialect of Chinese.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Not nearly so bad as drink (7). Locally a costly but not noxious habit (8).

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—Practically confined to Chinese adults (10). Commonest amongst Hokkiens and Tiechius, Cantonese, Khehs and Hylams smoke less (16).

Only present way of estimating number of smokers is by assuming an arbitrary normal consumption for a normal smoker and dividing that into the total consumed (22). It is not possible to get any reliable figure (32). Taking the Chinese adult male population for the census years of 1911 and 1921 for the Straits Settlements the consumption in Tahils per head per annum has decreased from 8·035 in 1911 to 5·93 in 1921 (38).

Economic reasons are chiefly responsible for increase or decrease in sale (45).

Control of use of prepared Opium.—In the Straits Settlements sole right of import and export of opium is vested in Government Superintendent. Import of prepared opium is totally prohibited, export except by Superintendent is also prohibited. The right of manufacturing prepared opium is a monopoly.

No one can sell without a licence. No one can buy except an adult male and no one can smoke in a smoking shop except an adult Chinese male. The limit of possession of prepared opium for a private person is 5 tahils, of dross 1 tahil. Possession of raw opium is illegal (53).

Number of licences issued is more or less fixed (62). Areas are zoned (68).

Increase of Control.—Do not think any further action can be beneficial until China reduces her poppy cultivation. Only effect would be to encourage smuggling which is already rampant (54).

Government Shops.—Think we could *gradually* take over all retail shops, but am dubious about smoking shops (71). If Government takes over retail shops present "on" and "off" licensees should be confined to "on" licences (95).

Am against abolishing smoking shops. They will be a great help in registering smokers. Also it is better not to drive smokers into smoking at home. Also they make control of dross easier (99—103).

Dross.—We only get back as dross 10 to 12 per cent of the total amount of chandu sold. This all comes from the smoking shops none from retail shops (109—110). In spite of the law against having dross in your possession there is no doubt the private smoker consumes his dross also (112).

Rationing of Chandu Sales.—As consumption varies with the different Chinese tribes any system of rationing must take into consideration the tribal composition of the population (144-149). No common denominator based on a common unit exists between one Possession and another. It does not exist even between the component parts of British Malaya (150-151).

Registration of Smokers.—Have made an exhaustive study of this question (152). Registration alone has no value for suppression purposes. It must go hand-in-hand with licensing and rationing (153). Rationing would

lead to disturbances (160) and to increase of smuggling (165) so long as China produces (167). Our coast-line is very great and impossible to patrol effectively (168).

Population in the Straits Settlements is very migratory (174) and turns itself over, say, every 5 or 6 years (175). This enormously increases the difficulties of registration (176). Unless Chinese smokers themselves favour registration and are backed by general public opinion it will be ineffective (182).

Pages 131—137.

G. G. WILSON (recalled).

Labuan.—Notes by the Resident on opium-smoking in Labuan (2250). It is essential that price there should be the same as in North Borneo and Sarawak close by (2252).

Christmas Island.—A special price for chandu is fixed with the Phosphate Company (2254). The place is utterly isolated and devoid of amusements (2263). Price is $5 a tahil as against $12 in Singapore.

System of Packing.—The Dutch system of hermetically sealed tubes is feasible here (2266). It has advantages over our bamboo leaf packet system (2267) and eliminates broken packets (2270) and tampering with packets (2280). We could also centralise packing them in Singapore (2284). It involves larger capital expenditure but more economical working (2287).

Dross.—I get back 10 per cent of chandu sold (2298). Most of the dross is swallowed (2303). I think the smoking shop-keepers sell dross to the public. That is the profit they hid from you (2305-2306). Dross selling is prohibited by law (2307).

These shop-keepers have told you excessive values for the goodwill of their business (2316).

Registration and Licensing.—I think any experiments should be made in a small selected area (2317). Singapore would not do because of the constant change of population (2319). I am sure smokers would violently oppose registration (2321). If shop hours are reduced people would simply be driven to smoke at home or in unlicensed premises (2330).

Rationing.—In 1920, I cut down sales by 10 per cent calculated on monthly average of the previous year. There were disturbances in consequence (2333). Hoarding started (2335). The experiment lasted 4 months and Chinese attitude became so menacing that we gave it up (2338).

I got no support from Anti-Opium Societies (2339). I think we must face riots if we introduce licensing and registration (2340) and we shall get no active support from the Chinese population (2341-2342).

Pages 14—21.

DAVID BEATTY, Malayan Civil Service, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Straits Settlements, speaks Cantonese and Hokkien dialects, 25 years' service in British Malaya, has made special study of the opium question.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Does no more harm generally than whisky drinking among Europeans (190).

Have never noticed any marked mental or physical inferiority in the ordinary opium-smoker as compared with the non-smoker (205).

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—Not increasing in proportion to growth of population (191).

Not entirely a China-born habit (208). A few females smoke also (208). Prevalence in the Straits is a close reflex of prevalence in China (233).

Government Shops.—Sale by Government shops instead of licensed outsiders might tighten up control (193). Would include smoking shops (195). Am not in favour of abolishing them (196 - 197).

Dross.—System of Government shops would give greater control (199).

Rationing and Registration.—My official experience in Burma was that the Burman system was a farce. It did not work (238-241). Consider similar system a fortiori impossible in British Malaya (242). Impossible to prevent non-registered smoker getting chandu (250).

If efforts at rationing and registration were successful labour supply from China would fall off (251).

Pages 22—24.

ALBERT LAUNCELOT HOOPS, Principal Civil Medical Officer, Straits Settlements, 20 years' experience in British Malaya as a Medical Officer.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Not a harmful habit if used in moderation. Moderate smokers have no distinguishing facial or physical characteristics (266). It does no moral harm (277).

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—My experience is that smoking is relatively rare amongst other nationalities than Chinese (271). Opium prolongs life in many cases of ill-health (272). In cases of excess the harm done to health is less than that done by excessive indulgence in alcohol (274). Wages here are more liberal than in China so many Chinese smoke here who were not able to afford it there (275). Proportion of smoking coolies who exceed is less than 5 per cent (271).

Rationing.—Impossible to limit to medicinal use (279) or adequately to define medicinal (282).

Increase of price or other methods of prohibition lead to more harmful things, *i.e.*, morphia injections (289).

Pages 25—32.

HO SIAK KUAN, Tiechiu, born in Canton, Assistant Secretary for Chinese Affairs, 40 years in Straits Settlements, in Government Service, in Chinese Protectorate.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I consider effects of opium-smoking to be harmful (309) but do not think it is in most local cases a serious vice (311). Moderate smokers cannot outwardly be detected (351). Neither mental nor physical capacity is noticeably affected (348-349).

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—A distinct stigma attaches to the habit now especially amongst Cantonese and Hakka people (316). It is dying out amongst Straits-born Chinese (322). More prevalent amongst Hokkiens and Tiechius han Cantonese (327). The same applies to China (330). Few women smoke (328). Increase of price in recent years has decreased consumption considering rise in population (339).

Poor men cannot afford much chandu and so swallow dross (345 - 346).

Control of use of prepared Opium.—China is not at present able to take effective measures for suppression (354). This country cannot move without China (356).

Government Shops.—Government shops would eliminate tendency to push sales (394 - 404). Shops are needed for coolies who cannot smoke at home (405 - 407).

Rationing.—Very difficult to fix the amount for each man (367). Any rationing system must take into account tribal distinctions among Chinese (424).

Registration.—Very difficult here because population is migratory (363). Retail shop-keepers would have to be above suspicion (383). Chief use of registration is to prevent new people acquiring the habit (388) (391). It would be very costly to work (420). A fair percentage bring the habit from China and refusal to register new comers would adversely affect labour supply (430).

Pages 33—34.

LEUNG KEW, No. 1 turner, Singapore Harbour Board, China-born Cantonese, 42 years of age, 23 years in the Straits, has revisited China 4 times, controls between 10 and 50 men, average 25, all Cantonese.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Have never smoked myself. Opium-smokers are lazy (447) and unpunctual (448). The non-smoker is the better worker (452).

Pages 35—36.

WONG ON, Head Boiler-maker, Singapore Harbour Board, age 33, China-born Cantonese, came to Straits 29 years ago, has twice revisited China. Employs at most 70 men, all Cantonese. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I do not engage opium-smokers if I have the choice (472). Their work is inferior (475).

Prevalence.—About 10 in 70 of my men smoke opium (470).

Page 37.

HO AH KUM, Engineer's Fitter, Singapore Harbour Board, age 41, China-born Cantonese, came to Straits 20 years ago. Revisits China once every three years. Employs at most 40 men, all Cantonese. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I judge men according to their work (510). Cannot recognise ordinary opium-smoker at sight (508). Smokers are apt to be lazy and unpunctual (511 - 512). They are less skilled (573).

Alternatives to Opium-Smoking.—I drink liquor (515). Some of my men do (518).

Pages 38—39.

SICK AH HIN, No. 1 Ships' Painter, Singapore Harbour Board, age 51, China-born Cantonese, came to Straits 38 years ago, has revisited China 6 times, employs maximum of 600 men, Cantonese, Hokkiens, Foochows. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Non-smokers are better workmen (536). Smokers are lazy (538). I tell opium-smokers by their appearance (544), but only if they are heavy smokers (550).

Prevalence.—About ⅓ of my men smoke (532). There are more smokers amongst Hokkiens than amongst Cantonese (545). There is more opium-smoking among painters than in other trades (549).

Alternatives.—Some of my men drink liquor (551) and sometimes get drunk (554). I prefer the drinker to the smoker as a workman (555).

PAGE 40.

FONG AH SOO, Head Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board, age 32, Straits-born Cantonese, employs about 35 men, all Cantonese. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Non-smokers are better workers. Heavy smokers are distinguishable by their features (578). Opium-smokers are apt to be disobedient (581) and lazy (582). If they can do my work I do not object to them (580).

Prevalence.—About 2 in 10 of my men smoke (574).

Alternatives.—About 7 in 10 of my men drink liquor (586). I prefer the drinker to the opium-smoker (590).

PAGE 42.

HO AH LIM, No. 1 Carpenter, Singapore Harbour Board, age 46, China-born Cantonese, came to Straits 35 years ago, has revisited China four times, employs about 70 men, all Cantonese. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Non-smokers are better workmen (622). Smoker is generally thinner and darker (626). Smokers are lazy (630).

Prevalence.—There are no opium-smokers among my men now (617).

Alternatives.—2 or 3 out of 10 of my men drink liquor (625).

PAGE 43.

THAM AH THONG, Coppersmith, Singapore Harbour Board, China-born Cantonese, age 58, came to Straits 35 years ago, has revisited China 4 times, employs at most 36 men, mostly Cantonese and a few Hailams.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Non-smokers are stronger and less lazy (646).

Prevalence.—One or two of my Cantonese workmen smoke (641), none of the Hailams (642).

Alternatives.—Some of my men drink liquor (648). I prefer the drinker to the smoker as a workman (651), even if he gets drunk (652).

PAGE 44.

LEONG AH MOK, No. 1 Blacksmith, Singapore Harbour Board, China-born Cantonese, age 51, came to Straits 31 years ago, has revisited China 4 times, employs about 40 men, all Cantonese. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers are not so strong (665), but if smoker is moderate there is not much difference (668). Cannot tell moderate smoker by appearance (664).

Prevalence.—8 or 10 amongst my 40 men smoke opium (661).

Alternatives.—I drink a little liquor (670).

PAGES 45—46.

WEE SIONG, Hinhua, China-born, age 62, came to Straits 22 years ago, 'rikisha owner, agent for 500. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Pullers who smoke rarely return to China, they cannot afford it (703). Non-smokers work better, but smokers must work to get money for opium (704).

Prevalence.—3 or 4 out of 10 'rikisha pullers smoke opium (689). Most pullers are Hinhua and Hockchia (692). Pullers earn $1 to $1.50 per diem in good times and spend 50 or 60 cents a day on opium (694). Mostly smoke in smoking shops (695).

Pages 47—48.

LEE CHOON, Registered owner of 'rikishas, China-born Hockchia, age 52, came to Straits 31 years ago. Agent for 300 'rikishas, owner of 50. Has revisited China twice. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers cannot afford to return to China (741). We should get stronger pullers if opium were prohibited (746).

Prevalence.—About 30 per cent of pullers smoke opium (736). Also many swallow chandu dross (737). Some contract the habit in China but more in Singapore (755-756). They earn more here (757).

Alternatives.—A few 'rikisha pullers drink liquor (753).

Pages 49—53.

KEE KONG CHIAN, Attorney of Tan Kah Kee & Co., China-born Hokkien, age 29, educated in Singapore. Exercises general supervision over different branches of his business.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Believe that opium smoking reduces efficiency of coolies but have no great trouble about it (798) (804). Opium-smokers cannot save money (800). Are not so strong (802). Cannot detect moderate smoker by appearance (803).

Prevalence.—(*a*) Rubber Estates in Johore, employing 1,020 coolies (770) tappers Hailams, weeding coolies Hokkiens (774). They smoke about 12,000 to 13,000 3 hun packets of chandu a month (778).

(*b*) Rubber Works in Singapore, employing 340 males (Hokkien), and 300 females (Cantonese) (779). Women do not smoke (781). Of the 340 men about 50 or 60 smoke (782).

(*c*) Pulo Tekong Brick Works employing 49 males (Hokkien). 9 are smokers (787).

(*d*) Kallang Engineering Branch, employing 128 coolies (Cantonese). Only 3 are smokers (791).

(*e*) Sambawa Road Rubber Goods Factory, employing 804 coolies of whom 300 are women (793). Proportion of smokers not known. Males are mostly Hokkien (794).

(*f*) Saw Mills at Kallang, employing 140 men (Hailams); 25 are smokers (796).

(*g*) Pineapple Factory, employing 120 coolies (Hokkien); 24 are smokers (796).

Increase of Control.—I advocate gradual suppression (809) and education of public opinion (833).

Government Shops.—I would suppress smoking shops altogether (836). I consider it immaterial whether retail shops are Government managed or not (836).

Public Opinion.—In the last 10 or 12 years opium-smoking has come to be considered a disgrace (812) and is now done privately (812).

Page 54.

WONG AH CHONG, No. 1 Fitter at the United Engineers, Limited, China-born Cantonese, has been 10 years No. 1, employs over 20 men (Cantonese and Javanese). Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Makes men lazy (852). Cannot tell a moderate smoker by his appearance (851).

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—None of my men smoke opium (848). Have never employed an opium-smoker (853).

Pages 55—56.

TAN BOON TYE, Lately Manager of Messrs. Sime Darby & Co's., Johore Branch; now managing own motor business, age 44. Straits-born.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers cannot get up in the morning or face rain (876). Cannot tell ordinary smoker by appearance (877).

Prevalence.—When I was up-country in Johore, 40 per cent of my coolies smoked (859-860). The further away in the jungle the greater proportion of smokers (863). My coolies were Khehs and Macaos (875). If opium were not obtainable it would be difficult to get coolies for jungle work (879 - 880).

Page 57.

CHHOA THON CHHO, Manager, Teo Eng Hock's rubber goods manufactory, China-born Tiechiu, age 29, employing 200 coolies. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Opium-smokers are lazy (897). I can tell even a moderate smoker by appearance (902).

Prevalence.—Most of my 200 coolies are Tiechius and Hokkiens (891). None smoke opium (894). I do not employ smokers but get labour easily (899).

Page 58.

WONG TAT, No. 1 Boiler-maker, United Engineers Limited, China-born Cantonese, age 57, has been 30 years in Straits as No. 1, has 120 coolies under him. Smokes opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I find smokers as good as non-smokers (923). Do not care whether a man smokes or not if he does his work (924). I smoke a dollar's worth daily (1 chee) (918 - 919).

Prevalence.—Of my 120 coolies (Cantonese and Hailams) about 20 smoke (912 - 914).

General.—I think prohibition of opium-smoking would be a good thing (925).

Pages 59—60.

CHO YOK HEAN, Manager of Seong Lim Saw-mills for last 10 years, age 46, China-born Hokchiu. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Good workmen deteriorate after contracting the habit (951). I cannot distinguish moderate smoker by appearance (954).

Prevalence.—Of my 200 coolies—mostly Hokkiens about 30 per cent smoke (940 - 944). Of the tongkang coolies alone 80 per cent smoke (946).

Dross.—Opium-smokers who cannot afford enough chandu take to swallowing dross (960).

Public Opinion.—Chinese opinion in Singapore is now more strongly against opium than formerly (962).

Pages 61—62.

NG SENG PHANG, Timber merchant and tongkang builder, Singapore, Justice of the Peace, China-born Cantonese, age 51.

Prevalence of Opium-Smoking.—My timber yard and tongkang coolies in Singapore number 120, mostly Cantonese (970-972). About 40 of them smoke, mostly among the tongkang men (973).

At Endau up-country in Johore I have 300 coolies (974). Kwang Sai, Hakka and Cantonese (975). About 100 smoke (976).

Order of prevalence of opium-smoking is Hokkiens, Tiechius, Hakkas, Hailams, Cantonese (1005).

Alternatives.—Up-country the non-smokers at night gamble and then go to bed early (981).

Increase of Control.—I think Government could suppress opium-smoking in one year (987), except for those old smokers who would be licensed (984). Labour would still come from China even if smoking was prohibited (994).

I admit it would take a long time to licencse all present smokers perhaps 2 years (1001).

Dross.—I know that dross swallowing is common amongst coolies (989).

Registration.—The smoker should be licensed so that the non-smoker may not be able to learn to smoke (983).

Page 63.

LIM KIM TIAN, Twako owner (50 twakos) and stevedore Singapore, China-born Hokkien, age 44. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—The smoker cannot compete with the non-smoker (1020). Smokers cannot afford to return to China as often as non-smokers (1027).

Prevalence.—I employ about 200 coolies, all Hokkiens (1012-1013). About 20 per cent smoke (1015). Smokers earning $25 a month spend 40 cents a day on opium (1024).

Increase of Control.—I favour gradual prohibition (1022).

Dross.—Dross swallowing is common among coolies (1025-1026).

Page 64.

WANG MUI TSZ, Twako owner (30 twakos), Singapore, China-born Tiechiu, 10 years in Singapore. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers are not the equal in work of non-smokers (1039). They cannot save to return to China (1050).

Prevalence.—I employ about 100 coolies, all Tiechius (1035-1036). About 50 smoke opium (1037).

Dross.—I know that many coolies swallow dross. (1053).

Page 65.

HO SAM, Pattern maker, United Engineers Limited, Singapore, China-born Cantonese, age 60. Has occasionally smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I prefer non-smokers for work (1066). Cannot recognise moderate smoker by appearance (1067).

Prevalence.—I employ 15 skilled workmen, 2 or 3 smoke (1060-1063).

Dross.—Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1075).

Pages 66—72.

GEOFFREY EDMUND CATOR, Malayan Civil Service, Commissioner of Trade and Customs and Superintendent of Chandu Monopoly, Johore, 16 years' service in British Malaya.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—My experience has never revealed any abuses due to opium-smoking (1081).

Prevalence.—Between 1911 and 1921 total consumption has decreased and total Chinese male population has increased (1087).

Control of use of prepared Opium.—Control is on similar lines in Johore to that in the Straits Settlements (1093). But Johore Government is now in certain town areas endeavouring to reduce shop licences. Drastic reduction and selection by tender is the arrangement (1096).

No raw opium is imported into Johore (1108). Prepared opium is imported from the Government Monopolies Department in Singapore (1103).

Chandu may not be sold to Malays (1151).

Government Shops.—I think it quite possible in Johore for Government to take over all retail shops (1118). Smoking shops present more difficulty (1118 - 1119).

Dross.—Proportion of dross received back from "on and off" licencees should be about 10 per cent (1120). We buy back dross at $4.50 per tahil for first class dross and $1.50 for second class (1128), and drop it into the sea (1129).

Smuggling.—Johore has a very long coast line extremely difficult to patrol (1138).

Registration and Rationing of Smokers.—If done elsewhere possible to introduce slowly in Johore beginning with town areas (1161). I consider that it would be necessary to specify shop for purchase (1166).

Pages 73—84.

LOKE CHOW THYE, Tin Miner, Straits-born Cantonese, age 51, President of Anti-Opium Society in Selangor, also President of Selangor Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Selangor Miners' Association.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It is more harmful than alcohol (1286). The tendency is always to increase the dose (1289). Smokers are inferior in work and find it hard to pay their way (1225).

I can recognise even moderate smokers by their appearance (1277).

Prevalence.—Smoking amongst Straits-born Chinese has greatly decreased (1212). This result is largely due to propaganda (1213). A few Chinese women smoke (1217). Habit is practically confined to China-born adults (1224).

I do not agree that there was less opium-smoking formerly when gambling was recognised (1231). I think habit is generally acquired here because wages are higher than in China (1254).

Control of use of prepared Opium.—Law in China as regards prohibition is not observed (1194 - 1195).

Increase of Control.—I advocate gradual suppression (1189), by registration, and refusal to register new smokers (1250).

I do not anticipate any difficulty over getting labour from China (1294).

Dross.—I know that it is a common thing for coolies who cannot afford chandu to swallow dross (1363 - 1364).

Smuggling.—It is easy to smuggle opium from China into British Malaya (1202). Registration will not increase smuggling (1304).

Rationing.—The amount allowed would depend on what a man is accustomed to (1280). The permit holder would have to buy in person (1308 - 1309). For distant places special regulations could be made (1315) (1322-1324).

Registration.—I believe in registering all smokers within a certain time and then refusing to add to the list (1232). I back Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme (1233). The migratory nature of our population is admittedly a difficulty (1244). A large staff will be required (1258). I do not anticipate any reluctance from smokers in registering (1273).

I think that if new-comers are registered at all a limit of time should be fixed (1369 - 1370).

Public Opinion.—The majority of Chinese know that opium-smoking is a bad thing (1328). I am sure that the Chinese of the State of Selangor would vote by a large majority for suppression (1347-1348) (1353).

PAGES 85—86.

COLONEL JOHN HOWARD TYTE, Inspector of Prisons, Straits Settlements. Has been in Malaya for 22 years.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Special treatment and light labour is given to prisoners suffering from heavy smoking (1379). But after 2 or 3 weeks they are able to do hard labour (1380 - 1381). I cannot remember any instance of collapse of a prisoner owing to stoppage of opium (1397).

Prevalence.—I have had a census taken of smokers in the prison (1377). Out of 1,000 prisoners, 225 were smokers (1386). Very few of these were *sots* not more than 1 in 20 (1389).

PAGES 87—88.

THAN CHIAN, Saw-mill owner and timber merchant, Singapore, China-born Hokkien, age 42, came to Straits 28 years ago, has revisited China 3 times. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I find smokers inferior workmen (1415). Cannot tell a moderate smoker by his appearance (1417).

Prevalence.—I have 100 saw-mill coolies and 100 tongkang and timber-yard coolies (1410), mostly Hokkiens (1411). 30 per cent smoke (1409).

Last went to China 3 years ago (1429) and opium-smoking there seemed to me less than 18 years before (1431).

Dross.—Coolies who cannot afford to buy chandu often swallow dross (1425).

Public Opinion.—I consider it a disgrace to smoke (1422). My friends also think so (1421).

Pages 89—91.

TAY SECK TIN, Secretary to Singapore Anti-Opium Society, formerly a clergyman, China-born Hokkien, age 52 years, has been 27 years in Straits.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers are not so strong as non-smokers (1478).

Prevalence.—I think habit is generally acquired locally not in China (1469). There is more smoking among Hokkiens than among Cantonese (1474). I should say 30 per cent of Chinese adult males smoke (1476), same as in 1908 (1476).

Most smoking coolies are moderate smokers, they cannot afford more (1484), now that the price is so high (1485). I call a moderate smoker one who smokers a 3 hoon packet daily (1483).

Increase of Control.—I favour total prohibition in 5 years (1457). I favour suppression by a system of registration and licensing (1471). I think Government could make it work (1472).

Public Opinion.—The Anti-Opium Society has not so many members now as formerly (1448). Few people attend meetings and meetings are rare (1450 - 1451). All Chinese social organisations in Singapore are strongly against opium-smoking (1487).

Pages 92—96.

GEORGE GEOFFREY MUSSELL, Acting Head of Preventive Service, Government Monopolies Department, Singapore, 13 years in the Department.

Control of use of prepared Opium.—We employ Malays, Chinese and Indians among revenue officers (1498). Strict policy of suppression must increase smuggling (1526). I think it would be impossible whatever the number of men used to patrol the Malayan coast line (1529).

I think a system of packing in tubes would assist preventive work (1543). Tube system is much more costly (1558).

Smuggling.—Chinese are the chief offenders (1512). Probably we do not seize more than 10 per cent of amount smuggled (1515). If Chinese opium traffic were controlled like that of India it would practically eliminate smuggling (1524). Most smuggled opium comes from Amoy (1514).

Pages 97—103.

TAN POW TEK, Commission Agent and petition-writer, Klang, Straits-born Hokkien, age 39, member of Selangor Anti-Opium Society.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It does mental, moral and physical harm (1675). Harm is proportionate to dose (1687).

Increase of Control.—I advocate gradual prohibition (1611), say in 10 or 15 years (1612). I think China must help by making restriction of poppy cultivation effective (1644). We can easily suppress opium-smoking here if China restricts cultivation (1648).

Rationing.—I have no definite views about this (1621).

Registration.—I advocate beginning with registration of smokers (1615). Smokers should be recommended for a licence by certain accepted societies (1619). I think a reduction in number of smokers would follow registration (1629). I think registration would be accepted willingly by the Chinese (1690).

Public Opinion.—Anti-Opium Society comprise Straits-born and China-born members (1598).

I think many societies and associations would be willing to help in suppression (1635). I think enlightened Chinese opinion in Malaya is strongly against opium (1654). I admit that the class which is enlightened is only a small minority of the Chinese population (1669).

Pages 104—105.

TIONG CHU TENG, Timber-yard owner in Johore, China-born Hakka, age 50, has been in Straits 31 years. Has never smoked opium or revisited China.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers do not work as well as non-smokers (1715). Coolies who stop smoking can save money and buy useful things (1719). They get stronger and earn more (1721).

Prevalence.—I employ 200 coolies, mostly Cantonese and Khehs (1708). About 100 smoke opium (1711).

Dross.—Coolies often swallow the dross from their chandu (1722 - 1723).

Pages 106—109.

TAN KHEAM KEAT, Labour Contractor, Singapore Harbour Board, Straits-born Hokkien, age 51, contractor for 22 years.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I think the coal coolies who smoke work better because they smoke (1749). The coal and cargo coolies are mostly moderate smokers (1752). I call 9 to 12 huns per diem moderate (1755). On the whole non-smokers work better (1766).

Prevalence.—I engage 2,500 Chinese coolies, coal coolies 1,500, cargo coolies 1,000 (1737). About 60 per cent of coal coolies smoke (1739) and 40 per cent of cargo coolies (1740). Coal coolies are Hokkien, Hockchia and Hockchiu (1741), cargo coolies Kamchiu, Tiechiu and Hokkien (1742). I think smoking is increasing amongst coal coolies (1744), but not among cargo coolies (1745).

Smoking is more common among Hokkiens than among Cantonese (1814).

Increase of Control.—If opium were prohibited labour would run short (1781).

You might keep down the habit among Straits-born by registration but the China-born have acquired it in China (1801).

Dross.—Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1768).

Registration.—I am in favour of registration for Straits-born smokers (1805). I consider it would be extremely difficult to register China-born smokers (1804).

Pages 110—112.

TAY HO LIAN, Licensed smoking-shop keeper, Singapore, China-born Hokkien, has been 25 years in the Straits. Smokes opium himself.

General.—Took over licence a few months ago from my cousin (1822 - 1824). Paid $2,600 for furniture and goodwill (1826 - 1827).

I rely on Government renewing the licence (1834). My capital for the business is $600—$700 (1854). I think 60 per cent or 70 per cent of Chinese new-comers smoke-opium (1856).

I buy about 2,000 3 hun packets monthly from the Monopolies Department (1859) and sell back 10 tahils of dross (1858).

I smoke 1 tahil a day myself (1842), that is 133 pipes (1884).

I make $6 or $7 per diem on the shop and $45 per mensem on dross sold back (1871 - 1872).

I have other sources of income (1873).

My assistants (3) cost $36 per mensem (1864) and my family (wife and 3 children) $60 per mensem (1868).

I have only smoked 1 tahil daily during the last 3 or 4 months when sick (1876).

Pages 113—115.

BOEY IAM THOON, Smoking-shop keeper, Singapore, China-born Cantonese.

General.—I get 30 to 60 Customers per diem (1891). I purchase 2,000 to 3,000, 3 hun packets a month (1893). I sell back monthly 6 tahils of dross (1894). I bought the right in the shop originally (1905). I paid in all $3,700 (1904) and could get now $3,500 (1911). My expenditure is $114 per mensem and takings $135 (1924).

A purchaser finds out first whether the Superintendent of Monopolies will re-issue the licence to him (1944).

Pages 116—117.

TEO LYE HI, Shop-keeper, Singapore with "off" licence for chandu and spirits, China-born Tiechiu, age 48, 27 years in the Straits.

General.—I buy $3,500 worth of chandu monthly (1971), and make profit of over $200 (1972). My assistants cost about $120 per mensem (1977-1978). My capital sunk is $7,000 or $8,000 on spirits and $2,000 or $3,000 on chandu (1982 - 1983).

I paid $5,000 for the business (1986).

It would not be fair for Government suddenly to take away our licences (2001).

Chinese public opinion is in favour of suppression but suppression is impossible while China produces its present quantities (2004).

Pages 118—122.

CHARLES HENRY SANSOM, Commissioner of Police, Johore, has serviced in Federated Malay States Police for 16 years.

Smuggling.—Present smuggling is from China. Local restriction of opium would increase this (2010). There is no effective preventive service in Johore (2014). Smuggling is practically all done by Chinese and Japanese (2030). Prevention of smuggling would require a very strong force (2034) and much European supervision (2037).

Registration and Licensing.—I do not think any system of registration and licensing feasible in Johore (2048). The work would be enormous (2058). Identification by finger-prints which would be required would be very unpopular amongst Chinese (2062 - 2064).

The migratory movement of coolies alone would make it very difficult (2074). An enormous staff and a prohibitive cost would be entailed (1076).

Pages 123—125.

KOEH THENG, Retail opium-shop keeper, Singapore. China-born Hokkien, age 60 years, 42 years in the Straits. Smokes opium himself.

General.—I sell 11,000 to 12,000 3-hun packets and about 600 3-chee pots monthly (2094). My assistant (one) costs $30 per mensem and rent $50 per mensem licence $6 per mensem (2097 - 2099). I make gross profit of $450—$460 per mensem. (2100 - 2101).

A smoking shop is not so profitable (2110).

I have been offered $7,500 for the good-will of my shop (2112).

I smoke about one tahil daily myself (2115). I swallow the dross (2118). Have smoked for 38 years (2121) and have 2 sons and one daughter (2120).

I hear from friends that 60 per cent of people in my village in China smoke (2128).

Almost all my customers swallow their dross because they cannot afford sufficient chandu (2130). My customers are mostly Hokkiens (2132). More Hokkiens and Tiechius smoke than Cantonese (2133 - 2134).

I spend $25 per mensem on my children (2138). I have a few women customers (2141).

Pages 126—127.

LIM IONG PHUAN, Retail opium shop-keeper, Singapore, China-born Hokkien, age 57 years. Smokes opium himself.

General.—I paid $1,500 for the good-will of the shop (2152).

I sell 8,000 to 9,000 3-hun packets and about 200 3-chee pots monthly (2155). My monthly profit is $350 (2156). I pay $50 rent monthly. My assistants (2) cost one $80 monthly (2160) and the licence fee $6.

I smoke 8 or 9 chees daily (2163) and my own smoking costs $300 per mensem (2165).

I have other sources of income (2166).

I have 5 sons and one daughter (2171).

I give away my dross to others who swallow it (2176). I began to smoke opium 15 years ago on account of eye trouble (2178). My business to-day is worth $4,000 (2180). Many young men buy from me (2183).

Pages 128—130.

KOEH POON SENG, Smoking shop-keeper, Singapore, China-born Hockchia, age 43, came to Straits 27 years ago. Smokes opium himself.

General.—I spent $4,000, ten years ago to get right of my shop (2193 - 2197).

I sell 4,400 to 4,500 packets per mensem (2199) and make a profit of $260 to $270 a month (2200). I sell back 12 tahils of dross monthly to the Monopolies Department (2203). My shop rent is $80 a month (2205) and my assistants (2) cost one $60 per mensem.

My mother and I smoke $5 worth of chandu daily (2212).

I have other sources of income (2213 - 2214). I was offered $8,000 for my licence last year (2219).

I took to opium-smoking when 21 years old because I had a bad cough (2232 - 2233).

My mother smokes because of rheumatism (2238). I swallow a little dross, so does my mother (2241).

There are fewer young smokers nowadays (2239).

Habitual smokers smoke less now because of the high price (2248).

Pages 138—142.

LOW TING TENG, Hakka representative on the Chinese Advisory Board, Singapore, China-born, age 44, has been 27 years in the Straits.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Opium-smokers work hard to get money to buy opium but are not such good workers as non-smokers (2387), (2421). Cannot tell moderate smokers by appearance (2391). Opium-smoker earns money only to smoke (2423), (2394), (2434).

Prevalence.—Common among bad characters (2371). I employ 1,000 Chinese coolies (2379). About 20 per cent smoke (2382). More Hokkiens and Tiechius smoke than other tribes (2383). I last returned to China 6 years ago (2436). There were fewer smokers then than 27 years ago (2438 - 2439).

Increase of Control.—It would be a good thing to prohibit smoking (2367). Better do it quickly (2668). In two or 3 years (2370). Prohibition would lead at first to labour shortage (2395), (2427 - 2428).

Government Shops.—Government should take over all shops (2396).

Rationing.—Every smoker should have to state his needs and have that amount stated on his licence (2402). I do not think there would be much over-statement so as to sell to others (2404).

Registration and Licensing.—Smokers should be licensed (2398). I would give licences to all who apply (2399). I would make smoking without licence a crime (2409).

Public Opinion.—I think the large majority of the public in the Straits is in favour of prohibition, that is all non-smokers and some smokers (2414). I estimate 70 per cent of the Chinese as favouring prohibition (2415). I would support Government in any such measure (2418).

Pages 143—145.

TAN KYE KOK, Hailam representative on the Chinese Advisory Board, Singapore, China-born, age 54, has been 30 years in the Straits. Has never smoked opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers keep irregular hours and are unpunctual and unreliable (2465).

Prevalence.—Not many Hailams smoke (2456). In Singapore about one Hailam in 20 smokes opium (2496). Among Hokkiens the proportion is more than 2 in 10 (2497).

Increase of Control.—Opium-smoking should be stopped within 1½ years (2474). I favour gradual change from present system to Government shops (2492).

Registration and Licensing.—Smokers should be registered and licensed (2475). Smoking without a licence should be made a crime (2482).

Public Opinion.—The Hailam community is against opium-smoking (2461). They would assist Government in suppression (2486).

Pages 146—156.

ROGER FRANCIS ROSS SWETTENHAM, Superintendent of Chandu Monopoly, Federated Malay States, has been in Government Service in Malaya for 17 years, has been 13 years in Chandu Monopoly Department.

Prevalence.—Federated Malay States' consumption in 1922 was little more than ⅓ of that in 1911. Continual rise in price, bad times and a decrease in Chinese population accounts for it (2509).

Packing of Opium.—Federated Malay States' chandu is imported from the Straits and packed in Kuala Lumpur (2512). Mostly packed in 3-hun packets (2515). I think Dutch system of packing in hermetically sealed tubes much better (2524), (2670). I favour also a 2-hun instead of present 3-hun packet (2668).

Purchase of Chandu.—In the Federated Malay States only adult Chinese males may purchase without a permit (2526). Only 70 permits have been issued (2528). No doubt a large number of smokers buy illicitly through Chinese (2528). The permits state the amount the holder may purchase monthly (2533).

Dross.—We buy back dross at $4.50 a tahil (2541). Licensees of smoking shops have to return 40 per cent dross of chandu purchased. It is a condition of the licence (2543 - 2544). We destroy the dross (2548). I think opium-smoking generally harmless. The harm comes in smoking and swallowing dross (2606).

Smoking Shops.—I rarely allow transfers of licences (2554). The shops are run at a profit by the licensees (2552).

Smuggling.—I think there is very little illicit chandu in the Federated Malay States (2560). It would be quite easy to smuggle from China to the Federated Malay States (2562). A large increase in my preventive staff would be necessary to stop it (2569).

Government Shops.—There are 42 Government retail shops now in town areas of the Federated Malay States (2575). When we open a Government shop we abolish all retail shops in that area (2581). I give 3 months notice and their licences are cancelled (2584).

I see no difficulty in introducing a complete system of Government retail shops (2585 - 2586).

As to smoking shops, I am not in favour of Government taking them over at present until we have completed taking over the retail trade (2594). I am strongly in favour of abolishing retail licensed shops (2602), (2653).

Rationing.—In 1920 we tried rationing but had the licensees against us from the start (2600 - 2601). It only continued a few months and was then dropped (2600).

I think we might reduce the morphine content of our chandu (2672).

Registration and Licensing.—I think it impossible to introduce a system of registration and licensing of opium-smokers in the Federated Malay States at present (2608). Mr. Cheah Cheang Lim's scheme is not workable (2615), (2617 - 2622). A registration scheme alone making a permit necessary for purchase of chandu would only lead to one person buying for many (2624). It would also be an incentive to purchase of smuggled chandu (2628 - 2629). Restriction would lead to corruption (2632). Smokers would object to the publicity of registration (2635). At present few smokers except coolies buy in person (2643).

The migratory character of our Chinese population would add enormously to the difficulty of registration (2657 - 2660).

PAGES 221.

R. F. R. SWETTENHAM (recalled).

Government Shops.—Under the scheme which I suggest Government could take over all retail shops in the Federated Malay States in 12 to 18 months (3650). I believe in first getting control of retail shops (3651). Under my scheme for purchase of dross no "on" licensee should allow chandu or dross to be taken off the premises (3656 - 3657).

PAGES 157—175.

RICHARD MICHAEL CONNOLLY, Doctor, B.A., L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. (Edin.), 27 years in Malaya.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It reduces physical efficiency 50 per cent, results in loss of memory and of power of concentration and in inaptitude for prolonged mental strain (2675 - 2676).

Non-smokers work much better than smokers (2822).

Prevalence.—Petty brokers in Penang buy chandu divide packets in half with a wire and sell to coolies (2704). Licensed retail shops naturally push sales (2705). The law here against smoking in 'rikisha depôts, clubs, etc., is a dead letter (2709). I think opium-smoking is prevalent among Straits-born Chinese (2729).

The older generation is in favour of opium-smoking (2733). I estimate the number of smokers in Penang and Province Wellesley at 15,000 to 20,000 (2785).

Drinking opium dissolved in brandy is quite common (2800).

Increase of Control.—I admit that the position in China makes increased control difficult but I think we should try (2875 - 2880).

Opium Shops Retail.—I consider the number in Penang scandalous and advocate sweeping reduction (2695). There is a danger that drastic reduction would lead, as in Burma, to the rise of a class of hawkers (2701).

Smoking Shops.—I think smoking should be forbidden except in smoking saloons (2707).

I think that the introduction of Government shops would lead to decline in smoking as the trade interests would disappear (2872).

Registration and Licensing.—Registration of opium smokers is essential for the success of any scheme of reduction (2702). No man should be allowed to purchase without production of his licence (2711). The only way to take a census of smokers is to register them (2715). I do not propose that we should follow the lines of Formosa and the Philippines and give the Chinese immigrants 3 years to give up the habit or quit (2721). Final suppression must be gradually brought about (2717). I think that only smokers would apply to register (2753).

I do not think registration would drive the coolie class away (2758). I would allow present smokers to continue but I want to stop recruits to the habit (2759). I do not think the administrative difficulties of registration are at all insuperable (2767 - 2778).

I think re-registration annually would be advisable (2806).

Rationing is not possible unless preceded by registration and licensing (2831).

Dross.—I think the swallowing of dross the most noxious form of taking opium (2799).

It is possible that the habit of swallowing dross which has grown up since 1910 is due to steady rise in price of opium (2868). I do not favour reducing price of chandu on this account (2862).

General.—I do not think that smokers who give up the habit necessarily take to other stimulants like alcohol (2838).

I favour extensive educational anti-opium propaganda (2842), (2846).

I think Government should provide funds for refuges where addicts could be cured (2851 - 2856).

Public Opinion.—I founded the first local Anti-Opium Society at Ipoh, Perak, in 1906 (2686). I think the Anti-Opium Societies are representative of the mass of the people (2692). I do not think that registration would meet with opposition (2730), (2738).

Pages 176—179.

TUNKU KASSIM, Superintendent of Government Monopolies, Kedah, also Superintendent of Customs.

Kedah Monopolies Administration.—There are no European officers in the Monopolies Department, Kedah (2888). The Department started in 1910 (2887). We have 25 Government retail shops (2892). Smoking shops are all licensed (2895). Clerks of the Malay Clerical Service manage the shops (2906).

Chandu is supplied from one central depôt in Alor Star (2917), which draws its supplies from Penang.

Dross.—We only get dross back from smoking shops none from individuals (2913). We expect back from the smoking shops dross equal to 40 per cent of the chandu supplied (2916).

There must be a lot of re-cooking of dross in Kedah (2932) and swallowing (2963).

Prevalence.—Many Malays in Kedah smoke (2926). I estimate that one fourth of the Siamese population in Kedah smokes (2925).

Malays are not allowed to smoke in the smoking shops (2966).

Government Shops.—I think it quite feasible to make all shops, retail and smoking, Government shops in under a year (2949 - 2952).

Pages 180—183.

WILLIAM EDMUND SPEERS, Commissioner of Police, Kedah, has been 18 years in Kedah.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I do not think opium-smoking has any connection with crime (2979).

You cannot recognise moderate smokers by appearance (3013). I have never heard employers complain about smokers (3030).

I do not like to have smokers in the Police Force (3038).

Prevalence.—Kedah Malays who smoke are of the better class (2981) (3040).

Registration and Licensing.—I think there would be great difficulty in Kedah about this (2986), (2997 - 3002). There is much movement among the Chinese and Siamese (2987 - 2993).

I do not think smokers would willingly register (3009). If you register you must ration as well to make it successful (3018). Otherwise a registered man would buy for others unregistered (3021).

Pages 184—188.

LEONG SIN NAM, M.S.C., J.P., Tin-miner and Rubber Estate owner, China-born Kheh, age 43.

LAN EK CHING, Tin-miner, China-born Hokkien, age 45.

Both represent Perak Chinese Chamber of Commerce and are examined together. Both are members of the Anti-Opium Society.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Smokers are not as good workmen as non-smokers (3115). They become lazy, and unreliable (3082). Smokers cannot save money, to return to China (3117 - 3118). The opium-smoker spends more than he earns (3122).

Alternatives.—I do not think they could get morphia to substitute (3062). I do not object to liquor (3065). I (Leong Sin Nam) used to smoke and gave it up gradually inside of 8 months (3091).

Dross.—There is much swallowing of dross going on (3103). The rise in price will cause coolies to give up the habit of smoking, not to swallow more dross (3109).

Government Shops.—Retail sale should be made only from Government shops (3059). Abolition of licensed shops should be gradual (3080).

Rationing.—A uniform maximum sale limit calculated on number of adult male Chinese population should be enforced (3059).

Registration and Licensing.—It has been proposed that all opium-smokers should be registered and licensed (3059). The Chamber of Commerce does not favour this step (3059). We admit it would be extremely difficult, owing to movements of Chinese population (3072). I think good class Chinese would be ashamed to register and would give up the habit (3077).

General.—Immediate prohibition or voluntary refusal to engage opium-smokers is not practicable because of shortage of labour (3083 - 3086). This country ought to set an example whatever China does (3101).

Pages 189—191.

HO SIN KHAN, Resident Physician of the Cantonese Free Hospital, Singapore, 400 beds.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It makes a man lazy and negligent (3140). It does not cause any serious physical incapacity (3142), or mental disease (3158). Tendency is steadily to increase the dose (3164). I think that you can generally tell even the moderate smoker, skin is sallow and tight and nape of neck sunken (3167 - 3168). I consider 3 chees a day moderate use (3166).

The smoker of one or two packets a day is not much different in capacity from the non-smoker (3173).

Prevalence.—Number of women smokers is negligible (3135). About a quarter of my men admissions are opium-smokers (3136). Mostly Cantonese and Khehs (3137).

Dross.—Swallowing dross is much worse than smoking opium (3145). Poor people swallow dross because they cannot afford opium (3171).

Pages 192—196.

LAM LOOKING, Miner and rubber planter, Perak, Straits-born Cantonese, has been 28 years in the Federated Malay States, age 60, employs over 1,000 Chinese coolies. Has smoked opium himself for 32 years.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It enables the smoker to work harder and to endure longer (3189). It keeps off fever (3189). Physical condition may not be so good as the non-smoker but smoker endures better (3191). There is great medicinal power in opium (3195). I cured myself of bad fever by smoking opium (3216). I smoke 6 chees a day and I manage my own business (3222). A sick man can prolong life with opium (3252).

Prevalence.—Hard-working coolies in the jungle require opium as a preventive against the ravages of the climate and as a digestive (3186 - 3188).

Of my coolies (1,000) about 400 smoke opium (3246).

Alternatives.—Men who give up opium take to worse things,—women and drink (3210 - 3211). Gambling is also worse (3214).

Coolies never save money. If they don't spend on opium it goes on something worse (3259).

Position in China.—I was in Canton in July, 1923. Opium-smoking was prevalent among officials and soldiers (3237). Opium was sold by Yunnanese military officers in public places (3238). It was very cheap (3239).

General.—I favour gradual suppression in 15 or 16 years (3199). Labour shortage will result if opium is suppressed (3199), (3220 - 3221), (3229). The anti-opium leaders here are well-to-do people and not representive of the mass of people (3244).

Registration and Licensing.—I am not in favour (3200). It would be extremely difficult to enforce (3201). A coolie cannot be expected after a day's work to walk miles to get opium (3202).

You cannot suppress opium here while it is freely grown in China (3260).

Pages 197—199.

LAM KAM, Pawn-broker in Perak, China-born Cantonese, age 41, employs 15 assistants and also 300 coolies on rubber estates and firewood concessions. Smokes opium himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—Quality of work of smoker and non-smoker is the same (3276). Town smokers are apt to be lazy, coolies outside are hardworking (3277). I would prefer employees in my shops who do not smoke (3317 - 3318).

Prevalence.—Of my 300 coolies more than half smoke (3271). They are mostly Hakkas (3272).

Government Shops.—I am in favour of Government taking over all retail shops (3282).

Registration and Licensing.—I am against this step (3282). It would involve great hardship to coolies (3283 - 3285), having to go in person from far away (3286).

General.—I am against suppression in a short period (3291). I should give 5 to 10 years (3292). I smoke 6 to 9 huns a day (3295). Have done so for 8 years (3296). Am not tempted to increase the habit (3298). I take it to keep off fever (3301) (3304).

Pages 200—203.

AH CHIT JAP, Doctor, 10 years in practice in Singapore.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It destroys the body (3333) brings moral ruin and mental instability (3334 - 3335). It makes men thin and apathetic (3343).

Prevalence.—I think opium-smoking is becoming less common in the Straits (3378). New recruits take it up almost entirely because of illness (3382).

Alternatives.—There is a tendency for consumption of alcohol to increase amougst Chinese here (3377).

Dross.—When smoking coolies cannot afford chandu they swallow dross (3346).

Registration and Licensing.—I have had experience in Dutch East Indies (3354). Chandu is there retailed entirely by Government and smokers are registered (3355). That was in Banka (3356). It leads to much corruption (3361).

General.—I am against use of opium except medicinally (3350 - 3351).

I favour propaganda against opium in all the schools (3398).

I think all doctors would call opium-smoking a bad habit and an undesirable one (3409).

Pages 204—206.

WILLIAM FREDERICK SAMUELS, L. M. (Rotunda Hospital, Dublin), L. C. H., L. A. O., Dublin, Medical Superintendent of the Central Mental Hospital, Tanjong Rambutan, Federated Malay States.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I have come across no ill effects in my particular line (3412), (3440). I consider opium use as a cause of insanity negligible (3415 - 3419. Probably worse effect on Europeans than Chinese (3435), who have probably acquired a national tolerance from long use (3436).

Alternatives.—Alcohol is a frequent cause of insanity (3426). It is worse than opium (3427). I think alcohol is frequently a substitute, when opium is gven up (3430). From my point of view opium does so little harm that I would rather leave it alone and not risk more dangerous substitution (3438).

Pages 207—220.

WILLIAM THOMAS CHAPMAN, Secretary for Chinese Affairs, Federated Malay States, member of Malayan Civil Service, since 1899, speaks Cantonese, has made a particular study of the Opium question.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It is an unobjectionable relaxation (3451). The talk of 50 per cent loss of efficiency is not true (3453), except of the "sot" (3454).

It has no connection with crime (3456). It is economically bad because of waste of money (3518). I understand that opium keeps the sick alive (3521). You cannot identify by appearance the moderate smoker (3578). The cooly in the jungle uses opium as a preventure against sickness and also as a cure (3643). The abuse of opium is not nearly so bad as that of drink, possibly even of tobacco (3645).

Prevalence.—It is largely a China-born habit (3512). I think the majority of smokers are moderate (3527). Hokkiens are more given to smoking than Cantonese and Khehs (3490 - 3495).

Hence owing to tribal differences of composition of population there is more smoking in the Straits Settlements than in the Federated Malay States (3498 - 3499).

I could not guess the number of smokers in the Federated Malay States (3555).

Young men coming here have generally not had enough money to smoke in China (3619).

Alternatives.—If Chinese do not go for opium they try women, drink or gambling (3451). Drink is the most probable substitute (3458).

Increase of Control.—The only effective way to suppression is through education (3515). I favour propaganda in all the schools (3516 - 3517). I favour packing in tubes and use of a smaller denomination, say a ½ hun tube (3522 - 3523). The tube system will be more costly (5333). I think we must wait for China to help in suppression (3539), (3623).

Owing to the migratory nature of our Chinese population the consuming population turns over in 7 years or less (3557 - 3558). There is a great deal of inter-State movement as well as the movement to and from China (3562 - 3563). I think increase of control would discourage labour coming from China (3615). Increase of control is bound to spell injustice to the cooly class (3643).

Government Shops.—I am in favour of Government taking over retail shops (3463), but not smoking shops yet (3464 - 3466). I think retail shops could be taken over in the Federated Malay States in a year (3474). We recognize no right of the licensee to renewal (3475 - 3476).

I do not think compensation necessary (3478). I do not think gradual reduction by ballotting a good system (3485).

Dross.—I think you would get more dross back if you eliminated profit on chandu in smoking shops and left licensee to get his profit from selling back dross to Government (3466 - 3473).

The swallowing of dross is very prevalent, because of the high price of chandu (3604).

I think a reduction in size of the lowest packet might help to discourage dross-swallowing because the cooly could then afford it (3641).

Smuggling.—I think opium gets in from China now (3546) and smuggling would increase with control here (3547), (3621). The shape and configuration of British Malaya makes smuggling easy (3611).

Rationing.—It was tried in 1920 and failed (3487). The difficulty is that population is variable and migratory (3488 - 3489).

Tribal variations also present difficulties, *e.g.*, Hokkiens smoke more than Cantonese and Khehs (3490 - 3495).

In the Federated Malay States, Cantonese and Khehs (3490 - 3495), in the Federated Malay States Cantonese and Hakkas predominate (3498), in the Straits Settlements, Hokkiens and Tiechius form the bulk of Chinese population (3499). Uniformity of ration is impossible unless you give a wide margin (3500).

Registration and Licensing.—The active help of the Chinese is necessary for success (3506). You cannot rely on that (3507).

From observation of the difficulty of rubber restriction I think that any system of licensing and registration must fail unless there is absolute control

of the sources of supply (3540 - 3543). I do not think Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme would work (3551). You would get the registered nominee who is not a smoker himself (3554), (3585 - 3586). There would be a great deal of corruption amongst subordinates (3569).

Any system of registration must carry licensing with it (3580). The licence-holder must be made to buy in person or the system becomes a farce (3592 - 3593).

Public Opinion.—Anti-opium feeling is strong just now (3501). In 1916, it was moribund (3501). The Chinese blow hot and cold about such questions (3502 - 3504). Anti-opium feeling is mostly Straits-born with an element of Chinese nationalism (3510). China-born do not listen much to Straits-born (3514). Chinese will generally say opium-smoking is a bad thing if you ask them (3625).

General.—I think the present high price of chandu regrettable in effect (3646).

PAGES 222—226.

PETER GALSTOUN EDGAR, Doctor, graduated at Edinburgh, came East in 1894, ten years in Government service and since then in private practice, also a planter and tin-miner, large experience as doctor and employer of labour.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—The moderate smoker cut off opium suffers no harm (3670). The heavy smoker has to be gradually reduced (3671). Tolerance varies and I consider a moderate smoker one whose work is unaffected thereby (3672). I have never seen the mental and moral degradation one hears about (3677). I have never known a case of insanity due to it (3685). I looked after Tronoh Mines for a year. 2,000 coolies, of whom 50 per cent smoked (3688 - 3690). The moderate smokers were as good at hard work as non-smokers (3691), (3694). Chinese coolies firmly believe that smoking keeps off malaria and my experience bears this out (3694 - 3697). My experience does not support the idea that it results in loss of efficiency moral, mental or physical (3713 - 3715), (3723 - 3726). My smokers and non-smokers get the same pay (3731).

Prevalence.—About 30 per cent of inmates of gaol were smokers (1894 - 1904), (3668). About 20 years ago when Tronoh Mines had 2,000 coolies of whom 50 per cent smoked they were largely Hokkiens (3688 - 3689).

I employ now 2 or 3 hundred Chinese coolies and about 25 per cent smoke (3727 - 3729).

Alternatives.—There is no comparison between effect of alcohol and opium. Alcohol is worse (3721 - 3722).

Increase of Control.—I think it would be criminal for Government to attempt suppression (3698). I think opium-smoking a totally distinct question from drug using (3703 - 3704).

Labour supply would fall short if opium were suppressed (3715 - 3717).

Rationing.—I do not know how you could do it, tolerance varies so much with individuals (3708). I cannot see why the Chinese should be limited in opium, when we have no limit on tobacco and drink (3709).

Registration and Licensing.—I think this most impracticable (3699), because of fluctuating population here and the absence of control in China (3700). The Chinese employers are willing to have registration if it stops at that (3718 - 3719).

Pages 227—230.

DONALD CAMERON MACASKILL, M. D. Edinburgh, joined Federated Malay States Medical Service in 1912, has since resigned and gone into private practice, considerable experience with Chinese labour.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I could not distinguish a smoker by appearance (3750). I have never noticed any difference in power of recovery between smokers and non-smokers (3752). Have never seen any mental or moral degradation as result (3753). Nor physical degeneration except a little emaciation (3754). Smokers are apt to be a little lazy (3756) I have never heard of a case of insanity due to opium (3760). I do not think it increases pauperism here (3791), or disease (3792), or crime (3793). The effect on a Malay is more than on a Chinese (3795).

I would not refuse to pass a man for insurance merely because he smoked opium (3801). It gives freedom from worry and so may lengthen life (3803). A moderate smoker can easily stop (3810).

Prevalence.—A few better class Chinese whom I know smoke (3746). Of mining coolies I should say about 50 per cent smoke (3748). I have known opium-smoking Malays (3794).

Control.—I see no necessity for suppression (3761) Drug-taking is quite a distinct matter (3768).

Government Shops.—I see no benefit to be derived from Government taking over the retail shops (3774). I think it better for a man to smoke in a smoking shop than at home (3778).

Rationing.—I question the possibility (3766). Individuals vary so much (3767).

Registration and Licensing.—I consider the task impossible (3764). The population fluctuates too much (3765).

Pages 231—237.

JAMES WILLIAM SIMMONS, District Officer, Kinta, joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1900.

Prevalence.—In Kinta I find about 7/15 of admissions to gaol are opium-smokers (3906). Opium-smokers tend to remain here because they cannot afford to get away (3910).

Registration and Licensing.—I have seen Mr. Cheah Cheang Lim's scheme and think we could carry out the details (3827) But we should want a very large staff of very high quality (3828 - 3829).

The population is subject to very considerable movement (3837 - 3840). You must regard British Malaya as a whole (3841 - 3842).

The proportion of opium-smokers is very difficult to determine (3843 - 3844). It will be very difficult to keep the register correct (3856). Informers will flourish (3860). Coolies are paid on various systems, they cannot buy regularly (3867 - 3869).

The scheme requires very strong public feeling against opium and I questiion its existence (3877 - 3878).

The checking of sales will be difficult (3890 - 3898).

The scheme depends very much on similar action being taken elsewhere (3904).

PAGES 238—242.

EDWARD SHAW HOSE, C.M.G., British Resident, Negri Sembilan, joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1891.

Registration and Licensing.—Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM's scheme at least provides for admission of immigrant labourers as consumers (3921). I am opposed to registration and licensing and consider that the only way effectively to tackle a habit of this kind is by education (3923). You cannot control consumption here until production is controlled in China (3923), (3927). I consider that the need for action has diminished since 30 years ago (3931).

Thirty years ago opium-smoking was comparatively common amongst Malays. It is now practically unknown (3932).

I am opposed to any present measure of control which would mean restriction of consumption, but I favour taking over of the retail trade by Government (3937).

It would be a hardship for each labourer to have to come in person for his opium (3940).

Corruption would spread in the subordinate ranks (3945 - 3947).

The effect of restriction on the labour supply might be disastrous (3952).

I question the power to restrict consumption while production continues unchecked (3958 - 3961).

PAGES 243—247.

HENRY WAGSTAFFE THOMSON, British Resident. Pahang, joined Malayan Civil Service in 1896.

Registration and Licensing.—You can administer any scheme given the staff, but unless you can also stop smuggling it is useless (3971 - 3972).

I do not think this interference with the liberty of the subject warrantable (3974).

Identification by finger-print would be necessary and very unpopular (3990). Corruption will become rife (3993). Up-country coolies could not buy in person (3996 - 4000).

Restriction would seriously and adversely affect the labour supply in Malaya (4002).

A lot of people would resent registration and would rely on illicit supplies (4014).

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I have known men of all grades who smoked and seemed none the worst for it (3974). I think it has no connection with crime (4010). The effect is worse on the European than the Chinese (4021).

Prevalence.—I think smoking is less now than 30 years ago with all races here (4004 - 4007).

Smuggling.—Easy on the East-coast from Siam or China (3978 - 3988).

Alternatives.—I think that if opium is taken away the Chinese will take to worse habits—like drink or injections (4012). (4018)

Pages 248—250.

RALPH SCOTT, Acting British Resident, Selangor, joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1895.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I have never noticed any difference between smokers and non-smokers (4032).

Men with particularly hard tasks often smoke (4032).

There is no comparison with alcohol, which is much worse (4035). Never heard of a prisoner who had to be treated specially for opium habit (4057).

Registration and Licensing.—Heavy smuggling must ensue—probably from China (4038 - 4039). Corruption would infect the staff in consequence (4043 - 4044).

Migratory habits of adult Chinese male make any scheme difficult (4046 - 4049).

I do not think any scheme can succeed without help of China (4055). The heavy movements of population make it very difficult (4046). A very large staff would be required (4052).

Smuggling.—Very easy into British Malaya (4044).

General.—I was 3 years in charge of Penang Prison and never heard of any prisoners having special treatment for opium craving (4057).

Pages 251—253.

FREDERICK EDWARD TAYLOR, District Officer, Klang, joined the Malayan Civil Service in 1900.

Registration and Licensing, and Rationing.—It is a possibility (4063) granted adequate staff (4069). Greatest difficulty would arise in corruption (4070). The constant movement of the Chinese population would make working difficult (4080 - 4086). I do not think rationing feasible (4092 - 4094).

You can only give the man what he asks for (4099 - 4101).

I was Superintendent of Chandu Department in Johore for a year and think Government could take over all retail shops in a year (4107).

Pages 254—256.

AMBROSE THOMAS STANTON, M.D. (Tor.), M.R.C.P. (Lond.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), D.T.M.H. (Cambr.), D.P.H. (Lond.), Director of Governmnet Laboratories, Federated Malay States, has been 17 years in Malaya.

General.—In the Port Swettenham Decrepit Asylum returns all of the 39 opium-smokers are workers and the best in the factory (4130).

In post mortem examinations I do not recognise any findings characteristic of death from opium or the opium habit generally or as having contributed to such a result (4134).

Considered from the point of view of public health, I do not consider the opium habit to be a serious menace (4138). It is more serious than tobacco and much less serious than alcohol (4138).

I think that the education of the people in the possible dangers of the habit would be good (4141). Government has offered to treat opium-smokers in the hospitals (4144).

The content of opium-smoke is about 1 per cent morphine. Smoking is far less harmful than swallowing (4149).

I think the League of Nations has been over-impressed by over statements of the evils of the opium habit.

Pages 257—260.

KAM TAK KHONG, M.A., M.B., B.C. of Cambridge, Straits-born Cantonese, has been in practice locally since 1910.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I think opium-smoking results in about 15 per cent loss of efficiency (4173). There is no mental or moral degradation (4177). I have heard that malaria is stopped or cured by opium (4218 - 4219). I think it is good for diabetes and phthysis (4225). I think there is little difference between the moderate smoker and moderate drinker as a worker (4239). In excess I would prefer the smoker (4242). The non-smoker is better still (4243).

Prevalence.—There are many opium-smokers among my friends and patients (4167 - 4168). About 2 packets a day—eight pipes is a moderate smoker (4184). I know people who smoke 2 or 3 times that a day (4185). I should say that about 15 per cent of adult Chinese males smoke (4191). About 40 per cent of new cooly immigrants from China do (4195). Opium-smoking has been the national form of relaxation in China (4202).

Alternatives.—In time to come alcohol will be worse than opium (4229). Amongst the poorer classes it is commonly believed that you cannot cure the opium habit without the use of alcohol (4232).

Increase of Control.—I think present restrictions quite enough (4179). Education is the best preventive (4181).

I think labour would still come from China even if use of opium were restricted (4215). I think use of opium is gradually dropping out (4244). Increase of price and stopping of smoking in brothels and clubs has decreased use (4246).

I consider alcohol drinking and smoking far worse and it is not fair for Government to single out opium for action (4255 - 4256).

Dross.—Swallowing dross is very common (4209). It is due to high price of chandu (4210). In moderation the habit can easily be dropped as is proved by case of prisoners in gaol (4247).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—I think licensing and rationing both unfair and unnecessary (4180).

General.—If China continues to produce large quantities of opium it makes matters very difficult here (4251).

Pages 261—264.

FOO BAN SENG, Kheh, born in Rangoon, age 44, miner and planter in Perak, employs 400 coolies, mostly Hokkiens. Has never smoked himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—My experience is that it keeps off sickness in the jungle (4280).

Prevalence.—Forty per cent of my fixed wage coolies smoke, about 80 per cent of the piece-work men, and of the wood-cutters about 80 per cent (4269).

Increase of Control.—Labour is scarce enough already without restricting opium (4271). I hear from relations that people in the Hokkien province of China are being forced to cultivate 200 trees per family by the military (4275 - 4276). Time ought to be given—say 20 years—for suppression here (4288). I favour further raising of price and reduction of quantity supplied (4296). I think it would work (4298 - 4306).

Smuggling.—If you increase control here smuggling from China must follow (4279).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—Apart from difficulty of working any system will entail great hardship on the cooly classes (4282).

Pages 265—267.

SHUM CHOOK SAM, China-born Cantonese, age 51, miner and rubber planter in Perak, employs 400 coolies, has been 35 years in Malaya, does not smoke himself.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—It is a ruinous habit (4332). If you have the money you increase the dose (4337), (4345). Smokers are late risers (4368). Smoking adversely affects the health (4369). Smokers are not so strong (4371).

Prevalence.—My coolies are mostly Hakkas and Kwongsi (4327), under 10 per cent smoke (4329). Smokers are more common among piece-work and co-operative system men (4317).

Dross.—The swallowing of dross is worst (4348). They adulterate it with tea (4349).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—I favour registration (4353). I admit it will be difficult to insist on personal purchase in case of coolies (4354).

Pages 268—269.

TAN BOON CHENG, Member of Chinese Advisory Board, used to smoke opium, but has given up the habit.

Increase of Control.—I favour control if reasonably worked (4386). The strength can slowly be reduced (4395), (4399).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—I object because it will lead to labour shortage (4387). Such measures make it difficult for coolies (4405 - 4408).

Smuggling.—I know some smuggling goes on (4401 - 4402).

Pages 270—271.

KHONG SU KEE, China-born Hokchiu, rubber planter, age 44, has been 22 years in Malaya.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—When the smoker stops he gets sick (4417). If he runs short of money he is apt to steal (4420).

Prevalence.—Among Hokkien coolies about 80 per cent smoke (4427). Opium-smokers are many from the provinces in China, which grow the poppy (4448). There are many Hokchiu smokers, not so many Cantonese, Kheh and Tiechiu (4443 - 4447).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—It is a bad idea and hard on the coolies (4423 - 4425).

General.—I think Government should open institutions for cure (4428). I advocate educational measures against the opium habit (4435).

I think we should give China the lead (4450).

Pages 272—273.

LIM TEOW CHONG, Straits-born Hokkien, Interpreter in Supreme Court for 18 years now retired, petition-writer, age 60, had 15 children, eleven still alive has smoked opium for 32 years.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—No need to increase dose (4467). No adverse effect on work (4463). It does no harm (4475), (4478), (4488). Very heavy smokers suffer a litte harm (4479).

Prevalence.—My children do not smoke (4482). It is too expensive a habit to allow (4484).

Control.—I am not in favour of restriction (4469).

Rationing, Registration and Licensing.—I see no objection to licensing if you do not make personal purchase compulsory and do not restrict quantity (4470). Good class Chinese will object to registration (4477). It will adversely affect labour supply (4491).

General.—I smoke 4 chees a day. Used to smoke more (4468).

Pages 274.

TEH KEE, China-born Hokkien, age 45, has been 25 years in Federated Malay States, formerly a miner now a clerk, smokes opium himself.

General.—I have smoked for 30 years (4499). I smoke 2 packets a day (4501), used to smoke more when I could afford it (4502).

Smoking is a bad thing (4505). Government ought to suppress it (4506).

I began because of sickness (4509).

Registration of smokers would be most unpopular (4514 - 4520).

Pages 275—277.

FRANKLAND DENT, M.Sc., Ph.D., F.I.C., Government Analyst, Straits Settlements, since 1906.

General.—There are about 60 grains of morphia in one tahil of chandu (4528). Persian opium has less morphine content than Indian (4533).

Dross is deleterious because it requires a higher temperature and that means more decomposition of the mixture (4538).

Dutch chandu is very good (4548 - 4549).

There is nothing in the idea of making chandu more liquid except greater profit, because the water comes off in heating (4551 - 4552)

Opium-smoke contains 1/10th of 1 per cent morphine (4555).

Swallowing dross would do most harm (4561).

Pages 278—282.

WILLIAM BARTLEY, M.B.E., member of Malayan Civil Service, since 1908, Assistant Adviser in Kelantan for past 2 years.

Effects of Opium-Smoking.—I have seen little sign of harm from it (4637 - 4638).

Prevalence.—A number of Siamese in Kelantan smoke (4572). An appreciable proportion of Chinese labour in Kelantan are smokers (4628).

Smuggling.—It would be easy from Kelantan to Siam or *vice versa* (4586).

Government Shops.—Staff would be a difficulty in Kelantan (4596 - 4600). Communications are bad with outlying parts (4601)

Registration and Licensing.—Not possible at present in Kelantan owing to absence of communications (4608 - 4609), (4613), (4617). Labour is scarce in Kelantan as things are (4625). Even non-smokers would register so as to be able to get opium for medicinal use (4634), and for re-sale (4635).

General.—The price of chandu in Kelantan is $10 per tahil (4579). Malays are not allowed to buy or to have opium in their possession (4597), (4642 - 4643).

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

SUBJECT INDEX.

(The numbers refer to paragraphs in the Evidence)

A

ADULTERATION:

Bamboo leaf packets can be opened, contraband chandu put in and then sealed up again (1543). Packing in tubes would stop this (1547), (2267), (2520—2524).
An adulterant can also be added (2280).
Government chandu can be indentified by a secret process (2595—2597).
You might reduce morphine content of chandu gradually by annual reduction (2673)
The distinguishing element whereby we identify Government chandu survives any amount of heating (4544).
The strength can be slowly reduced (4395), (4399).

ALTERNATIVES, ALCOHOL, ETC.:

Drink is worse than opium-smoking (7). Whisky drinking is just as harmful (190). Excessive indulgence in alcohol is much worse in effect than excess in opium-smoking (274). More harmful things, *e.g.*, morphia injection follows on prohibition (289).
I drink liquor (517) and some of my men do (518).
Some of my men drink liquor (551). I prefer the drinker to the opium-smoker (555).
About 7 in 10 of my men drink liquor (586). I prefer such men to opium-smokers (590).
About 3 in 10 of my men drink liquor (625).
Some of my men drink liquor (648). I prefer the drinker to the opium-smoker even if he gets drunk (652).
I drink a little liquor (670).
Some 'rikisha-pullers drink liquor.
Up-country non-smokers gamble after work (981).
Alcohol is less harmful (1286).
I do not object to liquor (3065). I do not think morphia can be obtained as a substitute (3062).
Men who give up opium taken to women, drink or gambling, all worse vices (3210—3214).
Alcohol is worse than opium (3427) and is frequently substituted when opium-smoking is given up (3430). Opium is negligible as cause of insanity whereas alcohol is a frequent cause (3426), (3438).
There is a tendency for consumption of alcohol to increase amongst Chinese locally (3377).
Abuse of opium is not nearly so bad as that of drink (3645).
Women, drink and gambling are the usual substitutes (3451).
Alcohol is far worse (3721—3722).
I think drink or injections will take the place of opium (4012), (4018).
Alcohol is much worse (4035).
Opium-smoking is much less serious than alcohol drinking (4138).

ALTERNATIVES ALCOHOL, ETC.—*Contd.*

In time alcohol will be worse than opium (4229).
Amongst the poorer classes of Chinese it is common belief that you cannot cure the opium habit without the use of alcohol (4232).
I consider alcohol for worse (4255—4256).

C

CHANDU, *Vide* PRICE:

CHINA, PRESENT POSITION IN:

Do not think further local action can be beneficial until China reduces her poppy cultivation (54). Prevalence of opium-smoking in the Straits is a close reflex of prevalence in China (233), but it is not entirely a China-born habit (208).
Hokkiens and Tiechius are more given to the habit than Cantonese (330).
China is not able at present to take effective measures for suppression (354).
Habit is practically confined to China-born adults (1224), but I think the habit is acquired locally because here wages are higher (1254).
3 years ago opium-smoking seemed to me to have declined in China (1431).
Most smuggled opium comes from Amoy (1514). We can easily suppress opium-smoking here if China restricts poppy cultivation (1648). China must help (1644). The China-born have acquired the habit in China (1801).
Present smuggling is all from China (2010).
Six years ago I thought that opium-smoking was declining in China (2438—2439).
The present position in China makes increased control here very difficult (2875—2880).
This country ought to set an example to China (3101).
Six months ago I was in Canton and saw that opium-smoking was rampant (3237).
Opium is being sold by Yunnanese military officers in public places there (3238) and is very cheap (3239).
You cannot suppress opium here while it is freely grown in China (3260).
I hear from my friends that 60 per cent of people in my village in China smoke opium (2128).
The law in China as regards prohibition is not observed (1194—1195).
Suppression here is impossible while China produces its present quantities (2004).
Opium-Smoking is the national form of relaxation (4202).
If China continues to produce large quantities it is difficult to do anything here (4251).
I hear from relatives that people in the Hokkien province are being forced by the military to cultivate 200 trees per family (4275—4276).

CRAVING, *Vide* DOSE:

CRIME:
Opium-smoking is common among bad characters (2371).
I do not think that opium-smoking has any connection with crime (2979).
It does no moral harm (277).
It brings moral ruin (3343).
It does not cause criminal insanity (3412), (3440).
It has no connection with crime (3456).
It has no effect on crime (3793).
The smoker when short of money is apt to steal (4420).
It has no connection with crime (4010).

CURE OF HABIT:
In prison after 2 or 3 weeks special treatment and light labour former smokers are all right (1379—1381).
I think Government should provide funds for refuges where addicts could be cured (2851—2856).
I am not tempted to increase the dose (3298).
Coolies commonly think you must use alcohol to cure it (4232).
I think Government should open institutions for cure (4428).
A moderate smoker can stop at will (3810), (4247).
Government has offered to treat smokers in hospitals (4144).

D

DOSE:
'Rikisha-pullers earn $1 to $1.50 per diem in good times and smokers spend 50 or 60 cents a day on opium (694).
I smoke $1 (one chee) worth daily (918—919).
I call a moderate smoker one who smokes a 3-hun packet daily (1483).
I call 9 to 12 huns per diem moderate (1755).
I smoke 1 tahil per diem (1842), *i.e.*, 133 pipes (1884).
I smoke 1 tahil per diem (2115) and swallow the dross (2118).
I smoke 8 or 8 chees daily (2163).
My mother and I smoke $5 worth of chandu daily (2212).
Tendency is steadily to increase the dose (3164).
I smoke 6 chees daily (3222).
I smoke 6 to 9 huns a day (3295) and have done so for 8 years (3296), without any temptation to increase (3298).
Most smoking coolies are moderate smokers, they cannot afford more (1484) now that the price is so high (1485).
Harm is proportionate to dose (1687).
I consider 3 chees a day moderate use (3166).
I smoke 4 chees a day and used to smoke more (4468).
I smoke 2 packets a day and used to smoke more (4501—4502).
Tolerance varies and I consider a moderate smoker one whose work is unaffected (3672).
If you have the money you tend to increase the dose (4337), (4345).
There is no need to increase the dose (4467).
About 2 packets a day is a moderate smoker (4184).

DROSS:
The limit of legal possession of dross for a private person is 1 tahil (53).
Government get back as dross 10 to 12 per cent of total chandu sold, all from smoking shops none from retail (109—110).
No doubt private smoker consumes his dross also (112).
Dross selling is prohibited by law (2307), but I have no doubt that it is sold (2305—2306).
I am against abolishing smoking shops because they make dross control easier 99—103).
A system of Government shops would give greater control (199).
Many 'rikisha-pullers swallow dross (737).
Smokers who cannot afford enough chandu take to swallowing dross (960).
I know that dross-swallowing is common amongst coolies (989).
Dross-swallowing is common amongst coolies (1025—1026).
I know that many coolies swallow dross (1053).
Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1075).
In Johore we buy back dross at $4.50 per tahil for 1st class dross and $1.50 for 2nd class dross (1128). We drop it into the sea (1129).
I know that it is a common thing for coolies who cannot afford chandu to swallow dross (1363—1364).
Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1425).
Coolies often swallow the dross from their chandu (1722—1723).
Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1768).
I sell back 10 tahils of dross monthly to the Monopolies Department (1858).
I sell back monthly 6 tahils of dross (1894).
I smoke one tahil daily and swallow my dross (2118).
Almost all my customers swallow their dross because they cannot afford sufficient chandu (2130).
I give away my dross to others who swallow it (2176).
I sell back 12 tahils of dross monthly (2203).
In the Federated Malay States we buy back dross at $4.50 a tahil (2541). Licensees of smoking shops must return 40 per cent dross of chandu purchased. It is a condition of their licence (2543—2544). The dross is destroyed (2548). The real harm is in smoking and swallowing dross not in opium-smoking (2606).
I think the swallowing of dross the most noxious form of taking opium (2709).
It is possible that the habit of swallowing dross which has grown up since 1910, is due to the steady rise in price of opium (2868).
We (Kedah) only get back dross from smoking shops, none from individuals (2913). We expect back 40 per cent dross of chandu purchased (2916).
There is a lot of re-cooking (2932) and swallowing of dross in Kedah (2963).
There is much swallowing of dross going on (3103).
I do not think the rise in price will cause coolies to swallow more dross (3109).
Swallowing dross is much worse than smoking opium (3145).
Poor people swallow dross because they cannot afford to buy opium (3171).
When smoking coolies cannot afford chandu they swallow dross (3346).

DROSS.—*Contd.*

I swallow a little dross, so does my mother (2241).
The swallowing of dross is very prevalent because of high price of chandu (3604).
I suggest giving licensee profit only on dross sold back to Government (3466—3473). Reduction in size of packet might reduce dross—swallowing by placing chandu within means of the poor (3641).
Smoking is for less harmful than swallowing (4149).
Swallowing dross is very common (4209).
It is due to high price of chandu (4210).
The swallowing of dross is worst of all (4348).
Swallowing dross does most harm (4561).

E

EDUCATION:

I advocate education of public opinion against opium-smoking (833).
I favour extensive educational anti-opium propaganda (2842) (2846).
I favour propaganda against opium in all the schools (3398).
The only effective way to suppression is by education (3515). I favour propaganda in all schools (3516—3517).
The only way effectively to tackle the habit is by education (3923).
Education is the best preventive (4181).
I advocate educational measures (4435).
I think education in dangers of the habit would be good (4141).

EFFECTS OF OPIUM-SMOKING:

Not nearly so bad as drink (7), a costly but not a noxious habit (8).
Does no more harm generally than whisky-drinking among Europeans (190).
Not a harmful habit in moderation (266).
It often prolongs the life of the sick (272).
Moderate smokers have no distinguishing facial or physical characteristics (266).
It does no moral harm (277).
I consider effects harmful (309) but do not think it in most local cases a serious vice (311).
Moderate smokers cannot outwardly be detected (351).
Neither mental nor physical capacity is noticeably affected (348—349).
Cannot recognise ordinary smoker at sight (508).
Smokers are apt to be lazy and unpunctual (511—512). They are less skilled (573).
Non-smokers are better workmen (536).
Smokers are lazy (538). I can only tell heavy smokers by their appearance (550).
Non-smokers are better workers (578). Heavy smokers are distinguishable by their features, smokers are apt to be disobedient and lazy (581—582).
Non-smokers are better workmen (622). The smoker is generally thinner and darker (626). Smokers are lazy (630).
Non-smokers are stronger and less lazy (646).
Smokers are not so strong (665) but if the smoker is moderate there is little difference (668).
I cannot tell a moderate smoker by appearance (664).
'Rikisha-pullers who smoke rarely return to China. Cannot afford it (703). Non-smokers work better but smokers must get money for opium (704).
Smokers cannot afford to return to China (741).

EFFECTS OF OPIUM-SMOKING.—*Contd.*

We should get stronger pullers if opium were prohibited (746).
I believe that opium-smoking reduces efficiency of coolies but have great trouble about it (798), (804). Opium-smokers cannot save money (800). Are not so strong (802). I cannot detect moderate smoker by appearance (803).
Makes men lazy (852). I cannot tell a moderate smoker by appearance (851).
Smokers cannot get up in the morning or face rain (876). I cannot tell ordinary smoker by appearance (877).
Opium-smokers are lazy (897). I can tell even a moderate smoker by appearance (902).
I find smokers as good as non-smokers (923).
Good workmen deteriorate after contracting the habit (951). I cannot distinguish moderate smoker by appearance (954).
The smoker cannot compete with non-smoker (1020). Smokers cannot afford to return to China as often as non-smokers (1027).
Smokers are not equal in work of non-smokers (1039). They cannot save to return to China (1050).
I prefer non-smokers for work (1066). Cannot recognise moderate smoker by appearance (1067).
My experience has never revealed any abuses due to opium-smoking (1081).
It is more harmful than alcohol (1286). Tendency is always to increase dose (1289). Smokers are inferior in work and find it hard to pay their way (1225).
I can recognise even moderate smokers by their appearance (1277).
Heavy smokers cannot at first do hard labour in prison (1379). After 2 or 3 weeks they are all right (1380—1381).
I find smokers inferior workmen (1415). Cannot tell a moderate smoker by his appearance (1417).
Smokers are not so strong as non-smokers (1478).
It does mental, moral and physical harm (1675). Harm is proportionate to dose (1687).
Smokers do not work as well as non-smokers (1715). Coolies who stop smoking can save money and buy useful things (1719). They get stronger and earn more (1721).
Coal coolies work better because they smoke (1749).
On the whole non-smokers work better (1766).
It reduces physical efficiency 50 per cent, results in loss of memory and of power of concentration and in inaptitude for prolonged mental strain (2675—2676).
Non-smokers work much better than smokers (2822).
I do not think opium-smoking has any connection with crime (2979). I have never heard employers complain about smokers (3030). You cannot recognise moderate smokers by appearance (3013).
Smokers are not as good workmen as non-smokers (3115). They become lazy and unreliable (3082). Smokers cannot save money to return to China (3117—3118). The opium-smoker spends more than he earns (3122).
It makes a man lazy and negligent (3140). Causes no serious physical incapacity (3142) or mental disease (3158). Tendency is steadily to increase dose (3164). You can generally tell even moderate smoker, skin is sallow and tight, and nape of neck sunken (3167—3168).

EFFECTS OF OPIUM-SMOKING.—*Contd.*

It enables the smoker to work harder and endure longer (3189). It keeps off fever (3189). Physical condition is possibly not so good as non-smoker (3191). Prolongs life of a sick man (3252). Cures fever (3216).

Quality of work of smoker and non-smoker is same (3276). Town smokers are apt to be lazy, outside coolies are hard-working (3277).

It destroys the body (3333), brings moral ruin and mental instability (3334—3335). Makes men thin and apathetic (3343).

No ill effects to cause insanity. Probably has less effect on Chinese, who have acquired a national tolerance from long use (3436) than on Europeans (3435).

There is no loss of efficiency except with the sot (3453—3454). It keeps the sick alive (3521). The moderate smoker cannot be indentified by appearance (3578). It is a preventive and a cure (3643). It is an unobjectionable relaxation (3451).

I have never seen any mental or moral degration result (3677) or insanity (3685). Moderate smokers are as good workmen as non-smokers (3691), (3694). It keeps off malaria (3694—3697). It does not cause loss of efficiency mental, moral or physical (3713—3715), (3723—3726).

I could not distinguish a smoker by appearance (3750).

No mental, moral or physical ill effects (3752—3754). Smokers are apt to be a little lazy (3756). It gives freedom from worry and so may lengthen life (3803). It has more effect on a Malay than on Chinese (3795).

I have known smokers of all classes and they seemed none the worse for it (3974). It affects the European more than Chinese (4021).

I have never noticed any difference between smokers and non-smokers (4032).

I do not consider it does any serious harm (4134), (4138).

I think it results in about 15 per cent loss of efficiency (4173). There is no mental or moral degradation (4177). It is good for malaria, diabetes and pthysis (4225). The moderate smoker and moderate drinker are about equal (4239). In excess the smoker is better.

It is a ruinous habit (4332). You tend to increase the dose (4337), (4345). Smokers are late risers (4368). Smoking adversely affects the health (4369).

When the smoker stops he gets sick (4417).

There is no need to increase dose (4467). It has no adverse effect on work (4463) and does no harm (4475), (4478), (4488). Very heavy smokers suffer some harm (4479).

I have seen little signs of harm from it (4637—4638).

EXPENDITURE ON OPIUM:

Smokers must work to get money to spend on opium (704).

'Rikisha-pullers earn $1 to $1.50 per diem in good times and spend 50 to 60 cents a day on pium (694).

I smoke one dollar's worth daily (918—919).

Smokers earning $25 a month spend 40 cents a day on opium (1024).

A 3-hun packet daily is all a cooly can afford (1483—1484).

I smoke 1 tahil ($12) per diem (1842, 2115).

I spend $300 a month on opium (2165).

EXPENDITURE ON OPIUM.—*Contd.*

I spend $150 a month on chandu for myself and my mother (2212).

I smoke 6 chees a day (3222).

Opium-smoker spends more than he earns (3122).

Smoker must work to get money for opium (904).

Smokers find it hard to pay their way (1225).

It is economically bad because of waste of money (3518).

If you have the money you tend to increase dose (4337), (4345).

The smoker when short of money is tempted to steal (4420).

H

HABIT, PREVALENCE OF THE:

Practically confined to Chinese adults (10). Commonest amongst Hokkiens, Tiechius, Cantonese, Khehs and Hylams smoke less (16). It is not possible to get any reliable figure of number of smokers (32). You can only assume an arbitrary normal consumption for a normal smoker and divide that into total consumed (22). Economic reason are chiefly responsible for increase or decrease in sale (45).

Not increasing in proportion to growth of population (191). A few females smoke (208). Prevalence in the Straits is a close reflex of prevalence in China (233).

Smoking is relatively rare amongst other nationalities than Chinese (271). Wages being higher here they can better afford it than in China (275).

A distinct stigma attaches to the habit among Cantonese and Hakka people now (316).

It is dying out amongst Straits-born Chinese. It is more prevalent amongst Hokkiens and Tiechius than Cantonese (327).

Few women smoke (328).

The increase in price in recent years has decreased consumption considering also rise in population (339).

Poor men cannot afford much chandu and so swallow dross (345—346).

About 10 in 70 of my men smoke opium (470).

About ½ of my men—600—smoke (532).

There are more smokers amongst Hokkiens than amongst Cantonese (545).

There is more opium-smoking among painters than in other trades (549).

About 2 in 10 of my men smoke (574).

There are no opium smokers amongst my men now (617).

One of two of my Cantonese men smoke but none of my Hailams (642).

8 or 10 amongst my 40 men (Cantonese) smoke opium (661).

3 or 4 out of 10 'rikisha-pullers smoke opium (689).

They are mostly Hinhua and Hockchia (692).

About 30 per cent of pullers smoke opium (736).

Women do not smoke (781).

Of Tan Kah Kee's Coolies in different branches (details given) about 25 per cent of Hokkiens smoke (778—796). It is rare amongst Cantonese engineering coolies (791).

At the saw-mills about 17 per cent of Hailam coolies smoke (796).

40 per cent of my coolies up-country in Johore smoke (859—860). The further away in the jungle the greater proportion of smokers (863).

HABIT, PREVALENCE OF THE.—*Contd.*

Of my 200 coolies (Tiechiu and Hokkien) none smoke (891).
Of my 120 coolies (Cantonese and Hailams) about 20 smoke (912—914).
Of my 200 coolies (Hokkiens) about 30 per cent smoke (940—944). Of tongkang coolies 80 per cent smoke (946).
I have 120 timber and tongkang coolies (Cantonese) and about 40 smoke—mostly among tongkang men (973).
Up-country in Johore I have 300 coolies (Kwang Sai, Hakka and Cantonese) and about 100 smoke (976).
Order of prevalence of opium-smoking is Hokkiens, Tiechius, Hakkas, Hailams, Cantonese (1005).
Of my 200 coolies (Hokkiens) about 20 per cent smoke (1015).
Of my 100 coolies (Tiechius) about 50 smoke (1037).
I employ 15 skilled workmen, 2 or 3 smoke (1060—1063).
Between 1911 and 1921 total consumptoin has decreased and total male Chinese population has increased (1087).
Smoking amongst Straits-born Chinese has greatly decreased (1212). Few Chinese women smoke (1217).
Habit is practically confined to China-born adults (1224).
Out of 1,000 prisoners in Singapore gaol 225 were smokers (1386). Not more than 1 in 20 were sots (1389).
Out of 100 saw-mill coolies and 100 tongkang and timber yard coolies (Hokkiens) 30 per cent smoke (1409).
There is more smoking among Hokkiens than among Cantonese (1474). I should say 30 per cent of adult Chinese males smoke (1476) as in 1908 (1476).
Most smoking coolies are moderate smokers (1485).
Of my 200 coolies (Cantonese and Khehs) about 100 smoke opium (1711).
I engage 2,500 coolies, coal coolies 1,500, cargo coolies 1,000 (1737). About 60 per cent of coal coolies smoke (1739), and 40 per cent of cargo coolies (1740). Coal coolies are Hokkien, Hockchia and Hockchiu (1741), cargo coolies Kamchiu, Tiechiu and Hokkien (1742). I think smoking is increasing among coal coolies (1744) but not among cargo coolies (1745).
Smoking is more common among Hokkiens than among Cantonese (1814).
My customers are mostly Hokkiens (2132).
More Hokkiens and Tiechius smoke than Cantonese (2133—2134).
I have a few women customers (2141).
Many young men buy from me (2183).
There are fewer young smokers nowadays (2239)
Habitual smokers smoke less now because of the high price (2248).
Common among bad characters (2371). Of my 1,000 coolies 20 per cent smoke (2382). More Hokkiens and Tiechius smoke than other tribes (2383).
Not many Hailams smoke (2456), in Singapore about 1 in 20 (2496). Among Hokkiens the proportion is more than 2 in 10 (2497).
I think opium-smoking is prevalent among Straits-born (2729). I estimate number of smokers in Penang and Province Wellesley at 15,000 to 20,000 (2785).
Many Malays in Kedah smoke (2926). I estimate that ¼ of the Siamese population in Kedah smoke (2925).

HABIT, PREVALENCE OF THE.—*Contd.*

Kedah Malays who smoke are of the better class (2981), (3040).
The number of women smokers is negligible (3135).
About ¼ of men admissions to the Cantonese Free Hospital, Singapore, are smokers (3136)—mostly Cantonese and Khehs (3137).
Hard-working coolies in the jungle require opium as a preventive against ravages of the climate and as a digestive (3186—3188).
Of my coolies (1,000) about 40 smoke (3246).
Of my 300 coolies (Hakkas) more than half smoke (3271).
I think opium-smoking is becoming less common in the Straits (3378).
Largely China-born (3512). The majority of smokers are moderate (3527). Hokkiens are more given to smoking than Cantonese and Khehs (3490—3495). Hence more smoking in the Straits Settlements than in Federated Malay States (3498—3499). Young men coming here have generally not been able to afford it in China (3619).
I employ 200 or 300 Chinese coolies and about 25 per cent smoke (3727—3729).
I know a few better-class Chinese who smoke (3746).
Of mining coolies I think 50 per cent smoke (3748). Some Malays in Federated Malay States smoke (3794).
In Kinta about 7/15 of gaol admissions are smokers (3906). Smokers tend to remain in country because they cannot afford to get away (3910).
30 years ago opium-smoking was comparatively common among Malays in Federated Malaya States. It is now very rare (3932).
I consider that amongst Chinese it is decreasing (3931).
Smoking amongst all races here is less than 30 years ago (4004—4007).
There are many smokers among my friends and patients (4167—4168). About 15 per cent of Chinese adult males smoke (4191). About 40 per cent of new cooly immigrants from China smoke (4195).
About 40 per cent of my fixed wage coolies smoke, about 80 per cent of piece-work men and 80 per cent of wood-cutters (4269).
Of my coolies (Hakka and Kwongsi) under 10 per cent smoke (4329). Smokers are more common among piece-work and co-operative system men (4317). Among Hokkien coolies about 80 per cent smoke (4427). Men from the poppy growing provinces of China provide more smokers (4448).
There are many Hokchiu smokers, not so many Cantonese, Kheh and Tiechiu (4443—4447).
A number of Siamese in Kelantan smoke (4572).

HABIT, COMMENCEMENT OF:

Not entirely a China-born habit (208).
It is used to prolong life when in ill-health (272).
Wages here are more liberal than in China and so many Chinese smoke here who could not afford it there (275).
A fair percentage bring the habit from China (430).
Some 'rikisha-pullers contract the habit in China but more in Singapore (755—756) as they earn more here (757).
I think habit is generally acquired locally because wages are higher than in China (1254).

HABIT COMMENCEMNT OF.—*Contd.*

I think habit is generally acquired locally not in China (1469).
China-born acquire the habit in China (1801).
I smoke because of sickness (1876).
I began to smoke on account of eye trouble (2178).
I took to smoking because I had a bad cough (2232—2233).
I take opium to keep off fever (3301), (3304).
New recruits take it up almost entirely because of illness (3382).
Laigely China-born (3512), but young men coming from China have generally not had enough money there to smoke (3619).
Opium-smoking is national form of relaxation in China (4202). About 40 per cent of new cooly immigrants from China smoke (4202).
I began because of sickness (4509).

L

LABOUR, EFFECT OF PROHIBITION ON:

If efforts at rationing and registration were successful the labour supply from China would fall off (251).
Refusal to register new-comers as opium-smokers would adversely affect the labour supply (430).
I never employ opium-smokers (853).
If opium were not obtainable it would be difficult to get coolies for jungle work (879—880).
I do not employ smokers but get labour easily (899).
Labour would still come from China even if opium-smoking was prohibited (994).
I do not anticipate any difficulty over getting labour from China (1294).
If opium were prohibited labour would run short (1781).
Prohibition would lead at first to labour shortage (2395), (2427—2428).
Immediate prohibition or voluntary refusal to engage opium-smokers is not practicable because of shortage of labour (3083—3086).
Labour shortage will result if opium is suppressed (3199), (3220—3221), (3229).
I do not think registration would drive the coolie class away (2758).
Increase of control would discourage labour coming from China (3615).
Labour supply would fall short if opium were suppressed (3715—3717).
The effect of restriction on labour supply might be disastrous (3952).
Restriction would adversely affect labour supply in Malaya (4002).
I think labour would still come from China (4215).
Labour is scarce enough already without restriction (4271).
Labour is scarce in Kelantan even now (4625).
It will adversely affect labour (4491).
It will lead to labour shortage (4387).

LICENSING OF OPIUM-SMOKERS:

For suppression purposes registration must go hand-in-hand with licensing and rationing (153). I think any experiments should be made in a small selected area (2317).
It would lead to increased smuggling and to disturbances (167).
The Burman system is a farce and does not work (238—241). A fortiori it would not work in British Malaya (242).

LICENSING OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.—*Contd.*

Very difficult here because population is migratory (363). Retail shop-keepers would have to be above suspicion (383).
Old smokers could be licensed and no new ones allowed (984). I admit it would take a long time—perhaps 2 years—to license all present smokers (1001).
It would be necessary to specify the shop for purchase (1166).
I advocate licensing and refusal after a certain time to license new smokers (1250).
I anticipate no reluctance from smokers (1273).
I favour suppression by a system of licensing and registration (1471).
Smokers should be recommended for a licence by certain accepted societies (1610). I think a reduction in smokers would follow registration (1629). I think it would be accepted willingly by the Chinese (1690).
I am sure smokers would violently oppose registration (2321).
I am in favour of registration for Straits-born smokers (1805). I consider it would be extremely difficult to register China-born smokers (1804).
I do not think any system of registration and licensing feasible in Johore (2048). The work would be enormous (2058). Identification by finger-prints which would be very unpopular among Chinese (2062—2064).
The migratory movement of coolies alone would make it very difficult (2074). It would mean an enormous staff and a prohibitive cost (1076).
Smokers should be licensed (2398). I would give licences to all who apply (2399), and make smoking without a licence a crime (2409).
Smokers should be registered and licensed (2475).
Smoking without a licence should be made a crime (2482).
I think it impossible to introduce a system of registration and licensing into the Federated Malay States at present (2608). Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme is not workable (2615), (2617—22). A registration scheme alone making a permit necessary for purchase of chandu would only lead to one person buying for many (2624).
It would also be an incentive to the purchase of smuggled chandu (2628—2629). Restriction would lead to corruption (2632). Smokers would object to the publicity of registration (2635). At present few smokers except coolies buy in person (2643).
The migratory character of our Chinese population would add enormously to the difficulty of registration (2657—2660).
Registration of opium-smokers is essential for the success of any scheme of reduction (2702). No man should be allowed to purchase without production of his licence (2711). The only way to take a census of opium-smokers is to register them (2715). Final suppression must be gradual (2717). I think only smokers would apply to register (2753).
I do not think registration would drive the coolie class away (2758). I would allow present smokers to continue, but I want to stop recruits to the habit (2759). I do not think the administrative difficulties insuperable (2767—2768).

LICENSING OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.—*Contd.*

I think re-registration annually would be advisable (2806). Rationing is not possible unless preceded by registration and licensing (2831).

I think there would be great difficulty in Kedah (2986), (2997—3002). There is much movement among the Chinese and Siamese (2987—2993). I do not think smokers would willingly register (3009).

If you register you must ration as well to be successful (3018). Otherwise a registered man would buy for others unregistered (3021).

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Perak, does not favour registration and licensing (3059). It would be extremely difficult owing to movements of Chinese population (3072). I think good-class Chinese would be ashamed to register (3077).

I am not in favour of registration and licensing (3200).

It would be extremely difficult to enforce (3201).

A coolie cannot be expected after a day's work to walk miles to get opium (3202).

I am against registration and licensing (3282). It would involve great hardship to coolies (3283—3286).

In Banka (Dutch East Indies) smokers are registered (3355), and it leads to much corruption (3361).

The active help of the Chinese is necessary for success (3506). You cannot rely on that (3507).

I think it would fail unless sources of supply were restricted (3540—3543).

I do not think Mr. CHEAH CHEANG LIM'S scheme would work (3551).

Any system of registration must carry licensing with it (3580)

The licence holder must buy in person or it will be a farce (3592—3593). Non-smokers will register (3554), (3585—3586), and corruption amongst subordinates will spread (3569).

I think this most impracticable (3699), because of fluctuations in population here and absence of control in China (3700). The Chinese employers are willing to have registration if it stops at that (3718—3719).

I consider the task impossible (3764). The population fluctuates too much (3765).

It could be done granted very large staff of very high quality (3828—3829). The scheme would require strong public support to surmount difficulties (3877—3878). Success depends much on similar action elsewhere (3904).

British Malaya would have to be treated as whole (3841—3842).

I am opposed to it (3923). It would spell hardship to cooly classes (3940). While production remains unchecked it will be very difficult (3958—3961).

You can administer any scheme given the staff (3971—3972).

I think it unwarranted interference (3974). Corruption will become rife (3993), (3860). Many will resent registration and rely on illicit supplies (4014).

Heavy smuggling and corruption will ensue (4038—4044).

Majority habits of adult Chinese make any scheme difficult (4046—4049). No scheme can succeed without large staff (4052).

It is possible given adequate staff (4069). There would be much corruption (4070). Constant movement of Chinese makes it difficult (4080—4086).

I think it unfair and unnecessary (4180).

LICENSING OF OPIUM-SMOKERS.—*Contd.*

I favour registration (4353), but not personal purchase (4354).

I object because it will be difficult for coolies (4405—4408), (4387).

It is a bad idea and hard on coolies (4423—4425).

I see no objection if you do not ration and if personal purchase is not insisted on (4470). Good-class Chinese will not like it (4477). It will adversely affect labour (4491).

Registration would be most unpopular (4514—4520).

It is not possible at present in Kelantan owing to difficulty of communications (4608—4609).

M

MALAYS:

In Straits Settlements no one may smoke in a smoking shop except an adult Chinese male (53).

Number of smokers among Malays in Kedah is negligible.

In Johore chandu may not be sold to Malays (1157).

In the Federated Malay States only adult Chinese males may purchase without a permit (2526). Only 70 permits have been issued (2528).

In Kedah many Malays smoke (2926), but they are not allowed to smoke in the smoking shops (2925)

Kedah Malays who smoke are of the better class (2981), (3040).

I have known a few Malay smokers (3794).

It is very rare now among Malays (3932).

In Kelantan Malays are not allowed to buy or to have opium in their possession (4597), (4642—4643).

——WOMEN:

A few females smoke (208).

Few women smoke (328).

I have 300 female coolies, none smoke (793).

A few Chinese women smoke (1217).

My mother and I smoke $5 worth of chandu daily (2212). My mother smokes, because of rheumatism (2238).

The number of women smokers is negligible (3135).

I have a few women customers (2141).

P

PRICE:

Price of chandu in Singapore is $12 a tahil.

Increase of price in recent years has decreased consumption considering rise in population (339).

Opium-smokers who cannot afford enough chandu take to swallowing dross (960).

Smokers earning $25 a month spend 40 cents a day on opium (1024).

Coolies who cannot afford chandu swallow dross (1075).

I know it is common for coolies who cannot afford chandu to swallow dross (1363—1364).

Coolies who cannot afford often swallow dross (1425).

Rikisha-pullers if they earn $1 to $1.50 in a day spend 50 or 60 cents on opium (694).

Coolies who cannot afford chandu often swallow dross (1768).

I smoke one tahil daily ($12) (1842).

I smoke one tahil daily ($12) (2115).

PRICE.—*Contd.*

My mother and I smoke $5 worth of chandu daily (2212).
Habitual smokers smoke less now because of the high price (2248).
The rise in price will cause coolies to give up the habit of smoking (3109).
Poor people swallow dross because they cannot afford opium (3171).
When smoking coolies cannot afford chandu they swallow dross (3346).
Increase of price or other methods of prohibition lead to more harmful things, *e.g.*, morphia injections (289).
Federated Malay States consumption in 1922, was little more than ½ that in 1911. Continual rise in price, bad times and decreased Chinese population is accountable (2509).
The high price of chandu has given rise to habit of swallowing dross (3604). I think present high price regrettable in effect (3646).
Swallowing dross is common and due to high price of chandu (4210).
I favour further raising of price (4296).
The price in Kelantan is $10 per tahil (4579).
Increase of price has decreased use (4246).

PROHIBITION. (*Vide* ALSO UNDER LABOUR):

Do not think any further action can be beneficial until China reduces her poppy cultivation. Only effect would be to encourage smuggling which is already rampant (54).
Prohibition would only lead to more harmful substitutes (289).
This country cannot move without China (356).
I advocate gradual suppression (809).
I think prohibition would be a good thing (925).
I think Government could suppress opium-smoking in one year (987), except for the old smokers who could be licensed (984).
I favour gradual prohibition (1022).
I advocate gradual suppression (1189), by registration and refusal to register new smokers (1250).
The Chinese of Selangor would vote by large majority for suppression (1347—1348), (1353).
I favour total prohibition in 5 years (1457). I favour suppression by a system of registration and licensing.
I think Government could make it work (1472).
I advocate gradual prohibition, say, in 10 or 15 years (1611—1612). I think China must help (1644).
We can easily suppress opium-smoking here if China restricts poppy cultivation (1648).
It would be a good thing to prohibit smoking (2367). Better do it in 2 or 3 years (2370). I estimate that 70 per cent of the Chinese favour prohibition (2415).
The Hailam Community favours suppression (2461), (2486).
I think we might attain prohibition by annual reduction of morphine content of chandu (2672).
Final suppression must be gradually brought about (2717).
Immediate prohibition is not practicable 3083—3086).
I favour gradual suppression in 15 or 16 years (3199). But you cannot suppress opium here while it is free grown in China (3260).
I anm against suppression in a short period (3291).

PROHIBITION.—*Contd.*

I should give 5 to 10 years (3292).
Only effective way to get suppression is by education (3515. We must wait for China to help (3530), (3623).
I think it would be criminal for Government to attempt suppression (3698).
I see no necessity for suppression (3761).
The only effective way is by education (3923). You cannot do anything while China allows unlimited production (3923), (3958—3961).
No scheme can succeed here without help of China (4055).
Education is best way (4181). I think the habit is slowly diminishing here (4244). If China continues to produce we can do little here (4251).
Time ought to be given—say 20 years (4288).
The strength can slowly be reduced (4395), (4399).
I am not in favour of it (4469).
Government ought to suppress it (4506).

PUBLIC OPINION:

Unless Chinese smokers themselves favour registration and are backed by general public opinion it will be ineffective (182).
I am sure smokers would violently oppose registration (2321).
In 1920, when rationing was tried I got no support from Anti-opium Societies (2339). I think we must face riots if we introduce licensing and registration (2340), and we shall get no active support from the Chinese population (2341—2342).
In the last 10 or 12 years opium-smoking has come to be considered a disgrace (812), and is now done privately (812).
Chinese opinion in Singapore is now more strongly against opium than formerly (962).
The majority of Chinese know that opium-smoking is a bad thing (1328). I am sure the Chinese of Selangor would vote by a large majority for suppression (1347—1348), (1353).
I and my friends think it a disgrace to smoke (1421—1422).
The Anti-opium Society has not so many members as formerly (1448). Few people attend meetings and meetings are rare (1450—1451). All Chinese Social Organisations in Singapore are strongly against opium-smoking (1487).
The Anti-opium Society comprises both Straits-born and China-born members (1598).
I think enlightened Chinese opinion in Malaya is strongly against opium (1654). I admit that the enlightened class is only a small majority of the Chinese population (1669).
Chinese public opinion here is in favour of suppression (2004).
I estimate 70 per cent of the Chinese here as favouring prohibition (2415). I would support Government in any such measure (2418).
The Hailam community is against opium-smoking (2461), and would assist Government in suppression (2486).
I think the Anti-opium Societies are representative of the mass of the people (2692). I do not think that registration would meet with opposition (2730), (2738).
The Anti-opium leaders are well-to-do people and are not representative of the mass of the people (3244).
I think all doctors would call opium-smoking a bad habit and an undesirable one (3409).

PUBLIC OPINION.—*Contd.*

Anti-opium feeling is strong just now (3501). The Chinese blow hot and cold about such questions (3502—3504). Anti-opium feeling is mostly Straits-born with an element of Chinese nationalism (3510). Chinese will generally say opium-smoking is a bad thing if you ask them (3625).

I question the existence of strong public feeling against opium (3877-3878).

R

RATIONING:

As consumption varies with the different Chinese tribes any system of rationing must take into account the tribal composition of the population (144—149).

No common denominator based on a common unit exists between one possession and another. It does not even exist been the component parts of British Malaya (150—151).

Rationing would lead to disturbances (160), and to increase of smuggling so long as China produces (165—167).

In 1920, we tried rationing. There were disturbances (2333), and hoarding began (2335). We had to give it up (2338).

The Burman system is a farce (238—241).

It is impossible to limit opium to medicinal use (279), or adequately to define medicinal (282).

It would be very difficult to fix the amount for each man (367). Any rationing system must take into account tribal distinctions amongst Chinese (424).

If an attempt is made in Johore, I think we should begin with town areas (1161). I consider it would be necessary to specify the shop for purchase (1166).

The amount allowed would depend on what a man is accustomed to (1280). The permit holder would have to buy in person (1308—1309). For distant places special regulations could be made (1315), (1322—1324).

Every smoker would have to state his needs and have that amount stated on his licence (2402).

I do not think there would be much overstatement so as to sell to others (2404).

In 1920, we tried rationing in the Federated Malay States, but had the licensees against us from the start (2600—2601).

We dropped it after a few months trial (2600).

A uniform maximum sale limit calculated on number of adult male Chinese population should be enforced (3059).

It was tried in the Federated Malay States in 1920 and failed (3487). The difficulty is that Chinese population is variable and migratory (3488—3489). Tribal variations in prevalence make any uniformity of ration impossible unless a wide margin is given (3490—3500).

I do not know how you could do it since tolerance varies so much with individuals (3708). I cannot see why we should ration opium any more than tobacco or alcohol (3709).

I question the possibility individuals vary so much (3766—3767).

I am opposed to any attempt at restriction of consumption at present (3937).

I do not think rationing feasible (4092—4094). You could only give the applicant what he asked for (4099—4101).

I think it unfair and unnecessary (4180).

RATIONING.—*Contd.*

I object because it will be very hard on coolies (4405—4408).

It is a bad idea and hard on coolies (4423—4425).

I am not in favour (4470).

Not possible in Kelantan (4608—4609).

REGISTRATION OF SMOKERS. *Vide* LICENSING:

S

SHOPS, OPIUM, RETAIL AND SMOKING:

I think we should gradually take over all retail shops, but am doubtful about smoking shops (71).

I am against abolishing smoking shops. They will be great help in registering smokers and they make control of dross easier (99—103).

Sale by Government shops instead of licensed outsiders might tighten up control (193). I would include smoking shops, which I am not in favour of abolishing (195—197).

Government shops would eliminate the tendency to push sales (394—404). Smoking shops are needed for coolies who cannot smoke at home (405—407).

I would suppress smoking shops altogether (836).

I consider it immaterial whether retail shops are Government managed or not (836).

I think it quite possible in Johore for Government to take over all retail shops (1118). Smoking shops present more difficulty (1118—1119).

I rely on Government renewing my smoking shop licence (1834).

A purchaser finds out first whether the Superintendent of Monopolies will re-issue the smoking shop licence to him (1944).

It would not be fair for Government suddenly to take away our smoking shop licences (2001).

Government should take over all shops (2396).

In the Federated Malay States, there are 42 Government retail shops now in town areas (2575), when we open a Government shop we abolish all retail shops in that area (2581). Three months' notice is given and the licence is then cancelled (2584). I see no difficulty in introducing a complete system of Government retail shops (2585—2586).

As to smoking shops I am not in favour of Government taking them over until we have completed taking over the retail trade (2594).

I am strongly in favour of abolishing retail licensed shops (2602), (2653).

In Kedah, I think it quite feasible to make all shops, retail and smoking, Government shops in under a year (2949—2952).

Retail sale should be made only from Government shops (3059). Abolition of licensed shops should be gradual (3080).

I am in favour of Government taking over all retail shops (3282).

I favour Government taking over retail shops (3463), but not smoking shops yet (3464—3466). I think retail shops could be taken over in Federated Malay States in a year (3474—3478).

Government could take over all retail shops in the Federated Malay States in 12 to 18 months (3650). I believe in first getting control of retail trade (3651).

I see no benefit to be derived from Government taking over retail shops (3774). I think it better that men should smoke in a smoking shop than at home (3778).

SHOPS, OPIUM, RETAIL AND SMOKING.—*Contd.*

I favour Government taking over the retail trade (3937).

In Johore Government could take over all retail shops in a year (4107).

Lack of staff would making taking over retail shops in Kelantan (4596—4600).

SMUGGLING :

Our coast line is very great and impossible to patrol effectively (168). Until China restricts her poppy cultivation increase of control here will merely lead to increased smuggling (54).

Johore has a very long coast line extremely difficult to patrol (1138).

It is easy to smuggle opium from China into British Malaya (1202).

Chinese are the chief offenders (1512). Probably we do not seize more than 10 per cent of the amount smuggled (1515). If the Chinese opium traffic were controlled like that of India smuggling of opium would practically be eliminated (1524).

Most smuggled opium comes from Amoy (1514).

Present smuggling is from China. Local restriction of opium would increase this (2010). There is no effective preventive service in Johore (2014).

Smuggling practically all done by Chinese and Japanese (2030). Prevention would require a very strong force (2034), and much European supervision (2037).

In the Federated Malay States, I think there is very little illicit chandu (2560). It would be quite easy to smuggle from China into the Federated Malay States (2562).

SMUGGLING.—*Contd.*

A large increase in the preventive staff would be necessary to stop it (2569).

I think opium gets in from China to Federated Malay States now (3546), and smuggling would increase with control here (3547), (3621). The shape and configuration of British Malaya makes it easy (3611).

It is easy on the East-coast from Siam or China (3978—3988).

It is very easy to smuggle into Malaya (4044).

If you increase control here smuggling from China must follow (4279).

It would be easy from Kelantan to Siam or *vice versa* (4586).

W

WAGES :

Smokers must work to get money for opium (704).

Pullers earn $1 to $1.50 per diem in good times and spend 50 or 60 cents a day on opium (694).

Smokers earning $25 a month spend 40 cents a day on opium (1024).

My smokers and non-smokers earn the same pay (3131).

Young men from China earn more than at home and so can buy opium (3619).

I get $30 a month of food and smoke 2 packets a day (4501—4504).

BRITISH MALAYA OPIUM COMMITTEE.

GLOSSARY OF NATIVE TERMS.

100 cents = $1.
$1 (one dollar) = 2s.4d.
One cent = ·28d.

Weights:
10 li = 1 hoon or hun = 5·8 grains.
10 hoon = 1 chee = 58·3 grains.
10 chee = 1 tahil = 1⅓ oz. Avoirdupois = 583 grains.

Arrack	=	Distilled liquor.
Atap	=	Roofing, thatch of palm-leaf.
Baba	=	A Chinese born in Malaya.
Bakau	=	Mangrove tree (used for "firewood").
Bhang	=	Indian hemp.
Bangsal	=	A hut or shed (Malay).
Chandu	=	Opium prepared for smoking.
Changkol	=	A native pick or hoe.
Chinting	=	A native Revenue Officer.
Chop	=	Style or name of Chinese firm or the seal thereof.
Ganja	=	Indian hemp prepared for smoking.
Kapala	=	A head (Malay); thence, headman.
Kampong	=	A native village or settlement.
Keng Chius	=	Hailams from Keng Chiu Prefecture.
Koleh	=	A Malay canoe.
Kongsi	=	A syndicate or company, also head office in coolie lines.
Kongsi house	=	(In relation to mining) the shed or house in which a gang of coolies live.
Kong	=	An allotted day's task (piece-work).
Kung-sz-kung	=	Coolies who work on fixed wages.
Kwongsai	=	A province in South China and the people from that province.
Laukheh	=	"Old arrival". A Chinese coolie who has resided some time in Malaya, as opposed to Sinkheh.
Mandor	=	Foreman of a gang of coolies.
Nai Cheang coolies	=	Coolies who are paid by piece-work for stripping a mine, *i.e.*, removing the over-burden
Padang	=	A piece of open ground.
Pang Keng	=	Native lodging-houses.
Penghulu	=	A Malay headman.
Raiat	=	Peasants.
Sampan	=	A Chinese rowing boat.
Samsu	=	Native spirit distilled from rice.

Sinkheh	=	"New arrival". Generally means a Chinese who serves a year's contract to repay the cost of his passage from China.
Siong Thau	=	"Photograph head". Nominal owner of 'rikishas for licence purposes.
Stengah	=	A half (Malay). The common and colloquial expression for a small whisky and soda.
Susah	=	Difficult.
Tamlung	=	A Siamese weight equivalent to a tahil.
Tam Wa Sor	=	Talking places.
Tongkang	=	A lighter or cargo boat.
Towkay	=	"Head of family", an employer or the head of a firm, also applied to a Chinese of some standing.
Twako	=	A Chinese cargo boat, usually shoe-shaped.
Ulu	=	The upper reaches of a river, up-country (Malay).
Yan	=	Craving.