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OPIUM SMOKING SUPPRESSION CAMPAIGNS AND THE ROLE OF ANTI-OPIUM MOVEMENTS IN THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES, 1906-1910

This article studies the history of opium smoking and anti-opium movements in Federated Malay States (FMS). By the end of the 17th century, the Chinese community constituted the majority of opium smokers due to the British and Chinese capitalists greed to gain profits through the rapidly growing opium trading. The emergence of anti-opium movements in FMS was triggered by a number of key elements such as the development of anti-opium movement in Britain and China, and the spirit of nationalism among local Malayan Chinese towards their Mainland China which was gradually weakening due to escalating number of opium problems. Spearheaded by Chinese capitalists and a few Europeans, the anti-opium movement was transformed into several anti-opium organizations that carried out various initiatives to suppress the opium smoking habits. This study found that the anti-opium movement in FMS had played an important role in influencing the British government to change its view and policies on trade and smoking opium habit by 1910.

Keywords: *Opium, anti-opium movement, Federated Malay States, Chinese, opium smoking habit*

Introduction

As early as 17th century, the usage of opium as a substance to gain ‘inner pleasure’ had flourished around the globe which was indicative of a major deviation from its original purpose. In the past, a few ancient civilizations Greek and China used opium for medicational purposes, mainly for surgery and treatment of certain diseases. Due to its importance, in China, opium was considered as equals to gold.¹ The trend of smoking opium was believed to have become popular when some communities started the practice of taking tobacco mixed with opium.² Tracing the early history of opium smoking in FMS, the habit was practised by a few Malay nobles, particularly sultans and aristocrats who considered smoking opium as an elitist lifestyle. However, the scenario had changed dramatically around late 17th century and early 18th century. There was a large influx of Chinese labourers, mainly to the tin mining areas in some Malay States, and they brought along their opium smoking

habits. Eventually, the majority of opium smokers in Malaya came from the Chinese. It was estimated that in 1898 alone, there were 61,750 Chinese opium smokers in FMS compared to only 1,300 Malay opium smokers.³

The continuous flow of Chinese labourers became a blessing for the FMS government as their opium smoking habits were manipulated by the government as a source of profit. In the quest for profit through opium, the British government introduced the Opium Revenue Farming System in the 1890s. The opium revenue was acquired by the British through the imposition of import duty on raw opium and also opium farm leases. Between 1898 and 1907, opium revenue contributed from 9.1 to 18.6 per cent of the total FMS revenue.⁴ In FMS, the Opium Revenue Farming System was implemented in two forms - namely the coastal chandu (opium) farm and the inland chandu farm. For coastal chandu farms, the areas were located on coastal areas in all states. This farm was a copycat of SS opium farm where the British Government gave the opium monopoly rights to specific investors or syndicates to process the raw opium and retailed it after a process of tendering the farm lease took place.⁵ The successful tenderers that obtained opium farm leases which commonly known as opium revenue farmers were given opium leases for a fixed period (usually between one and three years).⁶ The coastal chandu farm served as a 'buffer' to prevent the opium smuggling activities from SS to tin mining areas in FMS or vice versa. Meanwhile, for inland chandu farms, the locations were throughout FMS except the areas gazetted under the chandu opium farms. In the inland chandu farm, the miners were allowed to process raw opium for their coolies after they paid handsome import duty on the raw opium. The existence of these unique chandu farms in FMS was decided after the British government's attempt to hand over the whole opium lease rights to the revenue farmers as practised in SS and this move was strongly opposed by the tin miners.⁷ The British government agreed to their demands without any hesitation because they only aimed for lucrative profits from opium and didn't care much about the Chinese capitalists' rivalries in grabbing the opium lease rights. On the other hand, the negative effects of smoking opium were somehow overshadowed by the huge profits gained by the British and Chinese capitalists. Smoking opium continuously for a long period could lead to various health problems such as the inability of body to respond, lethargy, weak, swelling, loss of appetite, impotent and mental disorder.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, the opium smoking problems were not given proper attention. Only after the emergence of local anti-opium movements, the issue started to be addressed even by the community itself. Generally, most studies conducted by the historians on opium in Malaya would focused on SS when it came to anti-opium movement history. Clearly, it showed that they did not consider the anti-opium movement in FMS played a role when perhaps it did play an even more important role than the one in SS to ensure the eradication of opium smoking habits among the Chinese in

the Malay states. One of the studies was carried out by Toda Kenji's and it was reported in his article entitled 'Anti-Opium Movement, Chinese Nationalism and the Straits Chinese in the Twentieth Century'.⁸ This article was a critical study of opium and anti-opium movement in SS. He explained that since 1898, the Chinese community was against the practice of opium smoking. According to him, the first attempt was made by a doctor, Lim Boon Keng, who urged the British government to look into opium smoking issues as a national problem rather than a mere Chinese problem. By focusing on SS, Toda's writings had failed to show that the development of the anti-opium movement in SS was also embedded by efforts that were intensively driven by the same movement in FMS.

Another critical study on anti-opium movement in SS was recorded in Cheng U Wen's paper, "Opium in the Straits Settlements, 1867-1910". This study discusses the origin of the anti-opium movement which was initiated at the beginning of 1906 in Singapore. For the first time, a doctor by profession, Dr Suat Chuan Yin urged the Chinese community to give up the habit through his lecture entitled 'The Method of Managing an Opium Refuge' which was well received by the Chinese community.⁹ Similarly, a recent article by Lim Sel Fang and Nordin Hussin also focuses on the anti-opium movement and its role in suppressing the opium trade in collaboration with SS government.¹⁰

While focusing on SS, somehow the researchers had omitted the history of opium smoking and aggressive roles by anti-opium movement in FMS. Compared to SS, FMS recorded the number of opium smokers three times higher than in SS. Moreover, their tendencies towards SS had also raised a few issues because the anti-opium movement in FMS had declined over the same period as in SS and no doubt, the latter had gained some benefits from the former until 1910.

Although there are comprehensive primary sources available from government records and newspaper reports, the history of opium smoking and anti-opium movement in FMS until now has not been given due attention by the researchers. Therefore, through this study, the history of opium smoking and anti-opium movement in FMS, which has so far been left out from Malaysia's history, will be examined as an attempt to complement the study of the socioeconomic history of the opium smoking habits in FMS.

The Emergence of the Anti-Opium Movement in FMS

Undoubtedly, the very first anti-opium movement in Malaya had sparked in SS with the help of some educated Straits Chinese such as Dr Suat Chuan Yin, Dr Wu Lien Teh, Lim Boon Keng, Chen Su Lan and many others. The growing anti-opium sentiment in SS had a great impact in FMS when voices opposing the opium smoking habits also began to rise at the beginning of the 20th century. Prior to that, only anti-opium sentiment existed, and it was

merely voiced out because the majority of Chinese capitalists in FMS were involved in opium businesses. Moreover, the opium-smoking habit itself was not considered as a social problem by the Chinese community at the time. The changing perception of the Chinese towards the opium-smoking habit was closely related to what was happening in Britain and China then.

On May 30th, 1906, the British Parliament passed a resolution supporting the suppression of opium trading with China. The decision was made after John Morley, Secretary of State for India stated that British India was willing to forgo almost £ 3,000,000 from its opium revenue, with the condition that China undertook the same step.¹¹ Decision to end the opium trading was not only made overnight, but it took over six decades for the British government to do that. The British government realized that it needs to change its policy on opium after being pressured constantly on opium issues for almost half a century. British government serious involvement in opium trading witnessed the emergence of anti-opium supporters in Britain in the last quarter of the 19th century. The anti-opium sentiment among the Britons started to arise following several issues and incidents which had taken place such as the opposition of China government against illegal entry of India's opium into China, the Opium War and also the partiality issue in the Tianjin Treaty which left China to be controlled by the West. The ongoing problems faced by China had succeeded in gaining sympathy from some members of the public in Britain who were concerned about humanitarian issues in China.

For the first time, opium problem issue was brought to the British Parliament when Lord Ashley protested against opium trading on April 4, 1843 by saying:

That it is the opinion of this House, that the continuance of the trade in opium, and the monopoly of its growth in the territories of British India, is destructive of all relations of amity between England and China, injurious to the manufacturing interests of the country by the very serious diminution of legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duties of a Christian kingdom; and that steps be taken, as soon as possible, with owe regard to the rights of Government and individuals, to abolish the evil.¹²

Although his proposal did not get a positive nod from the government, but it has paved the way for anti-opium supporters to question the opium trade openly. And with the establishment of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade (SSOT) in 1874,¹³ the anti-opium supporters started to mobilize effectively in order to change Britain's stand on opium. For that, the organization had taken tremendous efforts by campaigning on banning opium trading throughout Britain. Simultaneously, the organization submitted several resolutions to House of Commons, particularly in 1875, 1880, 1883, 1886 and

1889. But the British government tended to turn a deaf ear to all of these SSOT demands.

However, with continuous pressures from the anti-opium movement, the newly formed government under Liberal Party had accepted the proposal to appoint a special commission on 30th June 1893.¹⁴ And initially, on 2nd September 1893, the Royal Commission on Opium was formed. This commission was to report on whether India's opium trading to the Far East should be abolished and, further, whether poppy growing and consumption of opium in India itself should be prohibited, except for medical purposes. Through its report of nearly 2,500 pages released in 1895, the commission presented a somewhat shocking findings. The commission concluded that opium was not as dangerous as it was claimed by anti-opium supporters;

As the result of a searching inquiry, 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 in India, 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 of India, nor by those most responsible for the government of the country.¹⁵

The unexpected report was a great blow to anti-opium supporters in Britain. And since then, the opium question had never been brought up again in Britain's parliament for almost 11 years.¹⁶ Only on 30th May 1906, the opium question resurfaced when a motion was laid on the table of House of Commons by a parliament member, Theodore Taylor. He regarded opium trading as immoral and urged the British government to abolish it immediately. In his motion, he stated that:

That this House reaffirms its conviction that the Indo-Chinese opium trade is morally indefensible, and requests His Majesty's government to take such steps as may be necessary for the bringing it to a speedy close.¹⁷

With the huge support of parliament members on the motion, the British government had agreed to change its policy against opium after such long excuse. The British government's new decision was a good motivation for anti-opium supporters in Britain to mobilize anti-opium campaigns throughout all British colonies, including Malaya in order to strengthen the local anti-opium movement. One of the anti-opium leaders that played an important role

in developing the anti-opium movement in FMS was Joseph G. Alexander. Funded by influential and wealthy anti-opium Britons, J. G. Alexander started his journey to Malaya. As a first step, in FMS, Alexander met and discussed with some influential Chinese leaders to persuade them to support his efforts. With their help, the anti-opium movement started to establish its ground in FMS.¹⁸ During each meeting he attended, Alexander proposed the establishment of anti-opium organization as a first attempt towards eradicating opium smoking habits.¹⁹

After the formation of Singapore Anti-Opium Society with J.G. Alexander's assistance in August 1906,²⁰ the Chinese community in FMS followed the same step. In September 1906, the Selangor Anti-Opium Society was set up with Chan Sow Lin as President and Un Ka Tseung as Secretary.²¹ By early 1908, the organization had almost 100 members.²² In Perak, J. G. Alexander with the help of some Chinese leaders held a big gathering which was attended by nearly 3,000 people at the New Chinese Theater, Ipoh on October 30th, 1906. Chaired by Dr R.M. Connolly, the Chinese community made some important decisions.²³ One of them was that they had reached a unanimous agreement to urge employers to ban the opium smoking habits among their coolies, as suggested by Chui Pok Chui;

That this meeting of Chinese and Europeans in Perak calls upon all employers of labour to do everything in their power to discourage the use of opium amongst their employees.²⁴

Another agreement also has been reached to create a special fund in assisting the anti-opium campaigns. It was suggested by Tay Lay Seng who recommended opium addiction treatment for Chinese opium smokers. At the same meeting, a total of \$3,820 donations were successfully collected. At the same time, a proposal to set up an anti-opium organization in Perak was also raised up. As a result, a follow up meeting was held in Ipoh on 17 November 1906 to form Perak Anti-Opium Society in Ipoh.²⁵ Since its inception in 1906, the membership of the society had reached between 200 and 300 people,²⁶ with Dr R. M. Connolly was appointed as the President.²⁷

In addition to the role of anti-opium supporters, the patriotic spirit among local Chinese towards their ancestral country was another reason why anti-opium sentiment was steadily growing in FMS (O.C.R, Volume I, Report and Annexures, 1909, 39). When China's situation worsened with piling debt and inability to barricade the Western intervention, the diaporic Chinese in Malaya believed that China which was once was a great power was on the brink of destruction due to opium smoking habits among the Chinese youth. Hence, local Chinese who still consider themselves as part of China felt it was their responsibility to abolish the evil habits to enable China to rise again as a powerful nation. This spirit of patriotism became the main drive for the

Chinese community in FMS to eliminate the 'devil'. As a sign of support for China, in a first anti-opium conference held in Ipoh in 1907, a resolution was passed which emphasized the locals' responsibility to their motherland;

That it is the patriotic duty of all Chinese and duty of all friends of China to denounce the use of opium as hostile to the progress and destructive of the best energies of the Chinese Nation.²⁸

In a third conference held on 22 May 1909 in Kuala Lumpur, the same patriotic sentiment was raised again by Choo Cheng Kay in his presidential address;

...that the Governments of Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States should not fall behind the Government of China itself or the Government of British Colony of Hongkong, in the rate at which progress is made in steadily restricting the opium traffic throughout the Malay Peninsula. China is making the most magnificent efforts to free herself from the curse of opium, and we ask that these efforts should be encouraged by corresponding efforts in this country.²⁹

Besides that, the anti-opium movement in FMS was also affected by the rapidly growing anti-opium movement in China itself. This fact was acknowledged by the Opium Commission of Malaya in its report.³⁰ Following the edict of the Chinese Emperor on 20th September 1906 against opium trading and opium smoking habits throughout China within 10 years, the anti-opium movement intensively campaigned to accelerate the banning on opium.³¹ Because of that, more and more students participated in anti-opium movements demanding major changes to be made in China. Their most noticeable effort was when students from all colleges in Canton launched a massive demonstration in August 1906 demanding opium trade between China and Britain to be abolished.³² Following the extensive campaigns, several anti-opium organizations were established, namely in Peking, Canton, Shanghai and some other cities under supervision of Chinese leaders such as Yuan Shih Kai, Tsen Tsun Tshuan, Chang Chi Tung and other senior officials.³³ The anti-opium movement in China had provoked the anti-opium movement in FMS to be more organized and earnest in their efforts. In fact, there had been a special initiative made by Perak Anti-Opium in collaboration with Singapore Anti-Opium Society to meet the anti-opium leaders in China around 1907 to discuss the direction of their respective movements.³⁴

Not only that, the local Chinese determined to mobilize their very own anti-opium movement campaigns as the scenario was far worse in FMS compared to other Malay states. A British officer, G. T. Hare reported that the rate of opium intake was three times higher in FMS than other Malay states at the end of the 17th century.³⁵ Even the average daily opium consumption in

FMS was also reported much higher than SS. Table 1.1 shows the comparison of the average annual opium consumption of a Chinese adult in SS and FMS from 1898 to 1906. The table clearly shows that the average annual opium consumption in FMS was very high which was almost half of the amount taken in SS.

Table 1.1: Average Annual Opium Consumption per Adult in SS and FMS, 1898 until 1906

Year	SS	FMS
	Chandu Ball	Chandu Ball
1898	.33	.60
1899	.36	.64
1900	.40	.68
1901	.42	.66
1902	.44	.66
1903	.45	.60
1904	.30	.53
1905	.32	.56
1906	.29	.56

Source: O.C.R., Volume 1, Report and Annexures, 8

If in SS, the anti-opium movement was pioneered by the educated Chinese group, it was the other way round in FMS. The anti-opium movement was initiated by the Chinese capitalists, especially tin miners, and several Europeans such as Reverend W.E. Horley³⁶ and Dr R.M. Connolly. Even though some of the tin miners were involved in opium businesses, they supported the movement by providing financial and moral support. For example, the Selangor Anti-Opium Society received \$5,000 as a contribution, while Perak Anti-Opium Society received between \$7,000 to \$8,000 from the tin miners. Even a leading tin miner in Perak, Foo Choo Choon, once donated \$1,000 in cash to the Perak Anti-Opium Society.³⁷ As a sign of support, he also pasted posters informing that he would no longer accept any coolies with opium smoking habits to work in his mines. His poster dated December 11, 1906 (11th Day 12 Moon of the 32nd Year of Kwong Su) which was posted in Eng Huat Kongsu translated into English as follows:

The opium habit has proven very harmful to our brethren, and many have been seriously ill through it. Not only does it weaken the smoker, but it tends to injure society. In view of the Imperial edict for the suppression of the opium habit within a fixed period, and as it applies to all Chinese whether living in China or in foreign parts, this Kongsu, in order to comply with the Imperial edict, had determined

not to employ any opium-smoker after the first moon of next year. All of you of Chinese nationality should obey the command; hasten to give up the pernicious habit. Should any of you refuse, although I cannot interfere with your personal liberty, yet I shall dispense with your services.³⁸

Although not a member of the anti-opium movement, the owner of Tambun Mines, Leong Fee, also campaigned to discourage his mine coolies from smoking opium.³⁹ Once, he ordered his mandors not to employ any coolies who indulged in opium smoking. Even during the distribution of herbal remedies, Leong Fee himself took between 200 and 300 bottles of herbs for the use of his coolies. In Selangor, a group of tin miners took a bold attempt when they agreed unanimously to sign a written agreement as their support for the anti-opium movement. A total of 89 tin miners made an undertaking to suppress opium intake among their coolies as well as the use of opium pipes in their kongsis. This agreement was signed in January 1907 by lowering their company stamps in a special book. Among those involved were Loke Yew, Choo Cheng Kay, Low Boon Kim, Loke Chow Thye, Yap Kwan Seng and Chan Sow Lin.⁴⁰ By making their stand on opium issue, they have given away one of their most lucrative sources of income. Previously they were able to generate profits up to 30 per cent from the opium sales in their mines. Even a few revenue farmers such as Eu Tong Sen had stopped involving in the opium lease since 1906. Hence, the allegations of some scholars such as Cheng U Wen who regarded Chinese capitalist supports of anti-opium movement struggle, was not part of their good intention to eradicate the evil, but rather to guard their own prestige and this was completely unacceptable.⁴¹

Role and Activity of the Anti-Opium Movement in FMS

In the effort to suppress the opium problems in FMS, the anti-opium organizations have taken several drastic and important steps. Among the steps taken was the distribution of herbal remedies. By the end of 1906, a plant called *Combretum Sundaicum* (gambier), believed to be able to treat the opium addiction was found. The use of this plant as an antidote began when a British woman recommended the herbs to her Chinese coolies as a remedy for opium addiction. A Chinese man from Seremban who came to know about the herb then sent the samples of it to Reverend W. E. Horley in Kuala Lumpur.⁴² Once it was found to be useful for the opium addiction treatment, the herbs were commercialized. With the help of some Chinese philanthropists, Reverend W. E. Horley distributed the remedies for free to the opium smokers who wanted to curb their addiction. Later his move was followed by the Selangor Anti-Opium Society and the Perak Anti-Opium Society. The anti-opium organizations started by disseminating information on the discovery of the

remedies throughout FMS. Within a month of its discovery, a total of 10,000 brochures on herbal medicines were distributed by the Perak Anti-Opium Society.⁴³ To sustain the production and distribution costs, the anti-opium organizations also used a bulk of the funds they received from donors and the public.

The reactions from the opium smokers on the new discovery were apparently positive because in Perak alone, the organization had received almost 10,000 applications to get the medicine. As a result, a total of 20,000 bottles of medicines were distributed.⁴⁴ In Selangor, Reverend W. E. Horley noted that he received at least 200 to 300 Chinese visitors a day to get the remedies.⁴⁵ Not only that, once he wrote to a dear friend in Singapore mentioning about the remedies;

...we are having 2,000 applicants a day for the plant just discovered - the new anti-opium medicine. A proof that the Chinese hate opium and want to get rid of it. We are holding 3 services a day in the Mission Hall.⁴⁶

In the first week of November 1907, the Selangor Anti-Opium Society received almost 18,000 applications in Kuala Lumpur alone. Due to overwhelming responses, a few distribution centres were established to distribute the medicine.⁴⁷ The medicine was believed to bring positive changes after a number of opium smokers validated that they have completely abandoned the habit. Between 16 and 27 November 1906, the Selangor Anti-Opium Society issued a statement that the organization had helped 400 opium smokers to stop their smoking habits successfully. This information was conveyed by Pike Pease at the House of Commons in response to Sir H. Cotton's question on the efficiency of the medicine.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the distribution of the remedies has only lasted for three to four months. It was discontinued due to lack of sufficient funds. However, the lack of fund was not entirely the reason behind the halt in supply. An analysis conducted by Dr Suat Chuan Yin, a prominent anti-opium leader in SS showed that there was no healing properties in the herbs. Dr Suat Chuan Yin posited that the opium smokers who stopped their habits due to their own 'confidence' in the ability of the remedies.⁴⁹ He even claimed that the remedies produced from Assam Tea were more effective than the herbs. Somehow his claim had undermined the spirit of anti-opium movement in FMS. Ironically enough, after the discovery of the Dr Suan Chuan Yin findings, the Singapore Anti-Opium Society sent one of its members, Tan Choo Kwi to Kuala Lumpur to get the herbs supply. He had bought a large supply for almost 500 people.

In addition, the anti-opium movement also held a series of meetings

with local residents to raise awareness about the dangers of opium. For example, between 30th and 31st 1906, the Selangor Anti-Opium Society held a massive rally that witnessed the presence of nearly 2,000 Chinese in Kuala Lumpur. During the meeting, an important resolution on the opium issue was passed;

That this meeting urges the Government of the Federated Malay States to take measures to suppress the opium traffic as speedily as possible, because of the terrible evils, physical, moral and social, which were also being brought by the opium in our midst...⁵⁰

When interviewed by the Opium Commission of Malaya in its 43rd meeting on 1st January 1908, Lim Choo Boon revealed that Perak Anti-Opium Society had organized a huge meeting on 11th December 1906 in Ipoh with Sir Robert Laidlaw presence as the main speaker.⁵¹ Some 3,000 to 4,000 people, mostly miners, Chinese shopkeepers and labourers attended the gathering. The organization also sent a special invitation to the Perak Resident and Batu Gajah District Officer, but both government officials failed to attend.⁵² In the same month, the organization also launched an anti-opium campaign in Kampar. This campaign was an effort driven by Eu Tong Seng, Vice-President of the Perak Anti-Opium Society.⁵³ In this campaign, placards written with poems quoted from the Chinese dailies were posted all over Kampar. Through these placards, the anti-opium movement called on the Chinese community to abandon the immoral habits.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, on 26th January 1907, the society held another talk in Ipoh with Dr R.M. Connolly as a speaker. Attended by nearly 150 people, he tried to raise awareness among non-opium smokers on the dangers of practising the habit.⁵⁵

Another important initiative taken by the anti-opium movement in FMS was a collaboration with the anti-opium movement in SS. Through the cooperation of both parties, The Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States Anti-Opium Conference was held for the first time in Ipoh, between 8th and 9th March 1907. In addition to the presence of John Morley who was invited as a special guest, a total of 101 delegates from Singapore, Penang, Selangor, Perak, Negri Sembilan and Melaka also participated in the conference.⁵⁶ Not only that, the conference was attended by nearly 3,000 members of the public from all over Malaya. With the huge turnout, The Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Anti-Opium Conference was regarded as the largest anti-opium demonstration ever recorded in the world.⁵⁷ During the two days conference, the representatives agreed to approve 10 resolutions on opium and a few are mentioned here;⁵⁸

1. That it is a patriotic duty of all Chinese and duty of all friends of China to denounce the use of opium as hostile to the progress and destruction of the best energies of the Chinese Nation;
2. That this Conference is of opinion that after a reasonable period only those who are registered opium-smokers should be supplied with chandu and that such registered opium-smokers should bear a certificate of registration and identity, with a photograph attached; such certificate to be renewed annually;
3. That Government to be petitioned to exercise more restrictive action over the opium traffic, by raising the duty on opium, increasing the fees for chandu shop licences, and refusing to increase the number of licenses;
4. That the regulation for the sale of opium be made as stringent as those for the sale of morphine in the Colony and F.M.S. and for the sale of poisons in many countries, and that all licensed retail dealers shall be compelled to cater to their books the following particulars: Date of sale, name of purchaser, quantity purchased, residence of purchaser;
5. That Government be requested to pass additional rules under the Chandu Shop Enactment, forbidding the sale of opium to any person under 21 years of age, and forbidding the sale and use of opium in brothels, jinrikisha depots and such public places;
6. That Government be requested to order that systematic instruction to warn youth of the evil effects of opium to be introduced into all Government and Government-aided schools.⁵⁹

Even on the first night of the conference, a massive procession was held through the roads in Ipoh. It initiated by some former opium smokers who were believed to have recovered from the habit of 40 years. During the procession, almost 40 former opium smokers were shouting and expressing their gratitude towards the anti-opium movement for helping them to recover.⁶⁰ The following year, the cooperation between two anti-opium movements continued with another ten more resolutions passed in the second conference which took place from 6th to 8th March in Penang and two important resolutions are stated below;

1. That this Conference urges that on the abolition of the Opium Farms of the Straits Settlements, the Laws and regulations made with the regard to the sale and smoking of opium in the Federated Malay States may also be revised

and brought into line with those of the Colony, so that the same restrictions upon the sale and smoking of opium may be applied universally throughout British Malaya;

2. That the Governments of the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States be requested to establish without delay special homes and to reserve special wards in the different hospitals under their control for the treatment of opium inebriety.⁶¹

All the ideas, proposals and protests accumulated through meetings and conferences were sent to authorities such as SS Governors, Resident General, FMS Residents, Indian Government Secretary, Secretary for Colonies and leaders of the anti-opium movement in Britain and China for further follow-up. It was one of the anti-opium movement strategies to keep on pressuring the British government on opium problems. The relentless efforts by the anti-opium movement in FMS clearly showed that the movement was really committed to suppressing the increasing opium smoking habits within the Chinese community. Nevertheless, at the same time, the anti-opium movement did not intend to stop it drastically. They wanted the deterrence of the evil habits to be implemented gradually so that it would not affect the opium smokers. As a first step in suppressing the habit, the anti-opium movement proposed to the government to abolish the farming system, introduction of registration of opium smokers, banning on opium smoking in brothels and the sale of opium to children.

The anti-opium movement, which was actively launching campaigns to eradicate the habits among the Chinese, had a huge impact on trade activities in FMS. This change began since 1906 after the anti-opium movement was initiated following the earnest efforts of many parties. Among the effects of anti-opium movement campaigns were the drop in imports of raw opium into FMS, the change of government policy towards supporting (whether voluntary or forced) anti-opium campaigns and also the participation of FMS anti-opium movement in the Opium Commission of Malaya.

Implication of Campaigns and Activities of Anti-Opium Movement in FMS

The implications of anti-opium movement on the British's attitude and policies in FMS could be traced based on a few major changes which had taken place. The most significant success of the anti-opium movement in FMS was when it succeeded in 'pushing' the British to get FMS to be involved in the research of the Opium Commission of Malaya. On 19th July 1907, the British government decided to set up the commission to investigate the extent to which the opium smoking practice was spreading and advising the government by proposing

appropriate measures to minimise and further eradicate the opium smoking habits. However, in the early stage, the commission was formed only to cover the opium issue in SS.⁶²

The instructions to include FMS were made after Winston Churchill, who was then the Second Secretary of the Colonies received a special representative from FMS on behalf of Lord Elgin. The delegation was headed by Dr R.M. Connolly and J. G. Alexander as SSOT representative. This delegation proposed that the scope of investigation of the commission was to be expanded by incorporating FMS. Although the proposal was agreed upon and accepted, there weren't any additional committees members from FMS made by the British government. As the result of the delegation's success, the commission had gone to a few towns in FMS like Taiping, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur to interview witnesses and collect evidence.⁶³ Furthermore, the opportunities given by the commission to the anti-opium representatives had been fully utilized to express their views and suggestions on opium problems. One of them was Eu Tong Seng, a mine owner in Perak who insisted in his interview that the habit of opium smoking had caused his coolies to become weak and unable to work. According to him, a coolie who smoked opium could only work from 20 to 24 days, compared to a healthy coolie who could work for up to 30 days.⁶⁴ Another member of the anti-opium movement, who was also a miner, Wee Hap Lang once voiced in his interview session;

Opium smokers have only one goal and that is the goal of a wreck. They will begin to smoke, and then they will smoke, smoke, smoke; it depends on the constitution of an individual or other circumstances, but in the end, they are sure to become a wreck.⁶⁵

Although in the end, the commission report was not in favour of what anti-opium movement had aimed for,⁶⁶ the commission had provided a number of positive suggestions to the FMS government. Some of them were the abolition of the farming system, opium monopoly by the government, reduction of opium imports from India and price increase on chandu as efforts to reduce the opium intake among opium smokers.⁶⁷ The commission also suggested that the chandu retail price in FMS was to be uniformed with the retail price in SS and any price increase should be made public.⁶⁸ In 1904, the retail price of a tael chandu in SS was \$2.20. The proposed new price was between \$2.20 and \$3.00. This means that the current price in FMS which was around \$1.10 to \$1.60 in the inland areas and \$2.15 in the coastal area, the price would be raised not less than \$1.80 for that purpose.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the FMS government did not respond positively to the proposal. So, it is arguable that the establishment of this commission was merely a British trick to 'ease' the aggressive anti-opium movement. Without any efforts by the anti-opium movement, FMS would not have been included in the investigation of the Opium Commission of Malaya

and the was the possibility of opium problems in FMS would have prolonged.

Another impact of the anti-opium movement could be seen through the drop of opium revenue since 1906. The enormous efforts and campaigns had clearly demonstrated the effectiveness of anti-opium movement which had raised awareness among the Chinese about the dangers of opium. As more Chinese were reluctant to smoke opium the government's opium revenue was greatly affected. For example, Table 1.2 below shows the decline in the amount of imports. Figures indicate the reduction in the number of opium imports in FMS from 1906 to 1910, during which the massive anti-opium campaigns period was held very significantly. For example, in 1906, the number of opium imports in FMS was about 6 million taels. Although the number of imports decreased between 1907-1909 but it still exceeded three million taels. However, by 1910, the number of imports had fallen dramatically, at 1,683,798 taels alone. This shows a drop of 71.9 per cent of total opium imports in 1906. In fact, for Perak which was the centre of Chinese labourers, the number of imports indicated a significant decrease in the amount of 3, 054,000 taels in 1906 to only 629,441 taels in 1910.

Table 1.2: Total of Opium Import into FMS, 1906 Until 1910 (Taels)

Year/ States	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Perak	3,054,000	2,800,000	2,312,400	1,820,400	629,441
Selangor	1,995,600	2,065,200	1,698,000	1,130,400	676,397
Negri Sembilan	699,600	662,400	494,400	382,800	185,660
Pahang	259,200	252,000	285,000	198,200	192,300
Total	6,008,400	5,859,600	4,788,000	3,532,800	1,683,798

Source: Annual Report of Trade and Custom, 1912, 4.

The effectiveness of the anti-opium movement in reducing opium import was also reported by several local newspapers. The newspapers stated that the pressures given by the anti-opium movement in FMS had forced the British government to reduce the number of raw opium chests to avoid loss. For example, *The Straits Times* dated 27th November 1906 reported a massive gathering organized by the Selangor Anti-Opium Society on 31st October 1906 caused the government to reduce opium import to Kuala Lumpur by 18 chests, in less than a month. As a result, the Selangor government had lost revenue of nearly \$26,000.⁷⁰ *The Perak Pioneer* newspaper also reported that the import duty on opium in Perak also dropped to not less than \$38,000.⁷¹ In 1908, Perak only earned total revenue of \$13,462,714 with a decline of \$372,414 from its original estimate. The drop in Perak's revenue was directly related to the pressures of the anti-opium movement.⁷² Meanwhile, in *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, it was stated the opium intake in Kinta had fallen by almost 40 per cent through the efforts of the Perak Anti-Opium

Table 1.3: Total of FMS Opium Revenue, 1906-1910 (\$)

Year/ States	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Perak	1,327,500	1,248,000	1,070,880	1,792,120	1,147,406
Selangor	864,682	392,320	1,001,320	1,091,320	991,835
Negri Sembilan	303,160	288,860	347,400	347,400	349,969
Pahang	Opium revenue added into <i>General Farm</i>				
Total	2,495,342	1,929,180	2,419,600	3,230,840	2,489,210

Source: Annual Report, Trade and Custom Department, 1912, 22.

The reduction of opium imports due to anti-opium movement campaigns naturally affected the FMS government revenue as shown in Table 1.3. The government experienced a decline in revenue of almost \$566,162 in 1907 compared to 1906 and the amount loss had increased to \$2,419,600 in 1908. However, the revenue increased slightly in 1909. The increase was not caused by the hike in opium consumption but it happened after the government raised the import duty. The FMS government had gained a surplus of \$ 1,136,038 in 1909 after raising the duty from \$560 to \$700 per chest.⁷⁴

On top of that, the government appeared to have become more sensitive to the demands of the anti-opium movement, especially in monitoring the opium smoking activities. The government started introducing a number of new policies as demanded by anti-opium supporters. For example, The Resident of Perak, E. W. Birch authorized all licensing officers to carry out special monitoring on licensed chandu shops from time to time. Among the instructions to be followed were that the licensing officer should ensure that chandu shop owners complied with the rules of the numbers of opium smokers allowed at the chandu shop at one time; the permitted size of the space for each opium smokers and restriction on the sale of other items in the chandu shop. Licensing officers were also given the authority to cancel the licenses if any offence was committed by the chandu shop owner. In addition, health officials were instructed to check on the premises to ensure that there were no crowded chandu shops and opium pipes were cleaned before giving them to the new opium smokers. This was because an unclean pipe would result in the transmission of tuberculosis disease among opium smokers.⁷⁵

Another success which highlighted the effectiveness of the anti-opium movement was the undertaking of the Perak government to restrict all tin mining towkays from using opium as a replacement for wages. Prior to that, under the Truck System,⁷⁶ the towkays provided opium supplies in exchange for Chinese's' wages. The Perak government's action was considered quickly because before the FMS government decided to stop the system, the Perak

government had already enforced the ban.⁷⁷ Furthermore, due to constant demands from Dr R.M. Connolly to restrict the opium smoking in the brothels, Protector of Chinese William Cowan had conducted a number of inspections on Chinese brothels. During the inspections, two brothel owners were found guilty and charged for allowing opium smoking activities in the premises. Moreover, William Cowan had warned all the brothel owners to discard all opium pipes. If his orders were not followed, the owner would be charged.⁷⁸ In truth, these developments did not solely come from the government's initiative. It was the government's steps to be taken in line with the anti-opium campaigns. Without any pressure of the anti-opium movement, the FMS government probably would have not taken such efforts.

Nevertheless, the most significant impact from the revenue reduction was that the British government started to change its policies on opium trading. For example, the government implemented the main proposals submitted by the Opium Commission of Malaya - the abolition of the Opium Revenue Farming and introduction of a new policy, which was known as the Monopoly Policy to ensure trade and use of opium to be under control. Regarding the proposal, the commission had outlined some guidelines : that all import and export of opium to be under government's control; the government control and monitor chandu distribution; raw opium processing to be carried out only at government factories and the granting of licenses for selling opium to the public also closely guarded by the government. On January 1st, 1910, the Government Monopoly Policy was introduced in FMS, but it only covered several coastal areas of Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan. The policy was implemented through the formulation of a special act, namely 'The Federal Coast Chandu Enactment, No. 4 of 1909'.⁷⁹ In the implementation of the Government Monopoly Policy in the area, a special department, Coast Chandu Department, was established at Port Swettenham under G. G. Fiddes to manage opium activities as well as monitor and provide prevention measures.

At the same time, a plan to extend the policy throughout FMS was drafted within a few months. The proposal was presented during the Federal Council meeting which took place on 31 October 1910 by the Acting Resident-General, R. G. Watson. He called on the same policy to be extended throughout FMS within a year with whole opium trading to be placed under the government control by 1911.⁸⁰ In the same meeting, FMS Acting Legal Assistant, A. H. Lemon had submitted a motion for a bill entitled 'An Enactment to prohibit the importation of Opium and vest in the Government the sole right of importing and dealing in Chandu'. The bill was drafted based on 'The Federal Coast Chandu Enactment, 1909' with some minor changes.⁸¹ After passing a few amendments during the meeting of the Federal Council on November 1st, 1910, Acting Resident-General, R. G. Watson re-submitted the motion on November 3, 1910.⁸² The motion was unanimously agreed by the Selangor Resident, H. C. Belfield. The motion was later approved as Enactment No.14 of 1910, The

Opium & Chandu Enactment by the Federal Council on the same day.⁸³ The new policy approval was also gazetted in the FMS, the Government Gazette of December 5, 1910.⁸⁴ Thus, the Government Monopoly Policy was officially implemented on 1st January 1911 throughout FMS to replace the previous policy, Opium Revenue Farming which was considered to be the main cause of the spreading of opium smoking habits among the Chinese community.

Conclusion

In FMS, the practice of opium smoking continued without any hurdles until the beginning of the 20th century. Then, gradually, the perception on opium smoking started to change and it was regarded as a social problem. Aggressive roles played by anti-opium supporters, especially J. G. Alexander, led to the anti-opium movement which was mobilized throughout FMS to address the problem of opium addiction among the Chinese. The Chinese community from all walks of life became united, including the opium farmers and miners to curb the problem. The change of their attitude was associated with the spirit of patriotism towards China which was grappling with issues caused by opium trading exploitation and growing opium smoking habits among the youth.

The ongoing efforts by the anti-opium movements have created awareness among the low-income coolies, especially in tin mining areas. Each time an anti-opium organization met with the Chinese community, the decline in opium intake could be noticed. It showed that the anti-opium movement had a very positive effect on opium smoking problems. Furthermore, the efforts of the anti-opium movement were also supported by the local government when some of the state governments were willing to implement new measures in order to curb the spread of this destructive habits. The fall of opium chests had raised concerns for the British government that the high yields of opium trading activities that it had been enjoying would not last long. Moreover, with the push of a stronger anti-opium movement to abolish the Opium Revenue Farming forced the government to take its own efforts towards suppressing the habits such as the setting up of the Malaya Commission in 1907. Hence, it can be concluded that the anti-opium movement in FMS played a crucial role in carrying out campaigns to eliminate opium trade. It's hard work ensured that opium addiction among the Chinese would be eradicated, though it might not be entirely possible.

Endnotes

1. ZhengYangwen, *The Social Life of Opium in China*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pg. 11.
2. A few reseachers claimed that the habit was introduced by the Phillipines and Javanese please refer: The Straits Times 13 November

- 1945, 2.
3. Hare, G. T., *Report on Taxation of Opium In The Federated Malay States*, Taiping: Perak Government Printing Office, 1898.
 4. Proceeding of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into Matter Relating to the Use of Opium in The Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States (Opium Commission Report), Volume 1, Report and Annexures, London: Darling & Sons, Ltd, 1909, 177. After this, the document will be referred as O.C.R.
 5. Besides chandu, other items and activities such as arrack, prostitution, gambling and pawning also were farmed out.
 6. Ooi Keat Gin, *Historical Dictionary of Malaysia, Histories Dictionaries of Asia, Oceania and the Middle East*. USA: The Scarecrow Press Inc, 2009.
 7. British government move to impose import duty on chandu in Larut in the early of 1875 was strongly opposed till the Chinese coolies left Larut. Meanwhile, in July 1879, another attempt to introduce back the Opium Revenue Farming was failed due to opposition of a few Chinese capitalists. Only in 1888, the system was successfully reintroduced in Perak. Please refer: Wong Li Ken, 1965. *The Malayan Tin Industry to 1914: With Special Reference to the States of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
 8. Toda Kenji, "Anti-Opium Movement, Chinese Nationalism and the Straits Chinese in the Twentieth Century", *Malaysian Journal of Chinese Studies*, 2012.
 9. Cheng U Wen, "Opium in the Straits Settlements, 1867-1910", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1961, 2 (1): 52-75.
 10. Lim Sel Fang and Nordin Hussin, "Sejarah Pembasmian Penggunaan dan Perdagangan Candu di Negeri-Negeri Selat Tahun 1908-1940", *Geografia: Malaysian Journal of Society and Space*, Volume 13, (4), 2017.
 11. *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 1906-1907
 12. Suppression of the Opium Trade, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, HC Deb 04 April 1843, Volume 68, para. 362-469.
 13. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury was elected as the first President, meanwhile Sir Joseph Pease as the representative in Britain Parliament.
 14. Alfred Webb, Indian Opium Revenue, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, HC Deb 30 June 1893 Volume 14, para. 591-634.
 15. Richards, John F., "Opium and the British Indian Empire: The Royal Commission of 1895," *Modern Asian Studies*, Volume 36, (2), 2002, 375-420.
 16. Theodore Taylor, The Opium Traffic, Hansard Parliamentary Debates,

- HC Deb 30 May 1906, Volume 158, para. 494-516.
17. Wright, Hamilton., “The International Opium Commission”, *The American Journal of International Law*, Volume 3, (4),1909, 828-868
 18. Alexander started his journey to Malaya, China dan Japan with encouragement of London Society of Friends. But his visits were not only to spread the opium awareness but also to meet Chinese Christians. But his passion towards opium problems made him more attached to conduct talks on opium. Refer: *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 9 November 1906, 5.
 19. For the first time, this suggestion was brought up by Theodore Taylor in 30 May 1906. Later on, it got the huge support from Sir Robert Laidlaw, one of the Liberal parliament members, whom then conveyed it to a group of anti-opium supporters in Britain.
 20. The success of anti-opium organisation in Singapura also influenced by the supports of Consul General of China in Singapura, Suen Sze Ting. Apart from Singapore and Selangor, Penang Anti-Opium Society was formed in 7 November 1907 with Wu Lien Teh as the President. In Malacca, although there weren't any anti-opium societies formed officially, but the campaigns to eradicate the opium smoking habits were carried out by missionaries like Methodist Church.
 21. O.C.R., Volume II, List of Witnesses, Evidence and Glossary, 1909, 860.
 22. The numbers are from the total of Chinese men adults of 145,368. Refer: O.C.R, Volume I, Report and Annexures, 39.
 23. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, November 1, 1906, 287; *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, November 6, 1906, 3
 24. *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 2 November 1906, 4
 25. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, November 19, 1906, 5
 26. The numbers were the estimates given by Honorary Secretary of Perak Anti-Opium Society. But according to its vice president, the total of membership was not more than 100. The numbers were out of total of Chinese men of 173,061. Refer: O.C.R, Volume I, Report and Annexures, 40.
 27. Dr. R.M. Connolly was an Irish medical officer who was studied in Trinity College, Dublin. He came to SS to join government medical service. In 1905, he retired and became a private medical practitioner in Kinta. Not only that, he was also involved in tin mining and agriculture in Perak. Then, he was a president of Navy League dan managing director of Times of Malaya. He was elected as the first President of Perak Anti-Opium Society because of his involvement in

- suppressing the opium smoking habits in FMS.
28. Resolution passed by the S.S and F.M.S Anti Opium Conference held in Ipoh, F.M.S on 8 and 9 March 1907, Resolution No.3, in the Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, 3.
 29. Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, 8.
 30. O.C.R, Volume I, Report and Annexures, 1909, 39
 31. For example, by December 1906, a total of 4,000 opium dens were closed in Tientsin Province only (*The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (Weekly), 3 January 1907, 11).
 32. *The Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 23 August 1906, 2; *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (Weekly), 30 August 1906, 131
 33. *The Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 29 October 1906, 4
 34. *The Straits Times*, 2 October 1907, 6
 35. Hare, G. T. 1898. *Report on Taxation of Opium In The Federated Malay States*, Taiping: Perak Government Printing Office.
 36. William Edward Horley or widely known as Reverend W.E. Horley was one of the main figures in anti-opium movement in FMS. He was a missionary at Methodist Episcopal Church, Kuala Lumpur. He was born in 5 June 1870 in England. For first time, he came to Singapore in 1894 to teach in Anglo-Chinese School for 18 months. In 1895, he moved to Ipoh and active in social activities in a few Malay states. He involved seriously in anti-opium campaigns and was elected as Selangor representative in Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States Anti-Opium Second Conference. He passed away in 2 April 1931.
 37. Foo Choo Choon was born in 30 July 1860 in Fujian Province. His grandfather and father had migrated to Malaya earlier. Foo Choo Choon came to Malaya in 1873 at the age of 13 and studied in Penang before joining his uncle's tin mine in Taiping. After that, he moved to Paloh (Ipoh) where he succeeded in getting a licence to mine in Lahat. In 1895, he took over Tronoh Mines leases from its previous owners, Jin Siong Yoong (Batu Gajah), Wong Kok (Papan), Chi Kam Poh (Papan) and Kok Kee (Tronoh). He opened the mine with almost 1,500 Chinese coolies. In 1897, he appointed a British engineer, John Addis as the manager of the mine in order to introduce a few mining technologies. Due to that, Tronoh Mines became one of the modern mines and he was called 'King of Tin'. Records showed from April

- 1899 till August 1901, Tronoh Mines had produced 21,000 tonnes of tin, with 36 katties or 625 grammes for each yard. Later, Foo Choo Choon also owners of several big mines in Sungei Besi and other places. He passed away on 27 March 1921.
38. *The Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 21 September 1907, 3
 39. Leong Fee, known as Liang Pi Joo was born in Mei Xian District, Kwantung Province, China in 1857. In 1876, he migrated to Penang at the 22. Initially he worked as a cook and hawker for six months before moving to Ipoh in the same year. In Ipoh, he involved in tin mining until he became a famous miner in Perak. Apart from that, he also involved in rubber plantations and real estates in SS and FMS. As an anti-opium supporter, he was stopping his opium smoking habit from 1906.
 40. O.C.R., Volume II, List of Witnesses, Evidence and Glossary, 1909, pg. 910.
 41. Cheng U Wen, 1961. *Opium in the Straits Settlements, 1867-1910*: pg. 52-75.
 42. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* (Weekly), 25 October 1906, pg. 263
 43. *The Straits Times*, 21 January 1907, pg. 5
 44. Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, pg. 16.
 45. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 25 October 1906, 263.
 46. *Eastern Daily Mail and Straits Morning Advertiser*, 30 October 1906, 3.
 47. *The Straits Times*, 21 January 1907, pg. 5
 48. Pike Pease, Anti-Opium Remedies, Hansard Parliamentary Debates, HC Deb 27 May 1907, Vol 174 c1315, paragraph 1315.
 49. Cheng U Wen, 1961. *Opium in the Straits Settlements, 1867-1910*: pg. 52-75.
 50. Misc. 1417, 1957/0588461, Copy of a resolution carried unanimously at Kuala Lumpur on the subject of gradual suppression of the opium traffic.
 51. Lim Choo Boon was born in Penang and studied in St Xavier School. He settled down in Ipoh for four years since 1902 and worked as a cashier in Chartered Bank, Ipoh. Prior to that, he owned a shop selling western appliances and also worked in Hallifax & Co. Lim Choo Boon was the secretary of Perak Anti-Opium Society. He never involved in opium smoking habit.
 52. O.C.R., Volume II, List of Witnesses, Evidence and Glossary, 1909,

pg. 745.

53. Eu Tong Seng was born in Penang in July 1877 and sent back to his homeland, Fushan in 1881 when he was four years old. He lived there for ten years. Around 1893, he came back to Penang and studied in St. Xavier Institution. Then, he migrated to Perak in 1895. When he was 21 years old, he inherited his father's business. He involved in mining actively, especially in Kinta Valley. By the year of 1908, he owned eight mines in Kinta; 2 in Kuala Lumpur dan one in Negri Sembilan. In Kuala Lumpur and Negri Sembilan only, he had 11,000 coolies, where 10,000 were Chinese. In 1900s, he owned several opium farms in Penang and Singapore. In 1906, he joined the anti-opium movement where he was elected as Vice President of Perak Anti-Opium Society. After the passing of Loke Yew, Eu Tong Sen was considered as the Chinese richest man in Malaya.
54. This information was obtained from Eu Tong Seng's interview on 42nd meeting of Malaya Opium Commission dated 2nd January 1908 in Ipoh.
55. *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, January 28, 1907, pg. 3.
56. Perak Secretariat, 460/1907, "Anti-Opium Conference, Ipoh on the 8th, 9th March 1907".
57. Perak Secretariat, 897/1907, "Report of the Proceeding of the Anti-Opium Conference held in Ipoh on 8th and 9th March 1907", pg. 2.
58. See "Resolutions Passed at the Ipoh Conference, March 8-9th 1907" in Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, hlm. 3-4; dan "Resolutions Passed at the Ipoh Conference, March 8-9th 1907" dalam Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, 3-4.
59. For references on resolutions and the names of propers and supporters, see "Resolutions Passed at the Ipoh Conference, March 8-9th 1907" in Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, 5-7. Lihat juga Misc. 1458-1909, "Forwards a copy of the Resolutions of the Recent Anti-Opium Conference of S.S & F.M.S held in Kuala Lumpur".
60. Perak Anti-Opium Society denied their involvement in the procession plan and claimed it was done by the public.
61. For a complete details, see "Resolutions Passed at the Second Conference, March 6th -8th 1908", pg. 8-11 in Misc. 1458-1909, "Forwards a copy of the Resolutions of the recent Anti-Opium

- Conference of S.S & F.M.S held in Kuala Lumpur”. See also “Resolutions Passed at the Penang Conference, March 6th, 7th and 8th 1908” dalam Proceedings of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, Third Annual Meeting Held in Kuala Lumpur, 22nd, 23rd and 24th May 1909, Kuala Lumpur: Commercial Press, pg. 4-6.
62. In the early time of its founding, there was a rumour that commission formation was an excuse “...that the said commission has been practically directed to bring in a verdict of “quilty”. Please refer: The Straits Times, 19 August 1907, pg. 7.
 63. O.C.R. Volume I, Report and Annexures, 1909, 2.
 64. O.C.R., Volume II, List of Witnesses, Evidence and Glossary, pg. 767.
 65. O.C.R, Volume II, List of Witnesses, Evidence and Glossary, pg. 908.
 66. Opium Commission of Malaya gave a shocking statement that opium smoking habits was moderate and did not contribute any negative impact on opium smoker. Refer: The Straits Times, 6 January 1909, 7.
 67. O.C.R., Volume 1, Report and Annexures, Section XIII, 1909, paragraph 257.
 68. O.C.R., Volume 1, Report and Annexures, Section XIII, 1909, paragraph 265.
 69. O.C.R., Volume 1, Report and Annexures, Section XIII, 1909, paragraph 33-35.
 70. The Straits Times, November 27, 1906, 6.
 71. Ho Tak Ming 2104. *Ipoh When Tin Was King*. Ipoh: Perak Academy.
 72. The Straits Times, 26 July 1909, pg. 6.
 73. The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 28 January 1907, 3.
 74. The Straits Times, 20 July 1910, 9.
 75. The Straits Times, 30 January 1907, pg. 2.
 76. Under this system, the wages were paid in the form daily necessities such as food, arrack and opium. The coolies were manipulated with higher price compare to the normal market price. This system considered a type of control on coolies. Because of that, people against this system, especially the educated Chinese. Resident-General, Sir W. T. Taylor brought this issue to London. Eventually, Truck System was abolished in 1908.
 77. The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 28 January 1907, 3; The Straits Times, 30 January 1907, pg. 2.
 78. The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, 28 January 1907, pg.3.
 79. Selangor Secretariat, Sec. 1427/1912, Annual Report on the Chandu Monopoly For 1911, pg. 2.
 80. Proceedings of the Federal Council of Federated Malay States, 1910.
 81. It was drafted based on Federal Coast Chandu Enactment, but with

a few additional clauses such as power to search and confiscate raw opium or chandu which violated Customs Regulation Enactment of 1907. Draft Federated Malay States Enactment, 1910; “An Enactment to prohibit the importation of Opium and to vest in the Government the sole right of importing and dealing in Chandu”, in Selangor Secretariat File, R. G. 3282/10, The Opium and Chandu Enactment, 1910, 1910. See also Commissioner, Trade and Customs Department, to Selangor Resident Secretary, dated 13 August 1910, in Selangor Secretariat File, 3658/1910, Reintroduction of the Chandu Monopoly System.

82. The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser, November 4, 1910, pg. 5.
83. Shorthand, 3 November 1910, ms.128-129, in FMS, PFC 1910. See also Federated Malay States, Desp. No.14, dated 10 January 1911, in High Commissioner File, R.G. 107/1911, Enactment No. 14 of 1910 entitled “The Opium & Chandu Enactment, 1910, passed by the Federal Council on the 3rd November 1910- Forwards 18 copies of together with the Legal Adviser’s Report. See also John Anderson to Lewis Harcourt, Secretary for the Colonies, dated 9 January 1911, in C. O. 273/372, Colonial Office: Straits Settlements Original Correspondence. Secretary of State Despatches. High Commissioner, despatch no.14. 1911, Chandu Enactment, 1910”, passed by the Federal Council on the 3rd November 1910.
84. Federated Malay States, Desp. No.14, dated 10 January 1911, in High Commissioner File, R.G. 107/1911, Enactment No. 14 of 1910 entitled “The Opium & Chandu Enactment 1910, passed by the Federal Council on the 3rd November 1910- Forwards 18 copies of together with the Legal Adviser’s Report.”

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- Malay States. Proceedings of Federal Council 1910: Forwards 18 copies of together with the Legal Adviser’s Report.
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