

Opium in China / extracted from China; political, commercial, and social.

Contributors

Martin, Robert Montgomery, 1803?-1868.

Publication/Creation

[London] : [publisher not identified], [1847?]

Persistent URL

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/zckbgs2d>

License and attribution

This work has been identified as being free of known restrictions under copyright law, including all related and neighbouring rights and is being made available under the Creative Commons, Public Domain Mark.

You can copy, modify, distribute and perform the work, even for commercial purposes, without asking permission.



Wellcome Collection
183 Euston Road
London NW1 2BE UK
T +44 (0)20 7611 8722
E library@wellcomecollection.org
<https://wellcomecollection.org>



356301P



35638/P

84711



OPIUM IN CHINA,

EXTRACTED FROM

CHINA;

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND SOCIAL :*

[DEDICATED BY GRACIOUS PERMISSION TO THE QUEEN,]

BY

R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN,

Late Her Majesty's Treasurer for the Colonial, Consular and Diplomatic Services in China;
and a Member of Her Majesty's Legislative Council at Hong Kong.

A PERUSAL of the following description of the fearful crime that England is at this moment committing on the coast of China, is earnestly solicited; more especially by those who believe that Christianity is not a mere name, but a principle of daily action; who deem that there is a national as well as an individual responsibility to the Creator and Preserver of mankind; who consider that He who is the fountain of justice, decreed the inevitable punishment of sin, declaring that "whatsoever a man (nation) soweth that shall he reap;" and who has inculcated the blessed precept "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Even those whose thoughts are chiefly occupied with the acquisition of wealth, with adding house to house, and field to field, too often heedless of the means used for such acquisition, and who are, alas! ready to overleap every law, human or Divine, which may interfere with their rapid accumulation of gain—must admit, if they peruse the annexed Report on the Opium traffic, laid before Her Majesty's Government, that it is a painful and unexaggerated record of national guilt, and of human suffering.

To the Bishops of the Anglican Church, who are placed in the highest legislative tribunal, to watch over the morals of the nation, this Report is specially commended.

[* Published by JAMES MADDEN, 8, Leadenhall Street, London, in two vols. 8vo.]

It is primarily their sacred duty to bring the whole subject under the immediate and serious deliberation of the exalted assembly in which they sit; if this duty be neglected, then they become as much participants in the crime as if they themselves were engaged smuggling Opium on the coast of China.

Next, to the Clergy of all Denominations in the United Kingdom this Report is presented; if they also continue passive, when ignorance can no longer be pleaded as a justification for their silence, their hebdomadal prayers to a just Being, whose laws we are daily outraging, become a mockery. To the Laity—Protestant, Presbyterian, Romanist, or Sectarian,—these pages are also submitted. We have abolished slavery, mitigated our sanguinary code, purified our prisons, and ministered relief to suffering humanity everywhere. If our collective opinion be pronounced on the crime developed in these pages, no government nor individual can longer continue in its perpetration.

Finally—this Report is dedicated, (by gracious permission) to the Sovereign of the British Nation, with an earnest prayer that the Almighty,—by whose authority, “*kings reign and princes decree justice,*”—may influence the councils of Her Majesty to do that which is right in the sight of Him who declareth, that “*they who set their heart on their iniquity will have the reward of their doings.*”

OPIUM: PROGRESS AND EXTENT OF CONSUMPTION; INDIVIDUAL AND NATIONAL EFFECTS; IMPERIAL EDICTS; CONTINUED DENUNCIATION BY THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT; ITS SEIZURE AND DESTRUCTION; STATE OF THE TRAFFIC, AND UNCHRISTIAN CONDUCT OF ENGLAND.

[EXTRACTED FROM VOL. II.—CHAPTER IV.—OF REPORTS ON CHINA TO HER MAJESTY’S GOVERNMENT.]

THE consumption of the intoxicating and pernicious drug called opium, is so large in China, so entirely contraband, and so strongly denounced by the imperial government, that a brief notice of the events that arose out of the desire of the Chinese government to suppress the traffic will be necessary, in order that the present state of the trade may be fully understood; for the question is by no means a settled one with the cabinet at Peking, and it is far

from improbable, that the opium traffic may again lead to a war between China and England.

Opium was first used in China medicinally, and a small quantity was grown in the southern province of Yunnan. It is probable, that, subsequent to the Tartar conquest (A.D. 1644), a great deterioration of morals took place throughout the empire, and the complete subjugation and despotism exercised by the conquerors destroyed public energy and private enterprise, leaving to the wealthier classes no other source of enjoyment than what may be temporarily, but dearly, obtained from sensual indulgence. This is also manifest in the opium-consuming countries of Turkey and Persia; indeed, wherever the vital and ennobling springs of human action are subdued, baneful passions take root, and among a materialist-people like the Chinese, almost devoid of religion, and without hope of the future, every species of present enjoyment necessarily ensues. The fatally delicious intoxication of opium offered, therefore, a transient pleasure and oblivion of woes, which it was difficult to resist.

Previous to 1767, the importation of the drug from India (which country, and Turkey, are almost the only countries where it is extensively grown) into China, did not exceed 200 chests a year. This increased to 1000 chests yearly, the trade being chiefly in the hands of the Portuguese. In 1773, the East India Company made a small venture of opium to China. In 1780, the English entered into the trade, and established two small depôt vessels in "Larks, or Blackbutter Bay," southward of Macao, where the opium, worth in Bengal 500 rupees a chest, was sold to the Chinese for 500 dollars.

In 1781, the Bengal government freighted an armed vessel with opium, the proceeds of which were paid into the East India Company's treasury at Canton.

In 1794, the English stationed a large vessel laden with opium at Whampoa, where she remained fifteen months unmolested.

The consumption in the year 1800 was probably about 2,000 chests, when the importation was prohibited by the Emperor; who also interdicted the cultivation of the poppy in Yunnan. Subsequently, a general order was issued to all governors and deputy governors throughout the empire, to exert themselves in suppressing the use of opium, and directing them to send in their opinions on the best mode of doing so. The Emperor peremptorily instructed the governor of Yunnan not to use "empty words," but to put the people in fear, prevent the production of opium, and at the end of every year report progress to His Majesty. Death, transportation, and confiscation of property, were decreed to be the punishments due to those who smoked, retailed, or cultivated opium.

Notwithstanding these severe prohibitions, the consumption of opium increased rapidly in China; and armed depôt vessels belonging to several private English merchants, were stationed under shelter of the island of Lintin, in the Canton river, during the

N.E. monsoon, and in the adjacent harbour of Capsingmoon, at the entrance of the Canton river, during the summer months. The smuggling boats were fast sailers, well armed, manned with forty to fifty stout rowers, and ready to fight when attacked by the Chinese government revenue cruisers—which was not unfrequently the case. The opium was purchased for cash in Canton from the English owner or consignee by Chinese brokers, who then received an order on the captain of the depôt or receiving ship at Lintin, to deliver so many chests to the bearer. These deliveries were generally made at night, to elude the mandarin cruisers.

As the trade increased, English receiving vessels were stationed at eligible places along the east and north coasts of China. The consumption of Indian opium (independent of Turkey opium) was, in

	Patna & Benares. Chests.	Value. Dollars.	Malwa. Chests.	Value. Dollars.	Total. Chests.	Value. Dollars.
1816-17	2,610	3,132,000	600	525,000	3,210	3,657,000
1826-27	3,661	3,668,565	6,308	5,941,520	9,969	9,610,085
1832-33	8,290	6,570,729	15,403½	8,781,700	23,693½	15,352,429
1837	about 40,000 chests, valued at.....					25,000,000

Thus, in twenty years, the consumption of this fearfully pernicious drug had more than *ten-fold* increased, and, according to the then exchangeable value of the dollar, an annual drain of the precious metals amounting to about *four million* pounds sterling ensued, although the exportation thereof was prohibited by the government of China. The dissoluteness and destruction caused by this extensive use of opium; the corruption consequent on the large bribes paid to the mandarins by the *Chinese* smugglers of the drug; and the constant, open, and universal defiance of the imperial laws, gave much alarm and disquietude at Peking.

The imperial government discussed the subject in three points of view:—1st. *Moral*, in relation to the health and virtue of the people; 2d. *Financial*, on account of the constant and heavy drain of gold and silver from China; and, 3rd. *Political*, by means of the effects produced from the two previous arguments: viz., destroying the people, and diminishing the means of resistance against foreigners, who were now visiting every part of the coast of China.

The number of smokers, at three candareens = $17\frac{1}{3}\%$ grains per man daily, was about *three million*, and as it was a very expensive vice, and could only be indulged in by the wealthy classes, and those high in the employ of government, the demoralizing effect produced on the nation generally may be readily conceived.

No language would convey a description of the sufferings of those to whom opium has become a necessary of existence; no picture could impress the fearful misery which the inmates of an

opium smoking shop exhibit. These dens of human suffering are attended by unfortunate women—as opium in the early use is an aphrodisiac, and as such prized by the Chinese. In few, but very few, instances, if indeed in any, moderation in opium is exercised; once fairly begun, there is no cessation, until poverty and death ensue; and when digestion has nearly ceased, and deglutition even become painful, the utmost effect of the drug is merely to mitigate the horrors of existence.

One of the fallacies put forth to palliate the enormity of this crime, is that the vice of opium smoking is not worse than that of gin drinking; but this is on a par with another fallacy, that if Englishmen did not supply the Chinese with opium, another nation would. How sunken must be the morals of an individual, when *crime is measured by crime*! How dead must be the sense of national responsibility, when the plea is put forth that wholesale destruction may be committed, because, if not done by us, others will or may probably perpetrate the crime, and receive its hireling reward! Yet these are the justifications of *professing* Christians—in a nominally Christian country—in the middle of the nineteenth century!

On the second of these poor and flimsy subterfuges we have no need to comment, nor will the allegation bear discussion: as well might the murderer, Thurtell, justify his plunder and slaying of Mr. Weare, on the plea that if he did not Probert would, as England attempt to screen herself from the condemnation, so justly her due, for poisoning the Chinese. But the first plea is more specious, and its fallacy not so readily exposed; although it is at once apparent, that the perpetration of one offence can be no palliation for another. But independent of this argument, there is no comparison whatever between gin and opium, as regards their rapid and fatal effects. In adducing testimony on this point, I shall state, first, the effects of opium as I witnessed them in the East.

Opium affects primarily the nervous system, and is not, like beer, wine, or spirits, received into the digestive system previous to its action on the nerves. It is smoked by the Chinese after preparation by boiling to concentrate the narcotic principle. As a medicine, like all other poisons, it is of great value. It diminishes pain, soothes irritation, and often procures repose for the sufferers when other means have failed. In large doses it almost instantly destroys life by the destruction of the nervous energy, which is indispensable to the circulation of the blood. Unless when taken for the relief of disease, and even then administered with the greatest caution, the continued action of opium, as a sensual stimulant, *tends rapidly to the wasting of youth, health, strength, and beauty*. Those who begin its use at *twenty* may expect to die at *thirty* years of age: the countenance becomes pallid; the eyes assume a wild brightness, the memory fails, the

gait totters, mental exertion and moral courage sink, and a frightful marasmus or atrophy reduces the victim to a ghastly spectacle, *who has ceased to live before he has ceased to exist*. There is no slavery so complete as that of the opium-taker; once habituated to his dose as a factitious stimulant, everything will be endured rather than the privation; and the unhappy being endures all the mortification of a consciousness of his own degraded state, while ready to sell wife and children, body and soul, for the continuance of his wretched and transient delight; transient indeed—for at length the utmost effect produced is a temporary suspension of agony, and finally, no dose of the drug will remove or relieve a state of suffering which it is utterly impossible to describe. The pleasurable sensations and imaginative ideas arising at first, soon pass away; they become fainter and fainter, and at last entirely give place to horrid dreams and appalling pictures of death: spectres of fearful visage haunt the mind—the light which once seemed to emanate from heaven is converted into the gloom of hell—sleep, balmy sleep has fled for ever—night succeeds day only to be clothed with never-ending horrors;—incessant sickness, vomiting, diarrhœa, and total cessation of the digestive functions, ensue; and death at length brings, with its annihilation of the corporeal structure, the sole relief to the victim of sensual and criminal indulgence. The opium shops which I visited in the East were perfect types of hell upon earth.

An exemplary missionary, the Rev. Mr. Medhurst—now in China (at Shanghai) and intimately acquainted with the Chinese language, says, “those who have not seen the effects of opium-smoking in the eastern world, can hardly form any conception of its injurious results *on the health, energies and lives of those who indulge in it*. The debilitating of the constitution, and the shortening of life, are sure to follow, in a few years after the practice has been commenced. The dealers in opium are little aware how much harm they are the instruments of doing, by carrying on this demoralizing and destructive traffic; but the difference between the increase of the Chinese people, before and after the introduction of opium, ought to open their eyes, and lead them to ask themselves whether *they are not accountable for the diseases and deaths of all those who have suffered by its introduction*. And if it be true that the Chinese increased at the rate of three per cent. per annum, before the commencement of the traffic, and at the rate of one per cent. per annum since, it would be well for them to consider whether the deficiency is not to be attributed, in some degree, to opium, and *the guilt to be laid at the door of those who are instrumental in introducing it*.”—*Medhurst's China*, p. 56.

A late memorial from one of the censors to the Emperor of China, laid open the evil in all its deformity. “I have learned,” says he, “that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its

victims, have a *periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time.* If they cannot obtain it when the daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but with a few whiffs, their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a surprising manner. *Thus opium becomes to opium-smokers their very life; and, when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it.*—*The Chinese.* By Sir J. F. Davis. vol. ii., p. 454.

In the "Philosophical Transactions," Mr. Russell states, that opium "impairs the digestive organs, consequently the vigour of the whole body, and destroys also gradually the mental energies. The memories of those who take it soon fail, they become prematurely old, and then sink into the grave, objects of scorn and pity. Mustapha Shatoor, an opium-eater in Smyrna, took daily three drachms of crude opium. The visible effects at the time were the sparkling of his eyes, and great exhilaration of spirits. He found the desire of increasing his dose growing upon him. He seemed twenty years older than he really was; his complexion was very sallow, his legs small, his gums eaten away, and his teeth laid bare to the sockets. He could not rise without first swallowing half a drachm of opium." Dr. Madden, in his "Travels in Turkey," in describing some opium eaters, remarks: "Their gestures were frightful; those who were completely under the influence of the opium talked incoherently, their features were flushed, their eyes had an unnatural brilliancy, and the general expression of their countenances was horribly wild. . . . The debility, both moral and physical, attendant on its excitement is terrible; the appetite is soon destroyed, every fibre in the body trembles, the nerves of the neck become affected, and the muscles get rigid: several of these I have seen in this place, at various times, who had wry necks, and contracted fingers; but still they cannot abandon the custom: they are miserable till the hour arrives for taking their daily dose." M. de Ponqueville, in his "Travels in the Morea," observes: "He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, can scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the later is the utmost age that for the most part they attain. After some years they take doses of a drachm each; then comes on a frightful pallidness of countenance, and the victim wastes away in a kind of marasmus that can be compared to nothing but itself: alopecia and a total loss of memory, with rickets, are the never-failing consequences of this deplorable habit. . . . Always beside themselves, the *theriakis* are incapable of work, they seem no more to belong to society. Toward the end of their career they, however, experience violent pains, and are devoured by constant hunger; nor can their pare-

goric in any way relieve their sufferings; they are hideous to behold, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk in their heads, in a constant tremor, they cease to live long before they cease to exist."

Mr. Majoribanks, president of the select committee at Canton, observed, in reference to its use by the Chinese: "Opium can only be regarded, except the small quantities required for the purposes of medicine, as a pernicious poison. . . . To any friend of humanity, it is a painful subject of contemplation, that we should continue to pour *this black and envenomed poison into the sources of human happiness*—the misery and demoralization are almost beyond belief. Any man who has witnessed its frightful ravages and demoralizing effects in China, must feel deeply on this subject."

It is truly stated by a British merchant, in an essay on the opium trade: "There is but one point of difference between the intoxication of ardent spirits and that of opium, deserving of particular attention here; and that is, *the tenfold force with which every argument against the former applies to the latter. There is no slavery on earth to name with the bondage into which opium casts its victim. There is scarcely one known instance of escape from its toils, when once they have fairly enveloped a man.*"

Colonel James Tod, late political agent to the western Rajpoot, states, in his "Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan," says, "this pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices; giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time, but the reaction is not less certain; and the faded form or amorphous bulk, too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases body and mind." He afterwards terms it "an execrable and demoralizing plant."

Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, the present deputy-chairman of the East India Company, protested against the whole of this traffic, in a dissent dated October, 1839, and he uses these words: "By promoting the growth of the poppy throughout Central India, as we have done; paying high prices, and giving the native chiefs an interest in producing, rather than restricting the cultivation, we become accessory to the probable extension of a pernicious habit among a race of men, whose well-being ought never to be an object of indifference to us. By encouraging and extending the growth of the poppy in our own provinces, and becoming *the retail vendors of the drug*, we shall promote the introduction or extension of the same pernicious habit, which is calculated to debase our native subjects."

On the 14th May, 1841, Mr. Tucker again recorded a dissent, from which the following is an extract:—"Ever since I have had

the honour of being a member of this court, I have uniformly and steadily opposed the encouragement given to the extension of the manufacture of opium; but of late years we have pushed it to the utmost height, and disproportionate prices were given for the article in Malwah. We contracted burthensome treaties with the Rajpoot States, to introduce and extend the cultivation of the poppy. We introduced the article into our own districts where it had not been cultivated before, or where the cultivation was abandoned; and we gave our revenue officers an interest in extending the cultivation in preference to other produce much more valuable and deserving of encouragement. Finally, *we established retail shops, which brought it home to every man's door.*

“How different was the policy of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Teignmouth, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, who circumscribed the produce within the narrowest limits, confining the cultivation of the poppy to two of our provinces, and actually eradicating it from districts where it had been previously cultivated. How fatal have been the consequences of a departure from this wise and humane policy. Is there any man still so blind as not to perceive that it has had a most injurious effect upon our national reputation? Can any man be found so hardy, or perverse, as to deny that it has led to the total derangement of our trade with China, which was heretofore the source of wealth and prosperity both to India and to the mother country. If a revenue cannot be drawn from such an article as opium, otherwise than by quadrupling the supply, by promoting the general use of the drug, and by placing it within the reach of the lower classes of the people, no fiscal consideration can justify our inflicting upon the Malays and Chinese so grievous an evil.”

In a “Report on the Tea Plantations in Assam,” by Mr. C. A. Bruce, formerly in the service of the East India Company, and now superintendent of tea culture in Assam, it is stated, “I might here observe, that the British government would confer a lasting blessing on the Assamese and the new settlers, if immediate and active measures were taken to put down the cultivation of opium in Assam, and afterwards to stop its importation. If something of this kind is not done, and done quickly too, the thousands that are about to emigrate from the plains into Assam, will soon be infected with the opium mania—that dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country, turned it into a land of wild beasts, with which it is overrun, and has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people, to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralised race in India. This vile drug has kept, and does now keep down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other countries, and the children seldom live to become old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this unfortunate country in comparison with others. But those who have resided long in this unhappy land,

know the dreadful and immoral effects which the use of opium produces on the native. *He will steal, sell his property, his children, the mother of his children, and, finally, even commit murder for it!* Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen, and save Assam, and all those who are about to emigrate into it as tea cultivators, from the dreadful results attendant on the habitual use of opium? We should in the end be richly rewarded by having a fine healthy race of men growing up for our plantations, to fell our forests, to clear the land from jungle and wild beasts, and to plant and cultivate the luxury of the world. *This can never be effected by the enfeebled opium-eaters of Assam, who are more effeminate than women.*"

The *Pekin Gazette* of 7th September, 1823, says:—"Opium is an article whose flowing poison spreads like flames." A Chinese minister, addressing Sir Henry Pottinger, 27th July, 1842, says:

"We have been united, by a friendly commercial intercourse, for two hundred years. How then, at this time, are our old relations so suddenly changed, so as to be the cause of a national quarrel? It arose, most assuredly, from the spreading opium poison. *Opium is neither pulse nor grain, yet multitudes of our Chinese subjects consume it, wasting their property and destroying their lives; and the calamities arising therefrom are unutterable!* How is it possible to refrain from forbidding our people to use it?"

A far-seeing statesman, Sir Stamford Raffles, thus recorded his opinion respecting this poison in Java: "The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power *in degrading their character and enervating their energies*, as long as the European government, overlooking *every consideration of policy and humanity*, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country. The effects of this poison on the human frame are so well described by the Dutch Commissioners, who, much to their honour, declared, 'that no consideration of pecuniary advantage ought to weigh with the European government in allowing its use;' that, together with the opinion of Mr. Hogendorp, who concurred with them, I shall insert their statement.—*Sir Stamford Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i. p. 102.

"The English in Bengal have assumed an exclusive right to collect the same, and they dispose of a considerable number of chests containing that article annually at Calcutta by public auction. It is much in demand on the Malay coast, at Sumatra, Java, and all the islands towards the east and north, *and particularly in China*. The effect which it produces on the constitution is different, and depends on the quantity that is taken, or on other circumstances. If used with moderation, it causes a pleasant, yet always somewhat

intoxicating sensation, which absorbs all care and anxiety. *If a large quantity is taken, it produces a kind of madness, of which the effects are dreadful*, especially when the mind is troubled by jealousy, or inflamed with a desire of vengeance, or other violent passions. *At all times it leaves a slow poison, which undermines the faculties of the soul, and the constitution of the body*, and renders a person unfit for all kinds of labour, and an image of the brute creation. The use of opium is so much more dangerous, *because a person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off*. To satisfy that inclination, he will sacrifice every thing, his own welfare, the subsistence of his wife and children, and neglect his work. Poverty is the natural consequence, and then it becomes indifferent to him by what means he may content his insatiable desire after opium; so that at last he no longer respects either the property or life of his fellow-creatures."

"*Opium*," says Mr. Hogendorp, "*is a slow though certain poison*, which the Company, in order to gain money, sells the poor Javans. Any one who is once enslaved to it, cannot, it is true, give it up without great difficulty; and if its use were entirely prohibited, some few persons would probably die for want of it, who would otherwise, languish on a little longer: but how many would by that means be saved for the future? *Most of the crimes, particularly murders, that are now committed, may be imputed to opium as the general cause.*"

Captain John Shepperd, recently chairman of the East India Company, who has been in China often, says: "*The smoking of opium has the most demoralising effects*. To a certain extent it destroys their reason and faculties, and shortens life. A confirmed opium smoker is never fit to conduct business, and generally unfit for the social intercourse with his friends and family. You may tell him by his inflamed eyes and haggard countenance."

Sir R. Inglis, in the debate, April 4th, 1843, stated that: "He held in his hand a statement which had appeared in a Batavian Gazette, being an account of an individual who had visited one of the houses where the opium was consumed. He might be told that equal horrors might be found in some of the gin palaces of England; but he believed that no such horrors could be found in the worst parts of the worst towns of England. The individual said 'I visited one of the opium houses, and shall I tell you what I saw in this ante-chamber of hell? I thought it impossible to find any thing worse than the results of drinking ardent spirits, but I have succeeded in finding something far worse.' He said he saw Malays, Chinese, men and women, old and young, in one mass, in one common herd, wallowing in their filth; beastly, sensual, devilish, and this under the eyes of a Christian government."

Lord Jocelyn, who visited the opium shops in the east, stated in the same debate, that "He must acknowledge that the noble Lord

(Ashley) had called to his recollection scenes which he had witnessed of the lawless character of the trade, and *in all that he had stated as to the moral, political, and physical evils he concurred.*"

The Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, in a letter to the Governor-general, October 24th, 1817, acknowledge the evil thus:—"Were it possible to prevent the use of the drug altogether, except for the purpose of medicine, *we would gladly do it in compassion to mankind.*"

W. Hamilton Lindsay, Esq. M.P. says, "As it is, nothing can be more injurious to the British character than the mode in which the opium trade is at present conducted. It is now real smuggling, accompanied by all its worst features of violence, and must frequently be attended with bloodshed and sacrifice of life.* All the respectable mercantile houses in China have pledged their honour against any further connection with it under present circumstances. [Most of them have, however, since resumed the traffic; Mr. Lanceolet Dent and Messrs. Wetmore & Co. are honourable exceptions.]

Captain Elliot, late Her Majesty's superintendent in China, says, "After the most deliberate reconsideration of this course of traffic (which he heartily hopes has ceased for ever), the chief superintendent will once more declare his own opinion, that in its general effects it was *intensely mischievous to every branch of trade*; that it was *rapidly staining the British character with deep disgrace*; and, finally, that it exposed the vast public and private interests involved in the peaceful maintenance of our regular commercial intercourse with this empire, to imminent jeopardy." Again, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, he says, "if my private feelings were of the least consequence upon questions of a public and important nature, assuredly I might justly say, that *no man entertains a deeper detestation of the disgrace and sin of this forced traffic on the coast of China, than the humble individual who signs this despatch. I see little to choose between it and piracy*; and in my place, as a public officer, I have steadily discountenanced it by all the lawful means in my power, and at the total sacrifice of my private comfort in the society in which I have lived for some years past."

Sir John Hobhouse, in the debate on Lord Ashley's motion, observed, that "it was the opium question which had given rise to many of the difficulties with which they had now to contend, and he agreed with the noble Lord (Sandon) that it was to that question that government ought to direct their attention. And although he did not agree with the noble lord that they deserved any censure now for having neglected that question, still he admitted that it became any persons to whom the administration of the affairs of this great empire was entrusted, to turn their im-

* I have forbore recording cases of piracy and murder on the coast of China, because I am unwilling to blame a whole class by reason of the misconduct of some individuals.

mediate and serious attention to it." And in the subsequent part of his speech, Sir John Hobhouse said:—"Far be it from him to wish to say anything less than was deserved of the unfortunate results of that traffic, or to palliate them. *He could not but deprecate it as a vice, for a great vice it was.*"

Lord Sandon said,—“it is a disgrace to a Christian country to carry on the opium trade as we have done.”

The Canton Circular, 1846, observes, “Considering that the prime cost of opium in Bengal is about 250 rupees per chest, and that it is now sold by auction at 1,200 or 1,600, we need not ask the question,—who have been chiefly benefited by the war in China, justly termed the *Opium War*? With respect to the opium trade as at present conducted, it is certainly *a great evil, and indirectly injures the sale of other merchandise.*”

Lord Ashley, in the opium debate, truly said, “Let us come to the first and highest consideration of all; the consideration of the effects derived from the imperial sanction of this trade on everything that is of sterling value,—on the progress of society, the civilization of man, and the advancement of the Gospel. I remember well, for I much admired, the language of the right honourable gentleman, the member for Edinburgh, in the debate on the Gates of Somnauth. ‘Every act,’ said the right honourable gentleman, ‘which tended to bring Christianity into contempt, was high treason against the civilization of the human race.’ I heartily concurred in that sentiment, and I proved my sincerity by voting for the motion, and with the right honourable gentleman. I hope that the right honourable gentleman will do the same for himself, and prove his sincerity by voting with me; because I can show from the testimony of thinking men, that opium and the Bible cannot enter China together. What said Mr. Medhurst? He said, ‘it has been told, and it shall be rung in the ears of the British public again and again, that opium is demoralizing China, and becomes the greatest barrier to the introduction of Christianity which can be conceived of. But the difficulty of convincing others of the truth of Christianity, and of the sincere intentions of Christians, is greater in proportion to the extent of the opium trade to China. Almost the first word uttered by a native, when urged to believe in Christ, is—and this I beg the House to consider well—‘Why do Christians bring us opium, and bring it directly in defiance of our laws? That vile drug has poisoned my son, has ruined my brother, and well-nigh led me to beggar my wife and children. Surely, those who import such a deleterious substance, and injure me for the sake of gain, cannot wish me well, or be in possession of a religion that is better than my own. Go first, and persuade your own countrymen to relinquish this nefarious traffic, and give me a prescription to correct this vile habit, and then I will listen to your exhortations on the subject of Christianity’ . . . ‘Should the Chinese,’ he adds, ‘ever determine on stopping the trade, it will be

from a far different motive than a wish to exclude the gospel. The determined perseverance and the audacious daring with which the opium traffic is pushed forward, to the real injury of his people, as well as the defiance of his authority, exasperates the Emperor a great deal more than the distribution of tracts along the coast.' What, too, says Mr. Squire, who has resided for several years in China, as an agent of the Church Missionary Society? Speaking of the opium shops in Canton, he says, 'Never, perhaps, was there a nearer approach to hell upon earth, than within the precincts of these vile hovels, where gaming is likewise carried on to a great extent. Here every gradation of excitement and depression may be witnessed.' He adds, 'Truly it is an engine in Satan's hand, and a powerful one; but let it never be forgotten that a nation professing Christianity supplies the means; and further, that that nation is England, through her possessions in Hindostan.' Again, the Rev. Howard Malcolm, of the United States, said the same thing; and I wish much to impress it on the house 'The great blot on foreigners at Canton, though not all, is the opium trade. That men of correct moral sensibilities and enlightened minds should be so blinded by custom, or desire of gain, as to engage in this business, is amazing. . . . We have little reason, he continues, 'to wonder at the reluctance of China to extend her intercourse with foreigners; nearly the whole of such intercourse brings upon her pestilence, poverty, crime, and disturbance. No person can describe the horrors of the opium trade. . . . That the government of British India should be the prime abettors of this abominable traffic, is one of the great wonders of the nineteenth century. The proud escutcheon of the nation that declaims against the slave trade, is thus made to bear a blot broader and darker than any other in the Christian world.'

Sir Charles Forbes, a name venerated in India and in England, one whose love of justice is only equalled by his ever merciful consideration for the poor, the afflicted, and the oppressed; who knows no distinction of caste, colour, or creed, when his powerful voice, his sound judgment, and his liberal heart are required for the mitigation of human misery; this truly good man in Parliament and out of Parliament, in public and private life, has ever urged the abolition of this damning vice. When sitting on the parliamentary committee, in 1832-33, relative to India and China, he was prevented, by the committee, putting questions to Captain Shephard, relative to the demoralizing effects of opium. But there is no need to multiply opinions on this truly awful subject. And yet with all this evidence before Her Majesty's government—with these undeniable facts, forcing conviction on the most prejudiced, callous, or selfish minds—what has been the conduct of the government of this Christian country in the year 1844? *Twenty opium-smoking shops have been licensed in Hong Kong—within gun-shot of the Chinese Empire—where such an offence is death!* Hong Kong has now, therefore, been made the *lawful opium*

smoking shop, where the most sensual, dissolute, degraded, and depraved of the Chinese may securely perpetrate crimes which degrade men far below the level of the brute—and revel in a vice, which destroys body and soul,—which has no parallel in its fascinating seduction,—in its inexpressible misery—or in its appalling ruin.

When the governor proposed the conversion of Hong Kong into a legalized opium shop, under the assumed license of our most gracious and religious sovereign, I felt bound as a sworn member of Her Majesty's council in China, to endeavour to dissuade him from this great crime; but no reasoning would induce him to follow the noble example of the Emperor of China—who when urged to derive a revenue from the importation of opium,—thus righteously recorded his sentiments in 1844, in an answer which would have been worthy of a Christian monarch:—

“IT IS TRUE, I CANNOT PREVENT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE FLOWING POISON;—GAIN-SEEKING AND CORRUPT MEN WILL, FOR PROFIT AND SENSUALITY, DEFEAT MY WISHES; BUT NOTHING WILL INDUCE ME TO DERIVE A REVENUE FROM THE VICE AND MISERY OF MY PEOPLE.”

But money was deemed of more consequence in Hong Kong than morality; it was determined in the name of Her Majesty to sell the permission to the highest bidder by public auction, of the exclusive right to poison the Chinese in Hong Kong—and to open a given number of opium smoking shops—under the protection of the police, for the commission of this appalling vice. It only remained for me, in accordance with my oath, to advise Her Majesty to the best of my ability, and in unison with all my past life, to place on record the following dissent in council on the subject; it will now be the duty of the Christian public in England, to say whether this dissent has been unavailingly made.

Dissent in Council—on the proposition for licensing the retail consumption of Opium in this Colony, on the following grounds:—

1st. “Because the consumption of opium is not necessary to the subsistence or health of man, and is therefore a vicious indulgence.

2nd. “Because the use of opium is not only a vice in itself, but the parent of many other vices; and whoever indulges in opium never ceases its use until poverty and death ensue.

3rd. “Because it is no justification to say that, as gin, beer, wine, and other fermented liquors are stimulants attended with pernicious consequences, when used continuously in excess, that therefore the use of opium may also be licensed by government. The experience of civilized nations has shown that fermented liquors are advantageous to the healthful energy of man;* but no

* No nation has advanced in civilization without using fermented liquors; those that have used opium have decayed and perished.

experience has shown that opium is beneficial to the body or mind of man, individually or collectively.

4th. *“Because no Government ought to make private vice a source of public revenue.”*

5th. *“Because independent of the foregoing and of other considerations, the peculiar position in which England at present stands towards the Chinese government on this subject,—the strong feeling entertained by a very large and influential portion of the community at home respecting the sale of opium in China,—and the risk which his Excellency incurs of creating an unfavourable impression against his government, without any corresponding fiscal advantage to the state, renders it inadvisable to license the consumption of opium in this colony.”*

“Desirous of earnestly and faithfully advising his Excellency, these remarks are offered for the governor’s consideration with great respect.”

“Council Room,

R. M. MARTIN.

“Hong Kong, November, 26, 1844.”

In order that this extraordinary proceeding by the representative of our sovereign in China may be more clearly seen, the following abstract is given of the official.

“Regulations for the sale of opium by retail, made by his excellency the governor of Hong Kong, with the advice of the executive council thereof, on the 8th February, 1845, in pursuance of ordinance, No. 21 of 1844, entitled “An ordinance for licensing the sale of opium, &c. within the colony of Hong Kong—

1st. *“If any person not being duly licensed by government, shall within the limits of the said Island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the water thereof, sell or retail opium for consumption in smaller quantities than one chest, such person shall be liable on a conviction before a police magistrate to the following fines and punishments, viz. : for the first offence to a fine of 100 dollars; for the second offence to a fine of 250 dollars; and for every subsequent offence to a fine of 500 dollars; the said penalties respectively to be recovered in a summary manner before any magistrate of police.”*

2nd. *“The number of houses to be appropriated for retailing opium in smaller quantities than one chest, or for smoking the same within the said Island and its dependencies, shall be determined by his excellency the governor in council, or by such public officer as may be duly authorized by him for that purpose. Such houses shall adjoin the street, and may be open from daylight until ten o’clock at night, during each day except Sunday, on which day they shall be closed. Such houses shall not be kept open, nor shall any opium be sold therein between the hours of ten o’clock at night and day-light, or at any time during Sunday, under a*

penalty of fifty dollars, recoverable from the holder of any such house on conviction before a police magistrate; and all persons who may be found smoking opium after the hour of ten o'clock at night, in any other house or place (save and except their usual place of abode), shall on conviction before a magistrate be liable to a penalty of twenty dollars, and the holder of the said house or place shall be further liable in the like sum; and no place shall be licensed for the sale of opium in smaller quantities than one chest, or for smoking opium within the island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the waters thereof, other than the houses so appropriated as aforesaid.

3rd. "Holders of the said houses so appropriated as aforesaid, shall not sell or dispose of opium except for money, under a penalty of twenty-five dollars, to be paid by the holder on conviction before a police magistrate.

4th. "*No person shall be admitted into any house so appropriated as aforesaid, with any kind of arms, weapons, or edged tools, under a penalty of fifty dollars, to be paid by the holder of the house on proof of the same before a police magistrate.*

5th. "If any person or persons are found riotous or quarrelsome in any such house, the holder thereof shall apply to a police officer, and deliver such person or persons into his charge, to be dealt with as the law directs.

6th. "Every person duly licensed to retail opium as aforesaid, shall be at liberty to go on board any vessel at anchor in any harbour within the said island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or in the waters thereof, for the purpose of searching for opium illicitly retailed, contrary to the provisions of these regulations, on obtaining a search warrant from a magistrate, to be issued on the oath of the person licensed, that to the best of his knowledge and belief such opium is being retailed on board the said vessel for consumption.

7th. "If any person not being duly licensed as aforesaid, shall within the limits of the said Island of Hong Kong and its dependencies, or the waters thereof, sell tye, chandoo, or opium dross, mixed with opium, he or she shall on conviction before a police magistrate be subject to all the fines, forfeitures and penalties imposed in section No. 1 of these regulations.

9th. "All persons in charge of houses appropriated wholly or in part to the smoking of opium, or to the retail of the same in smaller quantities than one chest, shall take out and hold a permit from the person duly licensed as aforesaid, and in default thereof shall be liable to the fines and punishments prescribed by section No. 1 of these regulations. Provided always, that the said licensed person so granting the said permit, shall have regard to the power retained under the 2nd section of these regulations by the said *governor, for determining the number of houses to be appropriated to the retailing and smoking of opium.*

10th. "And it is further declared and ruled that in all cases not above provided for and where any penalty is imposed, the said penalty shall in the first instance be levied by distress as before mentioned; and that if there be no sufficient distress the offender shall be liable to imprisonment for any period not exceeding six calendar month, and that the presiding magistrate or magistrates, before whom any person shall be tried and convicted for any breach of the foregoing regulations, or any of them, shall have in his or their discretion power to commute the amount of any of the aforesaid pecuniary penalties, or to shorten the respective periods of imprisonment hereinbefore prescribed.

" J. F. DAVIS.

" Passed the executive council of Hong Kong,
this 8th day of February, 1845.

" ADOLPHUS E. SHELLEY,
Clerk of Councils."

It is the solemn and sacred duty of both Houses of Parliament immediately to cause an inquiry into all the circumstances of this transaction. Was this act of the plenipotentiary of the Queen of England to the Emperor of China confirmed by Her Majesty's government? Would we have acted thus towards France or Russia, and established a smuggling depôt on their shores in a prohibited article and terrific poison? We dare not. Why, then, should we legalize and protect this dreadful traffic on an island given to us by the government of China as a residence, and for commercial intercourse.

Let us hear the opinions of the Chinese themselves on this subject.

" Foreign opium, a poison: illustrated in ten paragraphs, written by Koo Kingshan, a literary gentleman of Keangning, in the province of Keangsoo. September, 1836.

" Opium is a poisonous drug brought from foreign countries. To the question, what are its virtues? The answer is, it raises the animal spirits, and prevents lassitude, &c. hence the Chinese continually run into its toils. At first they merely strive to follow the fashion of the day; but in the sequel the poison takes effect, the habit becomes fixed, and the sleeping smokers are like corpses—lean and haggard as demons. Such are the injuries which it does to life. Moreover, the drug maintains an exorbitant price, and cannot be obtained except for the pure metal. Smoking opium, in its first stages, impedes business; and when the practice is continued for any considerable length of time, it throws whole families into ruin, dissipates every kind of property, and destroys man himself. There cannot be a greater evil than this. In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce it tenfold the greater poison. One swallows arsenic, because he has lost his reputation, and is so involved that he cannot extricate himself. Thus driven to despe-

ration, he takes the dose and is destroyed at once ; but those who smoke the drug are injured in many ways.

1st. *It exhausts the animal spirits.* When the smoker commences the practice, he seems to imagine that his spirits are thereby augmented, but he ought to know that this appearance is fictitious—a mere process of excitement. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp, which, while it increases the light, hastens the exhaustion of the oil, and the extinction of the light. Hence, the youth who smoke will shorten their own days, and cut off all hope of posterity, leaving their fathers and mothers, and wives, without any one on whom to depend ; and those in middle and advanced life, who smoke, will accelerate the termination of their years. These are consequences which may well be deplored !

2nd. *“It impedes the regular performance of business.* Those in places of trust, who smoke, fail to attend personally, even to their most important offices. Merchants, who smoke, fail to keep their appointments, and all their concerns fall behindhand. For the wasting of time and the destruction of business, the pipe is unrivalled. The wealthy Hong merchants who became bankrupts at Canton, were nearly all opium smokers.

3rd. *“It wastes the flesh and blood.* From the robust, who smoke, flesh is gradually consumed and worn away ; and their skin hangs down like bags. The faces of the weak, who smoke, are cadaverous and black ; and their bones naked as billets of wood.

4th. *“It dissipates every kind of property.* The rich, who smoke, will inevitably waste their patrimony. It is the usual practice, in smoking, for two persons to lie down (on the same platform) facing each other, (with their opium and apparatus between them,) indulging freely in conversation, they are soon in Elysian Fields : and by a daily expenditure for purchasing the noxious drug, and for the entertainment of their friends, who are also confirmed smokers of opium, the wasteful consumption of property is very great.

5th. *“It renders the person ill-favoured.* Those who have been long habituated to smoking, dose for whole days over their pipes, without appetite for food, finding it difficult to observe even the common civilities of life : when the desire for opium comes on, they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils, and tears from their eyes. Their very bodies are rotten and putrid.

6th. *“It promotes obscenity.* When men have long continued the practice of smoking opium, their wives and children learn to imitate them ; and when it is carried to great excess, no distinction is preserved between the inner and outer apartments ; no difference between night and day ! Hence spring dark confusions ; of which it is a shame to speak openly.

7th. *“It discovers secrets.* The smokers, whether honourable or mean, all recline on the same platform, where the secrets of their hearts are honestly divulged. ‘Where there is much talking,

there must be some slander,' is an old proverb. Now, what the honest man hears in their scenes of dissipation, may not lead to any evil consequences; but from what enters the ears of the dishonest, it will be difficult to prevent disastrous results.

8th. "*It violates the laws.* Both in purchasing and in smoking the drug, one is ever liable to meet with worthless vagabonds, who under various pretences, for the purpose of extortion, will raise difficulties and cause the transgressor of the laws to be prosecuted and punished. Those who open shops for the sale of the drug are liable to the severe punishments of strangulation and decapitation; for those who buy and smoke, the punishment is banishment. Why expose yourselves to these penalties of the laws?

9th. "*It attacks the vitals.* By a long continuance of the habit, worms are generated in the abdomen; and in the confirmed smokers the baneful influences attack the intestines, and great injury is the consequence—injury which even the most celebrated physicians can never avert. Look at suicides. They swallow the crude opium, and instantly their intestines swell; the blood flows from their ears, eyes, mouth and nose; the whole body becomes red and bloated; when death ensues. There is no relief. Hence, may be seen the virulence of the drug. Once, when on a journey, it happened that a fellow-passenger, who was a smoker, had used up all his opium; the periodical desire for it came on; but finding no means to gratify his appetite, he strove to take away his own life. By mistake he swallowed a cup of oil, which induced excessive vomiting; when he threw up a collection of noxious worms, partly coloured, with red heads, and hairy skin, which crawled upon the ground, to the great astonishment of the spectators.

10th. "*It destroys life.* The poor smoker, who has pawned every article in his possession, still remains idle and inactive; and when he has no means of borrowing money, and the periodical thirst returns hard upon him, he will pawn his wives and sell his daughters: such are the inevitable consequences! In the provinces of Nganhwuy, I once saw a man, named Chin, who being childless, purchased a concubine; afterwards, when his money was expended and all other means failed him, being unable to resist the desire for the pipe, he sold this same concubine, and received for her several tens of dollars. This money being expended, he went and hung himself. Alas, how painful was his end!"

I brought with me from China, a series of pictures, painted at Canton, by a Chinese artist, to illustrate the results of opium smoking, and which would form an excellent accompaniment to Hogarth's "Rake's Progress."

A Chinese artist has given the following description of these faithful exhibitions of suicidal crime and suffering:—

1st. "The son of a gentleman of fortune, his father dying while he was yet but a youth, comes into possession of the whole family estate. The young man, having no inclination for business or books, gives himself up to smoking opium, and profligacy. In a

little time his whole patrimony is squandered, and he becomes entirely dependent on the labour of his wife and child for his daily food. Their poverty and misery are extreme.

No. 1. "This picture represents the young man at home, richly attired, in perfect health and vigour of youth. An elegant foreign clock stands on a marble table behind. On his right is a chest of treasure, gold and silver; and on the left, close by his side, is his personal servant, and at a little distance, a man whom he keeps constantly in his employ, preparing the drug for use from the crude article, purchased and brought to the house.

No. 2. "In this he is reclining on a superb sofa with a pipe in his mouth, surrounded by courtesans, two of whom are young, in the character of musicians. His money now goes without any regard to its amount.

No. 3. "After no very long period of indulgence, his appetite for the drug is insatiable, and his countenance sallow and haggard. Emaciated, shoulders high, teeth naked, face black, dozing from morning till night, he becomes utterly inactive. In this state he sits moping, on a very ordinary couch, with his pipe and other apparatus for smoking lying by his side. At this moment, his wives—or a wife and a concubine—come in; the first finding the chest emptied of its treasure, stands frowning with astonishment, while the second gazes with wonder at what she sees spread upon the couch.

No. 4. "His lands and his houses are now all gone; his couch exchanged for some rough boards, and a ragged mattress; his shoes are off his feet, and his face half awry, as he sits bending forwards, breathing with great difficulty. His wife and child stand before him, poverty stricken, suffering with hunger; the one in anger, having dashed on the floor all his apparatus for smoking, while the little son, unconscious of any harm, is clapping his hands and laughing at the sport! *But he heeds not either the one or the other.*

No. 5. "His poverty and distress are now extreme, though his appetite grows stronger than ever; *he is as a dead man!* In this plight he scrapes together a few copper cash, and hurries away to one of the smoking houses, to buy a little of the scrapings from the pipe of another smoker, to allay his insatiable cravings.

No. 6. "Here his character is fixed; a sot. Seated on a bamboo chair, he is continually swallowing the fœces of the drug, so foul, that tea is required to wash them down his throat. His wife and child are seated near him, with skeins of silk stretched on bamboo reels, from which they are winding it off into balls; thus earning a mere pittance for his and their own support, and dragging out from day to day a miserable existence."

There are two other drawings, showing the progress of the opium smuggler, and terminating in public strangulation for the offence.

The progress of the evil will be more fully seen by the following statement of the opium exported from Calcutta to China, &c.

Seasons.	Chests—China.	Chests to the Eastern parts.	Chests to the Western parts.	Total chests.	Seasons.	Chests—China.	Chests to the Eastern parts.	Chests to the Western parts.	Total chests.
1795-96	1,070	4,103	10	5,183	1815-16	2,723	1,120	5	3,848
1796-97	2,387	3,247	—	5,644	1816-17	3,376	947	2	4,325
1797-98	1,985	1,514	4	3,503	1817-18	2,911	794	3	3,708
1798-99	1,718	1,624	—	3,342	1818-19	3,575	724	—	4,299
1799-1800	1,867	2,059	—	3,926	1819-20	1,741	1,345	5	3,091
1800-1	3,224	1,539	25	4,788	1820-21	3,591	1,556	—	5,147
1801-2	1,744	1,723	—	3,467	1821-22	1,936	655	—	2,591
1802-3	2,033	1,035	—	3,068	1822-23	3,207	893	—	4,100
1803-4	2,116	937	—	3,053	1823-24	3,923	1,286	—	5,209
1804-5	2,322	1,026	10	3,358	1824-25	5,365	1,710	1	7,076
1805-6	2,131	1,526	—	3,657	1825-26	4,627	536	2	5,165
1806-7	2,607	1,777	—	4,384	1826-27	5,861	707	—	6,568
1807-8	3,084	1,171	—	4,255	1827-28	7,341	562	—	7,903
1808-9	3,223	1,416	—	4,639	1828-29	4,903	1,651	—	6,554
1809-10	3,074	1,172	—	4,246	1829-30	7,443	2,335	—	9,678
1810-11	3,592	1,317	—	4,909	1830-31	5,672	—	—	7,069
1811-12	2,788	1,887	38	4,713	1831-32	6,815	—	—	7,427
1812-13	3,328	1,504	—	4,832	1832-33	7,598	—	—	9,408
1813-14	3,213	1,059	—	4,272	1833-34	7,808	—	—	9,518
1814-15	2,999	868	5	3,872	1834-35	10,207	—	—	10,107

	Chests.	Value Rupees.		Chests.	Value Rupees.
1835-36	14,851	18,834,822	1840-41	17,356	11,390,313
1836-37	12,606	18,015,422	1841-42	19,172	14,001,281
1837-38	19,600	21,292,386	1842-43	16,670	17,277,532
1838-39	18,212	14,490,478	1843-44	17,774	23,383,054
1839-40	18,965	7,973,980	1844-45	18,792	24,394,292

The progressive increase of the Malwa opium, is shown by the exportations from Bombay and Damaun to China, since 1821.

Seasons.	Chests from Bombay.	Chests from Damaun.	Total amount of Chests.	Seasons.	Chests from Bombay.	Chests from Damaun.	Total amount of Chests.
1821	1,600	678	2,278	1834	8,985	2,693	11,678
1822	1,600	2,255	3,855	1835	7,337	5,596	12,933
1823	1,500	1,535	5,535	1836	8,224	3,500	11,724
1824	1,500	2,063	6,063	1837	—	—	—
1825	2,500	1,563	5,563	1838	—	—	—
1826	2,500	2,605	5,565	1839	—	—	—
1827	2,980	1,524	4,504	1840	—	—	—
1828	2,820	3,880	7,709	1841	—	—	—
1829	3,502	4,597	8,099	1842	—	—	—
1830	3,720	9,136	12,856	1843	—	—	18,321
1831	4,700	4,633	9,333	1844	—	—	—
1832	11,000	3,007	14,007	1845	—	—	—
1833	—	—	11,715	—	—	—	—

The quantity of opium made and sold in the Bengal Presidency by the British government, is annually increasing. The opium is sold by auction at Calcutta at stated intervals. The sales for the year 1845 were announced thus:—

	Patna.	Benares.	Total Chests.
1st sale on the 6th January	4,000	1,800	5,800
2nd do. do. 10th February	1,800	850	2,650
3rd do. do. 21st April	3,600	1,500	5,100
4th do. do. 26th May	1,800	850	2,650
5th do. do. 29th June	3,685	1,641	5,326
			21,526

The Bombay trade in Malwa opium for 1844 is thus stated:—

Passes granted at Indore under the proclamation of 1843-44, from 27th October, 1843, to the 27th July last.	Chests 13,325
Ditto at Bombay from the 17th October, 1843, to the 30th September, 1844 798
Ditto from the 1st to the 2nd instant, 190
	988
	Chests 14,313

Imported under the passes granted previous to the 1st October, 1843,	Chests 3,744
Ditto the proclamation of 1843-44, from the 1st October, 1843, to the 24th ultimo,	Chests 13,839½
	Chests 17,583½

Exported from the 1st October, 1843, to the 25th ultimo.	Chests 18,321
--	---------------

H. H. GLASS, Opium Agent.

Bombay, 25th September, 1844.

Thus 21,526 chests from Bengal, and 18,321 chests from Bombay, give 39,847 chests, as the total production for one year, exported from British India, for the destruction of the human race.

Great gambling is carried on in India in the drug,—some speculate for a rise in price, others for a fall,—similar to stock exchange gambling here. The opium sale at Calcutta on the 30th of November was stopped by two natives bidding against each other, until the price rose, it is said, to 130,995 rupees per chest! Such is the *Christian* government we have in India.

The progressive increase in the number of smokers of Indian opium in China since 1820, estimating the consumption of each man at three candareens, equal to 17¹⁰⁰ grains per day, is thus shown:—

Average of three years, ending on the 31st March.	Chests of Patna and Benares.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at fifty touch.	Chests of Malwa.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at seventy-five touch.	Total chests consumed.	Total candareens of pure extract.	Number of smokers at three candareens or 17 ⁴⁰ grains per day.	Value in Spanish dollars.
1820	2,850	285,000	228,000,000	1,437	143,700	172,440,000	4,287	400,440,000	365,699	4,548,900
1823	2,594	259,400	207,520,000	2,479	274,900	297,480,000	5,073	505,000,000	461,187	8,234,778
1826	3,002	300,200	240,160,000	5,450	545,000	654,000,000	8,452	894,160,000	816,584	7,913,310
1829	4,920	492,000	393,600,000	6,160	616,000	739,200,000	11,080	1,132,800,000	1,034,520	10,856,058
1832	6,588	658,800	527,040,000	9,074	907,400	1,088,880,000	15,662	1,615,920,000	1,475,726	12,154,334
1835	9,311	931,100	744,880,000	12,366	1,236,600	1,488,920,000	21,677	2,233,800,000	2,039,998	19,769,111

Estimating the consumption in 1845 at 30,000 chests of opium, on the foregoing calculation, this quantity would supply more than *three million Chinese* with upwards of seventeen grains each of opium daily. Now, when it is remembered that the vice is very expensive, and is chiefly indulged in by the better classes of society, including many of the officials, the corrupting influence of the pernicious drug on the whole frame-work of society, will be more readily appreciated. If three million of the better classes in England were opium smokers—vice, misery, and crime would soon overspread the land.

It is not surprising that the Chinese government became exceedingly anxious to put a stop to a pestilence which, in the emphatic language of Mr. Lay, Her Majesty's consul in China, was "hamstringing the nation." The Emperor, by his denouncements in 1800, induced the East India Company's supercargoes at Canton, to recommend strongly to the Court of Directors in London, to take measures for preventing the shipment of any opium from Bengal, or from England, to China. In 1809, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Keaking, the governor of Canton required the Hong merchants to give bonds of security that all ships, wishing to discharge cargo at Whampoa, had no opium on board. In 1815, Governor Tseang made a report to the Emperor against traitorous natives who dealt in opium at Macao, and received the imperial commands, rigorously to enforce the laws against them.

In 1820 (5th of April) Governor Yuen issued a prohibitory proclamation against the drug.

In 1830, the Emperor issued an edict declaring that the "injury done by the influx of opium, and by the increase of those who inhale it, is nearly equal to that of a *conflagration*," that "the waste of property and the hurt done to human beings, is every day greater than the preceding;" and that "from south to north in all the provinces, the appearance of things is as if they were their own ruling rut," [rut of a wheel].

In 1831, the Peking Gazette contained further laws against opium, and inflicted 100 blows and three years transportation, on those who refused to point out the seller of opium. Every governor, Fooyuen, &c., were commanded to require of all persons employed in his office a bond that they never use opium.

In 1832, February 9th, Le, governor of Canton province, issued a stringent chop (proclamation or order) against the importation of the "opium dirt," declaring it "a spreading poison, inexhaustible, and in its injurious effects extreme."

The following is a copy of the document :—

Le, cabinet minister, governor, &c. to the Hong merchants requiring them to inform themselves fully of the following order :

"Opium is a spreading poison,—inexhaustible;—its injurious effects are extreme. Often has it been severely interdicted, as appears on record; but of late the various ships of barbarians, which bring opium, all anchor and linger about at Lintin, in the outer ocean, and exclusive of cargo ships, there are appointed barbarian ships in which opium is deposited and accumulated, and there it is sold by stealth. That place is in the midst of the great ocean, and to it there are four passages and eight communications, (i. e. it is accessible from every quarter.) Not only do traitorous banditti of this province go thither, and in boats make clandestine purchases, but, from many places, in various provinces, vessels come by sea, under pretence of trading to Lintin; and in the dark

buy opium dirt, which they set sail with, and carry off: as, for example, from Kiámun, (or Amoy,) in Fokien; Ningpo, in Chèkiáng; and Tientsin, in Chihli, provinces, &c. And there are natives, vagabonds, who clandestinely open opium furnaces; then traitorous merchants from outside, (or other provinces,) first go to Canton shops, and secretly agree about the price; next make out a bond and buy; proceedings which are direct and gross violations of existing prohibitions.

“At present, some one in the capital has represented the affair to the Emperor, and strict orders have been respectfully received from His Majesty, to investigate, consult, and exterminate; by cutting off the source of the evil. I, the cabinet minister and governor, have met and consulted with the lieutenant-governor, and we have, with veneration, reported our sentiments to the Emperor. We have, besides, written to the governments of Chihli and the other provinces, that they may search and prosecute, as is on record.

“Uniting the above, an order is hereby issued to the Hong merchants, that they may forthwith obey accordingly. They are commanded to expostulate with earnestness, and persuade the barbarians of the several nations, telling them that, hereafter, when coming to Canton to trade, they must not, on any account, bring opium concealed in the ship's holds, nor appoint vessels to be opium depôts at Lintin, in the outside ocean, hoping thereby to sell it by stealth. If they dare, intentionally, to disobey, the moment it is discovered, positively shall the said barbarian ships have their hatches sealed,—their selling and buying put a stop to, and an expulsion inflicted, driving them away to their own country; and for ever after shall they be disallowed to come to trade; that thereby punishment may be manifested. On this affair, a strict interdict has been respectfully received from imperial authority: and the Hong merchants must honestly exert their utmost efforts, to persuade to a total cutting off of the clandestine introduction of opium dirt. Let there not be the least trifling or carelessness, for, if opium be again allowed to enter the interior, it will involve them in serious criminality. Oppose not! These are the commands.”

In 1834, November 3rd, there was another similar edict from the Imperial Cabinet at Peking.

In 1836, (June 12th,) a member of the imperial government addressed a representation to the Emperor, suggesting that opium should be admitted, as its smuggled introduction could not be prevented.

“The memorial of Hui-Mu-Chi, member of the Council of Rites, humbly sheweth, that the more rigorous the prohibitions have been against the introduction of opium, the more widely has the poison been spread. It appears needful, therefore, that these circumstances should receive earnest attention; and your memo-

rialist humbly beseeches your Majesty to order a secret enquiry into the whole state of this matter.

“Opium is in truth, a medicine; used properly it animates, purifies the breath, and dispels noxious vapours. Its nature is very clearly explained in the work of Lina-chin: he calls this herb ‘the internal support.’

“Opium is inhaled, and when *the habit becomes inveterate*, it is necessary to smoke it at certain fixed hours: it is then well called xam-bi, (desire). Time is consumed, men’s duties are forgotten, and they can no longer live without this poison. Its symptoms are difficulty of breathing, chalky paleness, discoloured teeth, and a withered skin. People perceive that it hurries them to destruction; but it *leaves them without spirit to desist*. When have prohibitions sufficed to destroy deeply-rooted evil practices?

“There are three kinds of opium: the first is called campan, (Patna,) this is of a black colour, and is therefore called black earth: it comes from Bengal. The second is called papi, (Mahia,) and comes from Bombay. The name of the third kind is Pe, (old skin,) and comes from Madras. All these places belong to the English.

“In the time of the Emperor Kien-lung, a tariff was published including opium. The duty was three taels upon a hundred catties, and two taels, four mace, and five candareens, as emoluments or fees. In the first year of Kea-king, (1796,) it was declared a crime to smoke opium, and the offence was punishable with cangue and bambooning. Notwithstanding severe penalties, imprisonment, temporary banishment, and even death, the number of those who smoke opium has multiplied exceedingly, and it is to be feared that the practice will become general throughout the empire.

“In the time of the Emperor Keen-lung, the opium was entered at the Custom-house, paid duties, and was delivered to the Hong merchants like other merchandise, in barter for teas or other commodities. But now that the laws against its introduction are rigorous, dealers purchase the drug secretly with money. In the reign of Kea-king, it was computed that several hundreds of chests were imported in each year; but now the quantity introduced exceeds 20,000 chests: each chest contains 100 catties. The superior or blue kind is valued at 800 dollars: the second quality (pa-pin,) at about 600 dollars, and the inferior sort (hum-pin,) at about 400 dollars. The whole value amounts to more than ten millions of taels. In former times the foreign merchants brought money to purchase goods, and the coast provinces gave but a little and gained much; but now the foreign merchants secretly sell their opium for money: thus, the silver and bullion go out and none return.

“This empire has enjoyed peace for thousands of years, and its riches have ever flowed. At present gold and opium are at par. The exchange for sycee silver was formerly 1000 cash for one tael:

now it is 1200 or 1300 cash to the tael. The price of sycee is still on the increase. Now the salt and other merchants receive cash in payment for their goods, and pay silver into the treasury for their duties, hereby suffering great loss: consequently, several branches of trade are languid and indeed decaying.

“To stop the foreign trade, it has been said, would arrest the evil at its source. It is true that the Celestial Empire will not feel the loss of several millions in the revenue, but it is not just that the Portuguese and other foreigners, who have traded for several hundreds of years, should suffer on account of the English, and *they alone* bring opium. If the English and the other foreigners are expelled, how can they live? So many thousands of men from the distant places of the earth, who are supported alone by trade? These foreigners too, may each select a spot on the eastern shores of the empire, for their nation, to which your Majesty’s merchant vessels will resort, and it will not be possible to prevent them.

“Foreign ships have visited the coasts of Fokien, Chekeang, Keangnan, Shantung, Teintsin, with the intention of selling opium. They have, indeed, been immediately expelled by the local governments, but it is certain that a considerable quantity of opium has been since clandestinely introduced at the outports. Although then the general trade at Canton were stopped, it would not be possible to prevent smuggling.

“Officers are commanded to proceed to the coasts and examine: the duty is performed coldly, and each day more opium is introduced. The laws and edicts have been a pretext for needy and corrupt officers of the lower ranks to exact gain. The more rigid the prohibitions have been, the larger and the more frequent are the bribes, and the more adroit are the schemes of the knaves who deal in opium. In the first year of your Imperial Majesty, the viceroy, Tuen-puen, proceeded vigorously against , a smuggler, at Macao, and the foreign merchants being no longer secure in their opium trade at that place, betook themselves to Lintin. This place is in the centre of the district, and is free of access on every side. There remain at Lintin the whole year several large ships for the deposit of opium: in the city there are shops specially devoted to the selling of opium, they are called (the furnace mouths,) from these the price of the opium is conveyed to the foreign factories: an order, in writing, is delivered to these traders, with which they repair to the ships at Lintin. There are boats called ‘rapid lizard,’ and also boats known by the term of ‘long dragon.’ These are strongly manned with ruffians, and armed with large guns and other weapons. They proceed with great speed, and the people at the watch-houses are all bribed. If they meet with the Imperial cruisers, and an attempt is made to apprehend them, they have the boldness to resist, and many persons have been killed and wounded in their encounters.

“ In pursuance of the command from the late viceroy, the vice-admiral and the magistrate of Hiang-kan apprehended and several opium boats. Some of the crews were seized and severely punished; many were killed, and the opium (more than 14,000 catties) was confiscated and destroyed.

“ Most vigorous proceedings have at various times taken place. But the habit cannot be prevented and the respect of the people for the laws is grievously shaken. Great mischief has occurred too from the pretence of villains in the innerwaters, that they were government cruizers; thus taking occasion to plunder and disturb the peaceful. During the time that your Majesty's humble memorialist was at the head of the magistracy at Canton, many cases of this kind came under his cognizance, in which good people had suffered. These and many other desperate evils take their source from these vigorous, but inadequate prohibitions.

“ The population of this vast empire has increased from year to year; but now this evil practice is spreading widely. All men smoke, the high and the low, the old, and the young, and life is degraded and shortened—the subsistence of families is wasted, and the wealth of the land is passing away. It is meet, therefore, that a well-founded plan should provide remedies for this evil. Let the custom-houses no longer be closed, or impotent laws be kept alive. Let it be declared that the foreign merchants shall levy a duty for opium, as for a drug. Let it be delivered to the Hong merchants, and let them be commanded to barter goods for it; but not to purchase it with money or bullion. The exportation of sycee and dollars should be strictly prohibited, and when transgressors in this respect are apprehended let the opium be burnt, and the silver be divided amongst the officers who seize it.

“ Let the civil and military authorities and all persons in this employment of the government be forbidden to participate in this vice, so that they may perform these duties and preserve their time. If the laws are to be rigorously enforced these officers must co-operate heartily together.

“ Should any public authority smoke opium, let his crime indeed be pardoned, but let him be dismissed. Being pardoned he may repent, and amend. It is fit that the heads of departments, and those immediately under them, should be thus punished; but let the lower classes of the people buy and sell, and smoke without restraint or punishment.

“ No prohibitions should remain in force except any against the officers of the government.

“ All men know that a dissolute life leads to death, and that *tinlin* and *utan* are of the most pernicious tendency. And yet from the remotest antiquity these evils have existed. Prohibitions have been enforced only against the ignorant and the poor, but not against the authorities and the military.

“ When goods are exchanged for goods, the government will no

longer suffer loss ; nay, their mines of silver will be spared to the Empire. But there must be no trifling, or it is to be feared not only that the smoking of opium will never be extinct, but that other great mischief will grow past remedy.

“In future times when the people shall be exhausted, and the riches of the country vanished, plans may indeed be set on foot. Repentance mends not things passed.

“Your memorialist (an unworthy censor of the privy council, and through your Majesty’s unbounded favour elevated above the other officers), was for ten years chief justice at Canton, and believes that he is acquainted with the great advantages of that fine province ; and also with the cause of the great defalcation of revenue. He has seen that these evils are produced by the prohibitions of the opium, and that they are increasing daily. Others have not dared to lay this truth at your Majesty’s feet.

“Your memorialist now humbly prays that your Imperial Majesty will be graciously pleased to order your ministers at Canton to deliberate, and report to your Majesty. Would to God, that the means your memorialist has proposed may be found sufficient to give prosperity to the Empire, and to arrest the defalcations of revenue.

“In humility all this is humbly submitted.

The answer of the Emperor was :—

“In the memorial of Hui minister of the council of rites, it is set forth, that the more vigorous the prohibitions have been against opium, the more has the poison been spread. In these last few years nobody indeed has been audacious enough to purchase it openly from the foreigners in exchange for goods, but clandestinely it has been purchased in great quantities with silver, occasioning an annual loss to the Empire, of more than ten million of taels.

“The memorialist Hui, therefore, prays that this article may be taken in exchange for goods, in like manner with all other merchandize.

“I, the Emperor, therefore, order the viceroy of Canton to assemble his council to deliberate hereupon, and to report to me. Let this memorial of Hui be transmitted to the ministers at Canton.” (12 June, 1836.)

The specious fallacies in the preceding document were well answered by a memorial of Choo-tsun on opium ; on the character of the trade in it, impolicy of sanctioning its introduction, its baneful effects on the property, and on the physical and moral character of the people, dated October, 1836.

“*Choo-tsun*, member of the council and of the board of rites, kneeling, presents the following memorial, wherein he suggests the propriety of increasing the severity of certain prohibitory enactments, with a view to maintain the dignity of the laws, and to remove a great evil from among the people : to this end he res-

pectfully states his views on the subject, and earnestly entreats his sacred Majesty to cast a glance thereon.

“ I would humbly point out, that wherever an evil exists it should be at once removed, and that the laws should never be suffered to fall into disuetude. Our government having received from heaven the gift of peace, has transmitted it for two centuries; this has afforded opportunity for the removal of evils from among the people. For governing the central nation, and for holding in submission all the surrounding barbarians, rules exist perfect in their nature, and well fitted to attain their end. And in regard to opium, special enactments were passed for the prohibition of its use in the first year of *Keaking*, (1796) and since then, memorials presented at various successive periods, have given rise to additional prohibitions, all which have been inserted in the code and the several tariffs. The laws, then, relating thereto, are not wanting in severity, but there are those in office, who for want of energy, fail to carry them into execution. Hence the people's minds gradually become callous, and base desires springing up among them, increase day by day and month by month, till their rank luxuriance has spread over the whole empire. These noisome weeds, having been long neglected, it has become impossible to eradicate. And those to whom this duty is intrusted are, as if hand-bound, wholly at a loss what to do.

“ When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city brokers, named melters. These engage money-changers to arrange the price with the foreigners, and to obtain orders for them; with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable. The boats which carry the drug, and which are called ‘fast crabs’ and ‘scrambling dragons,’ are all well furnished with guns and other weapons, and ply their oars as swiftly as though they were wings.

“ Their crews have all the overbearing assumption and audacity of pirates; shall such men be suffered to navigate the surrounding seas, according to their own will? and shall such conduct be passed over without investigation? The late governor *Loo* having on one occasion sent the commodore *Tsin Yuchang* to co-operate with *Teen Poo*, the magistrate of *Heang-shan*, those officers seized a vessel belonging to *Leang Heennee*, which was carrying opium, and out of her they took 14,000 catties of the drug. Punishment also was inflicted on the criminals *Yaoukew* and *Owkwan*, both of them opium brokers. Hence it is apparent, that if the great officers in charge of the provinces do in truth show an example to their civil and military subordinates, and if these do in sincerity search for the drug, and faithfully seize it when found, apprehending the most criminal, and inflicting upon them severe punishment;

it is, in this case, not impossible to attain the desired end. And if the officers are indeed active and strenuous in their exertions, and make a point of inflicting punishment on offenders, will the people, however perverse and obstinate they may be, really continue fearless of the laws? No, the thing to be lamented is, instability in maintaining the laws, the vigorous execution thereof being often and suddenly exchanged for indolent laxity.

“ It has been represented that advantage is taken of the laws against opium, by extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves. Is it not known, then, that where the government enacts a law, there is necessary an infraction of that law? And though the law should sometimes be relaxed and become ineffectual, yet surely it should not on that account be abolished; any more than we would altogether cease to eat because of diseased stoppage of the throat. When have not prostitution, gambling, treason, robbery, and such-like infractions of the laws, afforded occasions for extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants, to benefit themselves, and by falsehood and bribery to amass wealth. Of these there have been frequent instances; and as any instance is discovered, punishment is inflicted. But none surely would contend, that the law, because in such instances rendered ineffectual, should therefore be abrogated. The laws that forbid the people to do wrong, may be likened to the dykes which prevent the overflowing of water. If any one, then, urging that the dykes are very old, and therefore useless, we should have them thrown down, what words could express the consequences of the impetuous rush and all-destroying overflow: yet the provincials, when discussing the subject of opium, being perplexed and bewildered by it, think that a prohibition which does not *utterly* prohibit, is better than one which does not effectually prevent the importation of the drug. Day and night I have meditated on this, and can in truth see no wisdom in the opinion.

“ It is said that the opium should be admitted, subject to a duty, the importers being required to give it into the hands of the Hong merchants, in barter only for merchandise, without being allowed to sell it for money; and this is proposed as a means of preventing money from secretly oozing out of the country. But the English, by whom opium is sold, have been driven out to Lintin so long since as the first year of Taoukwang (1821), when the then governor of Kwangtung and Kwange discovered and punished the warehousemen of opium; so long have they been expelled, nor have they ever since imported it into Macao. Having once suppressed the trade, and driven them away, shall we now again call upon them and invite them to return? This would be, indeed, a derogation from the true dignity of government. As to the proposition to give tea in exchange, and entirely to prohibit the exportation of even *foreign* silver, I apprehend that, if the tea should not be found sufficient, money will still be given in exchange for

the drug. Besides, if it is in our power to prevent the exportation of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offences will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase the importation still further? As to levying a duty on opium, the thing sounds so awkwardly, and reads so unbeseemingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

“ Again, it is said that the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy by natives should be relaxed; and that the direct consequence will be, daily diminution of the profits of foreigners, and, in course of time, the entire cessation of the trade, without the aid of prohibitions. It is then forgotten that it is natural to the common people to prize things heard of only by the ear, and to undervalue those which are before their eyes—to pass by those things which are near to hand, and to seek after those which are afar off—and, though they have a thing in their own land, yet to esteem more highly such as come to them from beyond the seas? Thus, in Keangsoo, Chekeang, Fookein, and Kwangtung, they will not quietly be guided by the laws of the empire, but must needs make use of foreign money; and this foreign money, though of an inferior standard, is nevertheless exchanged by them at a higher rate than the native sycee silver, which is pure. And, although money is cast in China after exactly the same pattern, under the names of Keangsoo pieces, Fookein pieces, and native, or Canton pieces, yet this money has not been able to gain currency among the people. Thus, also, the silk and cotton goods of China are not insufficient in quantity, and yet the broad-cloths, and camlets, and cotton goods of the barbarians from beyond the pale of the empire, are in constant request. Taking men generally, the minds of all are equally unenlightened in this respect, so that all men prize what is strange, and undervalue whatever is in ordinary use.

“ From Fookein, Kwangtung, Chekeang, Shantung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, memorials have been presented by the censors and other officers, requesting that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy, and against the preparation of opium; but while nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak, but of that portion of the country I have it in my power to say, that the poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign, and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests. And yet we do not observe any diminution in the quantity of silver exported, as compared with any previous period; while, on the other hand, the lack of the metal in

Yunnan is double, in degree what it formerly was. To what cause is this to be ascribed? To what but that the consumers of the drug are very many, and that those who are choice and dainty with regard to its quality, prefer always the foreign article.

“Those of your majesty’s advisers who compare the drug to the dried leaf of the tobacco plant, are in error. The tobacco leaf does not destroy the human constitution. The profit, too, arising from the sale of tobacco is small, while that arising from opium is large. Besides, tobacco may be cultivated on bare and barren ground, while the poppy needs a rich and fertile soil. If all the rich and fertile ground be used for planting the poppy; and if the people, hoping for a large profit therefrom, madly engage in its cultivation; where will flax and the mulberry-tree be cultivated, or wheat and rye be planted? To draw off in this way the waters of the great fountain, requisite for the production of food and raiment, and to lavish them upon the root whence calamity and disaster spring forth, is an error which may be compared to that of a physician who, when treating a mere external disease, should drive it inwards to the heart and centre of the body. It may in such a case be found impossible even to preserve *life*. And shall the fine fields of Kwangtung, that produce their three crops every year, be given up for the cultivation of this noxious weed—those fields, in comparison with which the unequal soil of all other parts of the empire is not even to be mentioned?

“To sum up the matter; the wide-spreading and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands most anxious consideration; for in the *people* lies the very foundation of the empire. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends. Yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury. In the history of Formosa we find the following passage: “Opium was first produced in Kaoutsinne, which by some is said to be the same as Kalapa (or Batavia). The natives of this place were at the first sprightly and active, and being good soldiers, were always successful in battle. But the people called Kung-maou (red-haired) come thither, and having manufactured opium, reduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it; from thence the mania for it rapidly spread throughout the whole nation; so that, in process of time, the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and, ultimately, were completely subjugated.” Now the English are of the race of foreigners called Kung-maou. In introducing opium into this country, their purpose has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves, ere long, on the last step towards ruin.

“The repeated instances, within a few years, of the barbarians

in question having assumed an attitude of outrageous disobedience, and the stealthy entrance of their ships into the provinces of Foo-keen, Chekeang, Keangnan, and Shantung, and even to Tientsin; to what motive are these to be attributed? I am truly unable to answer the inquiry. But, reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent (Kanghe), I find the remark by him dated the tenth month of the fifty-fifth year of his reign (1717): 'There is cause for apprehension, lest in centuries or milleniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas.' I look upwards, and admiringly contemplate the gracious considerations of that all-wise progenitor, in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-pervading foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended. Though it is not practicable to put a sudden and entire stop to their commercial intercourse; yet the danger should be duly considered and provided against: the ports of the several provinces should be guarded with all strictness; and some chastisement should be administered, as a warning and foretaste of what may be anticipated. Under date of the 23rd year of Keaking (1818), your majesty's benevolent predecessor surnamed the Profound, directing the governor of Canton to adopt measures to control and restrain the barbarians, addressed him in the following terms: 'The Emperor, in ruling and restraining the barbarians beyond its boundaries, gives to them always fixed rules and regulations: upon those who are obedient, it lavishes its rich favours; but to the rebellious and disobedient, it displays its terrors. Respecting the English trade at Canton, and the anchorage ground of their merchant ships, and of their naval convoys, regulations have long since been made.'

"If the people aforesaid will not obey these regulations, and will persist in opposition to the prohibitory enactments, the first step to be taken is, to impress earnestly upon them the plain commands of government, and to display before them alike both the favours and the terrors of the empire, in order to eradicate from their minds all their covetous and ambitious schemes. If notwithstanding they dare to continue in violent and outrageous opposition, and presume to pass over the allotted bounds, forbearance must then cease, and a thundering fire from our cannon must be opened upon them, to make them quake before the terror of our arms. In short, the principal on which the far-travelled strangers are to be cherished is this always in the first instance, to employ reason as the weapon whereby to conquer them, and on no account to assume a violent and vehement deportment towards them; but when ultimately it becomes necessary to resort to military force, then, on the other hand, never to employ it in a weak and inde-

cisive manner, lest those towards whom it is exercised should see therein no cause for fear or dread.

“How clear and luminous are these admonitions, well fitted to become a rule to all generations.

“Since your Majesty’s accession to the throne, the maxim of your illustrious house, that horsemanship and archery are the foundations of its existence, has ever been carefully remembered. And hence the governors, the lieutenant-governors, the commanders of the forces and their subordinates, have again and again been directed to pay the strictest attention to the discipline and exercises of the troops, and of the naval forces, and have been urged and required to create by their exertions strong and powerful legions. With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign’s anxious wishes for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is by the desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire, and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated by it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering—their hands trembling—their eyes flowing with child-like tears—be able, in any way, to attend to their proper exercises? or how can such men form strong and powerful legions. Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance to the fight, or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instances of the campaign against the Taou rebels, in the twelfth year of our sovereign’s reign (1832). In the army sent to Lienchow, on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium-smokers; so that, although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them.

“It is said, indeed, that when repealing the prohibitions, the people only are to be allowed to deal in and smoke the drug; and that none of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are to be allowed this liberty. But this is bad casuistry. It is equal to the popular proverb, ‘shut a woman’s ears before you steal her earrings’—an absurdity! The officers, with all the scholars and the military, do not amount in number to more than one-tenth of the whole population of the empire; and the other nine-tenths are all the common people. The great majority of those who at present smoke opium are the relatives and dependents of the officers of government, whose example has extended the practice to the mercantile classes, and has gradually contaminated the inferior officers, the military, and the scholars. Those who do not smoke are the common people of the villages and hamlets. If, then, the officers, the scholars, and the military, alone be prohibited smoking opium,

while all the people are permitted to deal in and smoke it, this will be to give a full license to those of the people who already indulge in it, and to induce those who have never yet indulged in the habit to do so. And if it is even now to be feared that some will continue smokers in spite of all prohibitions, is it to be hoped that any will refrain when they are actually induced by the government to indulge in it? Besides, if the people be at liberty to smoke opium, how shall the officers, the scholars, and the military, be prevented? What! of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are there any that are born in civil or military situations, or that are born scholars or soldiers? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people. To take an instance, let a vacancy occur in a body of soldiers, it must necessarily be filled up by recruits from among the people. But the great majority of recruits are men of no character or respectability, and if while they were among the common people they were smokers of opium, by what bond of law shall they be restrained when they become soldiers, after the habit has been already contracted, and has so taken hold of them that it is beyond their power to break it off? such a policy was that referred to by Mencius, when he spoke of 'intrapping the people.' And if the officers, the scholars, and the military, smoke the drug in the quiet of their own families, by what means is this to be discovered or prevented? Should an officer be unable to restrain himself, shall then his clerks, his followers, his domestic servants, have it in their power to make his failing their plaything, and by the knowledge of his secret to hold his situation at their disposal? We dread falsehood and bribery, and yet we would thus widen the door to admit them; we are anxious to prevent the amassing of wealth by unlawful means, and yet by this policy we would ourselves increase opportunities for doing so. A father in such a case would no longer be able to reprove his son, an elder brother to restrain his junior, nor a master to rule his own household. Will not this policy then be every way calculated to stir up strife? Or if happily the thing should not run to this extreme, the consequences will yet be equally bad; secret enticements and mutual connivance will ensue, until the very commonness of the practice shall render it no longer a subject of surprise. From this I conclude, that to permit the people to deal in the drug and smoke it, at the same time that the officers, the scholars, and the military are to be prohibited the use of it, will be found to be fraught with difficulties. At the present moment, throughout the empire, the minds of men are in imminent danger; the more foolish being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions, and cannot be aroused; and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond recovery. Most thoughtfully have I sought for some plan by which to arouse and awaken all, but in vain. While, however, the empire preserves and maintains its laws,

the plain and honest rustic will see what he has to fear, and will be deterred from evil; and the man of intelligence and cultivated habits will learn what is wrong in himself and will refrain from it. And thus, though the laws be declared by some to be but waste paper, yet these their unseen effects will be of no trifling nature. If, on the other hand, the prohibitions be suddenly repealed, and the action which was a crime, be no longer counted such by the government, how shall the dull clown, and the mean among the people, know that the action is still in itself wrong?

“In open day and with unblushing front, they will continue to use opium, till they shall become so accustomed to it, that eventually they will find it as indispensable as their daily meat and drink, and will inhale the noxious drug with perfect indifference. When shame shall thus be entirely destroyed, and fear removed wholly out of the way, the evil consequences that will result to morality and to the minds of men, will assuredly be neither few nor unimportant. As your Majesty’s minister, I know that the laws of the empire, being, in their existing state, well fitted to effect their end, will not for any slight cause be changed. But the proposal to alter the law on this subject having been made and discussed in the provinces, the instant effect has been, that crafty thieves and villains have on all hands begun to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about and pointing the finger, under the notion that, when once these prohibitions are repealed, thenceforth and for ever they may regard themselves free from every restraint, and from every cause of fear.

“Though possessing very poor abilities, I have, nevertheless, had the happiness to enjoy the favour of your sacred Majesty, and have, within a space of but few years, been raised through the several grades of the censorate, and the presidency of various courts in the metropolis, to the high elevation of a seat in the Inner Council; I have been copiously imbued with the rich dew of favour; yet have been unable to offer the feeblest token of gratitude; but if there is aught within the compass of my knowledge, I dare not to pass it by unnoticed. I feel it my duty to request that your Majesty’s commands may be proclaimed to the governor and lieutenant-governors of all provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the inforcement of the existing prohibition (against opium); and to impress on every one in the plainest and strictest manner, that all who are already contaminated by the vile habit, must return and become new men—that if any continue to walk in their former courses, strangers to repentance, and to reformation, they shall assuredly be subjected to the full penalty of the law, and shall not meet with the least indulgence—and that on any found guilty of storing up, or selling opium to the amount of 1000 catties or upwards, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily, the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof, spreading over the seas,

(among foreigners) may even there, produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred Majesty to cast a glance on this, my respectful memorial.”

This able document was followed by a proclamation from the governor, &c., of Canton, communicating an imperial edict in reference to the opium-receiving ships at Lintin, 4th August, 1837.

“*Tang*, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, command the Hong merchants to render themselves acquainted herewith.

“On the 3rd instant, an express from the Board of war arrived, conveying a dispatch from the grand council, addressed: To *Tang*, governor, &c., and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor, to be enjoined also by them on *Wan*, the superintendent of maritime customs.—An imperial edict, issued on the 14th of July, 1837.

“Imperial edict.—In consequence of the exportation of pure silver, from ports and anchorages, on all parts of the maritime coast, and in contemplation of the very important results of such exportations, as regards the national resources, and the livelihood of the people,—We have, in often repeated instances, declared our pleasure to the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces, requiring them to investigate and to act on their investigations with faithfulness.

“Yet to-day, again, a memorial has been laid before us, from the sub-censor *Le Panlew*, to this effect: ‘That from the English nation, there are upwards of ten warehousing ships, which have remained since the year 1821, when they first entered Kapshuy moon, until now; having in the year 1833, changed their anchorage to the Kumsing moon; that the importation of opium and the exportation of silver are supported by the continuance in China of these warehousing-ships, which form a sink for the absconders from justice, that scoundrels in the fast crab-like boats, are out morn and night, and always succeed in clandestinely making their way into every creek and inlet; and that while the nefarious merchants who support establishments for preparing opium, receive and supply wholesale quantities;—the shopmen dealing in foreign goods at Canton, are also secretly engaged in smuggling, under the false show of selling and buying other commodities, and are nowise different from the large brokers.

“For foreign vessels there is, surely, a fixed place of anchorage. Why then is it, that whereas before the year 1821, no ‘warehousing ships’ were ever heard of, they have of late years been suffered to remain at anchor in the surrounding seas, throughout whole years; thus giving occasion to the depraved among the people to combine with them in the unrestrained practice of smuggling?

“Let the governor of Kwangtung and his colleagues be made

responsible; and let them issue strict orders to the Hong merchants, to enjoin commands on the resident foreigners of the said nation, authoritatively urging the departure for their own country of all the warehousing ships that are now remaining at anchor. They must not be allowed, upon any excuse, to loiter about. Let also the dens of the opium-brokers be faithfully searched for, and let all, without exception, be dealt with as they deserve. Let there not be the slightest overstrained indulgence. Thus the source whence these illegalities spring forth may be closed up, and the spirit of degeneracy may be stayed.

“Let a copy of the memorial be sent for perusal, and with these instructions be made known to Tang and Ke, who are also to enjoin our commands on Wan. Respect this.

“This having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure, been, by despatch of the grand council, communicated to us, We, the governor and lieutenant-governor forthwith reverently copy it, and command obedience to it. When our commands reach the Hong merchants, let them also pay respectful obedience, and forthwith commence examination. Let them make it clearly known, that by the established enactments of the celestial empire, no foreign ship of any nation is permitted to remain at anchor, in the outer seas. And let them enjoin our commands on the foreigner directing the said nation's affairs, that he speedily give directions to the warehousing ships anchored in the various offings, requiring them within ten days, one and all to depart for their country. They cannot be permitted, upon any excuse, to continue loitering about. If any dare to resist and refuse to leave, the said merchant alone shall be held answerable.

“Let them also report the reasons why the foreign ships, anchored in the several offings, have not for so long a time returned to their country. that we may thoroughly examine the matter. Let there be no glossing excuses, lest criminality be incurred. With earnest haste—with anxious celerity—execute these commands.

“Taoukwang, 17th year, 7th month, 4th day, (4th August 1837.)”

[Translated from the Chinese, ROBERT MORRISON, Chinese Secretary and Interpreter.]

The injunctions from Peking became more urgent, and another proclamation was issued from the governor, &c. enforcing their former edict against the opium receiving ships. 17th August, 1837.

“*Tang*, governor of Kwangtung, and Kwangse, and *Ke*, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, issue these commands, requiring the senior Hong merchants to be acquainted therewith.

“On the 3rd instant a despatch arrived from the grand council of state, communicating the subjoined imperial edict, issued on the 14th of July:—

[A translation of this edict is given in the former document from the governor.]

"This having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure been communicated to us, We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, did forthwith issue orders in respectful obedience to it, requiring the said senior merchants to enjoin our commands on the resident foreigners, that they speedily give directions to the warehousing ships anchored in the various offings, urging them one and all to depart, within ten days, for their country. This is on record.

"Still, however, no report of the warehousing vessels, anchored at Lintin and other offings, having sailed, or refused to sail, has yet appeared from the said senior merchants. Such conduct is indeed extremely remiss and dilatory.

"The said nation's superintendent Elliot, having come to Canton to direct affairs as regards merchants and seamen, and all the minor details, even of disorder on the part of foreign merchants, commanders of ships, and seamen, are in all respects under his authority and control. Far more than, as regards these warehousing vessels, which have so long anchored in the various seas, seeking to twist aside the laws, and to serve only their own private interests, being not alone offenders against the prohibitory laws of the celestial empire, but furthermore transgressors of the instructions received in their own country, far more is it his duty, as regards them, to exert himself in commanding their departure, and sending them back again. By so doing only will he avoid disgracing his office.

"It should be borne in mind, that the favors of the great Emperor flow through all regions, without as well as within the Empire; and that his benevolence pervades the whole circle of the sea. When, however, it is desired to put a stop to nefarious combinations on the part of scoundrels within, it becomes necessary to extirpate all exciting causes among depraved foreigners. The sacred injunctions now given are strict and explicit; and it is a matter of bounden duty faithfully to investigate, and act accordingly.

"We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, having fears lest the said senior merchants should have failed in enjoining our commands with earnestness and zeal, or with sufficient clearness, proceed again to declare our commands. When these reach the said senior merchants, let them immediately enjoin the same on the said superintendent. Let him instantly pay respectful obedience to the declared imperial pleasure; and send back to their country all the warehousing ships anchored in the offings of Lintin and other places; let him not allow them as before, to continue loitering there at anchor; hereafter let only such merchant ships as are trading in dutyable articles come hither, and let no contraband goods, such as opium, and the like, be shipped for transportation over the wide seas. Thus the source of the evil will be dammed up; and the authority of the laws will be gloriously displayed.

“In the ports of Kwangtung, the celestial court graciously permits a general commercial intercourse, for the sale and purchase of goods; and truly it is the *crown* of all seaports. The foreign merchants of the various nations, who cross from afar, over numerous seas, should in reason make it their especial care to preserve a correct line of conduct in trade. If they, in opposition to the prohibitions form schemes for obtaining profits, indulging unrestrained desires, and loitering continually about, they will learn that the great Emperor’s awful majesty can be displayed and put in operation, equally with his tender regard, and they will occasion by their own acts an entire stoppage of the now open road of commercial intercourse. The said superintendent is not void of intelligence in business; and will assuredly consider this with anxious forethought. Let him be very careful not to be a passive spectator of ungrateful and perverse transgression and resistance of the laws, on the part of the warehousing ships.

“Furthermore, let the said senior merchants report for our investigation the periods of departure for their country, of the several warehousing ships, in order to enable us to report to the throne.

“Let each one tremblingly obey. Hasten earnestly—earnestly speed—to execute these commands.

“Taoukwang, 17th year, 7th month, 17th day, (August 7, 1837.)”

[Translated from the Chinese, Robert Morrison, Chinese Secretary and Interpreter.]

The next state document on the subject is a singular memorial from the governor, lieutenant-governor, and the hoppo, to the Emperor, regarding the existing state of contraband trade, &c.

The governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, forwarded on the 30th December, 1837, a joint memorial to the Emperor, respecting the measures adopted against the receiving ships, their actual condition, and the repeated seizures made of sycee and opium, and of the boats which supply the ships with provisions, in answer to the imperial commands. They entreat his Majesty, graciously to condescend to examine these subjects.

We received, in the month of October, an imperial decree thorough the grand Council of State, of the following tenor:

“Tang, and the others, (the lieutenant-governor and the hoppo), have sent in a report, from which it appears, that they had given orders to drive the receiving ships away, and adopted measures to seize the opium dealers and smugglers.

“The English receiving ships and merchantmen, with those of other nations, under pretence of seeking shelter against storms, have, of late years, sailed into the inner seas. The Hong merchants were, therefore, ordered to enjoin it upon the superintendent of the said nation, that he should make all the receiving ships, anchored at Lintin, and other places, return to their country, and should not permit them as formerly to remain at anchor and loiter about. As soon as the receiving ships had gotten under weigh,

to return to their country, the Hong merchants had orders to report the same.

“It is found, on examination, that an entire clearance of the fort-boats, (a class of smuggling boats) has been made, but the various classes of vessels still engaged in smuggling, are yet numerous, and their nefarious practices as well as those of the opium dealers, are such as cannot be permitted to go on; therefore, orders have been issued to the civil, as well as naval authorities, diligently to direct the cruisers under their command, in making careful search, and seizing all such offenders.

“One of the greatest evils under which the province of Canton groans, is, that barbarian vessels anchoring in the inner seas form connections for smuggling. The governor, and the others, ought to investigate carefully, whether the said foreign superintendent has indeed obeyed their injunctions, and the receiving ships have now sailed or not; and they must, by all means, compel them all to return home, without delay. If they, however, dare to compromise this matter, and I, the Emperor, should afterwards, upon enquiry, hear of it, or any one should bring an accusation to that effect, I shall only hold the said governor and his colleagues responsible.

“The most severe measures must be adopted against the smuggling craft, and that their seizure may be effected; and my expectation is, that they be extirpated, root and branch. Having made an occasional seizure, do not say immediately, that you have annihilated the whole; and so leave room for continued illegalities and crime.

“Acquaint with these orders Tang and Ke, and let them transmit the same to Wan, (the hoppo). Respect this.”

(Here ends the extract from the imperial order recently received, to which the authorities make the following reply):

“Your ministers read this in a kneeling posture, with the deepest veneration, admiring the care your Majesty bestows upon a corner of the sea; and the earnest desire shown to remove with energy the existing evils.

“Having carefully examined the charts of the inner and outer seas, we find that the Ladrone islands constitute their boundaries. Beyond them is the wide and boundless ocean, the black water of the foreign seas, which are not under the control of the central territory. Inside of them, at the offings, for instance, of Lintin, the Nine Islands, and other places, are the ‘outer seas,’ which are under the jurisdiction of Canton. Where the sea washes the shores of the interior districts, it is called the ‘inner sea,’ and of such inlets Kamsingmoon is an instance. Barbarian ships, since 1830, under pretence of seeking shelter against the winds, sailed frequently into Kamsingmoon, during the fourth and fifth months, and remained at anchor until the ninth. As soon as the north wind had set in, they removed again to Lintin, and anchored

there. In the winter of last year, we prohibited this most severely, and also erected a battery at the entrance, while we stationed there a naval squadron, to prevent most strenuously the ingress of the ships. No barbarian craft therefore entered, but they continued to anchor at Lintin and the adjoining places. Whilst, thus, no receiving ship now remains in the inner seas, it is nevertheless a fact, that they still exist in the outer seas.

“Formerly, in regard to the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, the commanders of the cruisers always stated, that their coming and going were so uncertain, that their actual number could not be ascertained. We, your ministers, however, conceiving that the names and numbers of the receiving ships were generally known, and that it was requisite to obtain accurate information regarding them, before adopting measures against them, would not admit them thus to conceal these facts and not speak out freely, thus to close the ear while the ear-rings were being stolen! We, therefore, last year, gave orders to all the naval cruisers to ascertain their exact number, and whether or not there were any from time to time coming or going away, and present reports every ten days. They communicated the result of their investigation, having found after due examination, that there were, indeed, altogether 25 sail, which had stayed there for a long time. The greater number were English country ships, and there were besides vessels under the American, French, Dutch, Manilla, and Danish flags, of each from one or two, to three or four. Some came and others went, but their aggregate number never exceeded this. These then are the facts as to the existing number of the receiving ships.

“When, in obedience to the Imperial orders, we had issued, this year, our strict injunctions to the said Hong merchants and the Superintendent Elliot, to send these ships back to their country; a naval captain, subsequently to this, reported, in September, that only one single Dutch ship, the *Lihteaychin*, (?) had lifted her anchors and sailed out beyond the *Ladrone*; this is also a fact, the truth of which we have upon enquiry ascertained. Since, however, only one vessel had left, your ministers could not then report the circumstance, for all the remainder, though they had also hoisted their sails, and lifted their anchors, yet moving, some to the east, and others to the west, they none of them proceeded beyond the *Ladrone* Islands. Though unwilling to offer contumacious disobedience, yet they cannot refrain from lingering about, indulging hopes and anticipations. For these are not matters of one year alone, nor are the vessels from one country only, and though the opium is contraband, yet to them it is a property highly valuable; and these vicious barbarians, only hankering after gain, are therefore unwilling to throw this commodity away, and use every possible expedient and means, in hopes of obtaining some temporary respite. This is the true cause why it is yet a

fact that all the receiving ships have not within the prescribed time sailed away.

“ We, your ministers, are under the highest obligations, for having obtained the great and high favour of being entrusted with the command of the sea-coast; and our duty is to eradicate every depraved and vicious practice. We received previously the expression of your majesty’s pleasure, enjoining us to issue severe orders to the Hong merchants, in regard to the sending home of the receiving ships. We have now again received a proof of your majesty’s condescension in investigating these matters, and, burning with the deepest anxiety, we fear and tremble. Having again issued severe orders to the Hong merchants, Howqua and the others, to command the instant departure of these vessels, they reported to us, that the said Superintendent Elliot would not give them precise and true answers to this demand, and in reply to their enquiries, addressed to the foreign merchants, they were told that the receiving ships were not their own property, and that it was out of their power to drive them away. Thus they make excuses on all sides, and again seek for delay.

“ We, your ministers, have found on examination, that, according to law, whenever foreigners proved refractory the trade ought to be stopped, in order to give them a fair warning and merited punishment. As they are thus determinate in pursuit of gain, and can come to no resolution (to sending away the ships,) there ought to be a temporary stoppage of the trade, in order to cut off their expectations. Yet so many nations participate in this commerce, while the receiving ships belong only to a few states, that due investigation ought to be made, so as to distinguish between them, and to prevent good foreigners from suffering by this measure.

“ We have therefore ordered the Hong merchants to enquire, how many nations have hitherto had commercial intercourse, how many amongst them have traded honestly and had no receiving ships, and how many there have really been possessed of such receiving ships. We directed them to send in a distinct and clear statement of these matters, for our guidance in adopting measures.

“ We, at the same time, gave the strictest orders, that they should again enjoin your majesty’s severe commands upon the resident foreign merchants, not permitting them to make excuses to obtain delay and extricate themselves from this dilemma; but threatening them, if they again should prove dilatory and still should nourish hopes, that the hatches shall be immediately closed, and a stoppage of the trade ensue. We desired those foreign merchants to consider, whether it be better that they suffer the existence of these receiving ships—thereby turning aside the laws to serve their own private ends, or that they should still continue to reap, eternally, the advantages of a free (legal) commerce; to weigh well which of these two things will be the gain, and which the loss;

we desired that they should carefully make their election, and that they should no longer persevere in their blindness, without once awakening, and thus, of their own accord, bring upon themselves cause for bitter repentance.

“ We find on examination, that every nation earns a subsistence by this trade. All the merchants run together, bringing hither their goods to exchange for our commodities. They will certainly not consent to throw away their property, by waiting here at a ruinous loss of time. The rhubarb, the teas, the porcelain, the silks, and other articles, &c. of this country, moreover are necessary to those nations. On account of disturbances created by barbarians, in 1808, and in 1834, the hatches were closed; and afterwards they earnestly supplicated to have them reopened. Thus it appears, as past events fully prove, that the various nations cannot cease to look up to the flowery, central land. If they are now intimidated therefore by the stoppage of trade, they will probably no longer allow the receiving ships to remain, by such contumacious conduct, effectually damaging their means of livelihood. If in this way they be indeed aroused and awakened, and the vessels be sent away, then matters will fall into their former quiet course, and there will be no need to take any further measures. But if, with inveterate obstinacy, they still offer open defiance to the laws, it will then be for us to adopt new expedients, and propose to the court other measures for their punishment.

“ We have, while suggesting this course, written at the same time to the naval commander-in-chief of the province, that he may in concert with the captains of the cruisers himself adopt means for expelling the receiving ships; and have earnestly desired him to watch carefully their movements, and to instill into them a wholesome terror and dread; not to allow any to be careless and neglectful of their public duty; yet, at the same time not to commit such blunders, as may give rise to affrays and strife. It is our confident expectation that these steps will be attended with advantage.

“ We calling to mind that the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, need a daily supply of the necessaries of life, for which they are dependent on our country, worthless vagabonds from the coast are accustomed to embark in small boats, pretending to go out fishing, whilst they put a variety of provisions and other articles on board, and go, in fact, to the ships to sell them: they are called bumboats. The vicious barbarians while they can look to these for supplies, are thereby enabled to prolong their stay; yet if these supplies were cut off, we might succeed in getting rid of them.

“ We, your ministers, have for some time past made seizure of opium-dealers and smugglers of every description, without mercy, in order to prevent the exportation of sycee silver, and the importation of opium, and thus to put a stop to this contraband

traffic. We have since also given orders to capture these bumboats, and not to permit them to have communication with the ships on the high seas, in order to cut off the supplies of those vicious men. The said barbarians will then have nothing to hope for, their expectations will be groundless, matters will come to extremes, and circumstances will then necessarily be changed, and thus the fountain may be purified, the stream of impurity being also arrested. According to the reports forwarded by the officers of the Ta-pang and Heang-chan stations, four of these bumboats, with some cargo, and twenty-eight vagabonds in them, had been taken and committed for trial to the provincial city, where they will meet with a most severe judgment.

“Lew Tszelin, Chin Auox, and Ting Asan, together with other scoundrels, formerly taken with sycee silver and opium, have been repeatedly examined and their sentence has been forwarded for the imperial approval. During the present year, according to the report transmitted by the military and civil authorities and other official persons, they have made, from the beginning of the spring until the close of December, thirty seizures, taking in all, 144 offenders of silver, 866 taels in sycee, and 3027 taels in foreign money; and of opium to the amount of 3842 catties.

“These criminals were all severally judged, the money was given as a reward to the captors, and the opium was burnt. The haunts of opium dealers have also been found out, and after investigation the public seal was placed upon them, while orders were issued for their apprehension of the persons frequenting them. The above is all authenticated by entries on the records.

“Your ministers have now been earnestly engaged in these measures for one year; they dare not yet say that their efforts have had the full and desired effect. But, with relation to the existing state of things in the provincial city, we would observe, that the price of sycee is at present very low; and opium, one ball of which on board the foreign ships formerly cost the traitorous natives about thirty dollars, can now only fetch from sixteen to eighteen dollars. Of the smuggled silver, too, that has been seized, a large portion has been foreign money, which would seem to imply, that to export sycee silver is now comparatively difficult. The proofs of the foreigners having to sell at reduced prices, and of their receiving payment in foreign money, being thus clear, the course that has been adopted, if pursued with vigour and firmness for a long period, and if followed up by the seizure of sycee silver and the capture of the bumboats, as measures of the first importance, will greatly tend towards increasing the wealth of the port, and doing away with abuses, and will thus prove extremely beneficial.

“But there being many crafty and cunning devices which fail of success, numerous complaints have hence arisen, proceeding from malicious tongues, that these failures are brought on by the measures now adopted. Some there are, with rumour-spreading

tongues, who represent that we your ministers, if besought by those who bring rich offerings in their hands, are not unwilling to accept gifts.

“Others, speculating men of ruined fortunes, declare that the civilians, and the military officers, when bribed, liberate, and apprehend offenders only when unfeed; that in searching for contraband articles, they try only to annoy the honest merchants, and that when they have made seizures, they represent that the goods have been sunk and lost. There are others, again, anxious, fearful-minded men, who lament these proceedings, saying that since these urgently preventive measures have been taken, the foreign merchant vessels that have come hither, have been but few; that the teas and silk have come into a dull market; and that the circulation of capital and sale of goods have been far from brisk; so that the merchants cannot preserve themselves from overwhelming embarrassments, and that the port of Canton province must be reduced to wretchedness; further, that since search is in every place made after idle vagrants, in order to seize them, many of the boat-people are in consequence thrown out of employment, and it may justly be feared that they will be driven to plunder, and that robberies will daily be multiplied.

“These and many similar rumours are confidently circulated; but they are all the slandering assertions of the credulous or the malicious, intended to confuse and trouble the hearts of your ministers, and to disturb our hearing and confuse our vision.

“Though we presume not to be wholly wedded to our own opinions, nor to act as if we heard nothing, and though, therefore, we seek to examine with the greatest impartiality into well-founded rumours, and well-authenticated accusations of abuses, with the hope of preserving all free from taint or imperfections—yet will we not give way to apprehensions which would make us fear to begin, or hesitate to proceed to an end, and would reduce us to the condition of the man who would leave off eating, because of a hiccough.

“We shall faithfully, with our whole heart and soul, discharge our duty in managing these affairs, and allow in ourselves no remissness in the issuing of orders to that effect. Having received such great and abundant favours from your Majesty, we dare not screen ourselves from the malice of rancorous slander, and never will we incur the guilt of acting deceitfully or ungratefully. Thus we would hope to meet your Sacred Majesty’s most earnest wish, that we should make *truth* our motto.

“We have thus minutely represented matters to your Majesty, and united in preparing this memorial in reply to your Majesty’s commands.”

In February 1838, a Chinaman was ordered to be strangled in front of the English factories at Canton, for being engaged in the opium trade. The edict declared the offence thus:—

“ Second moon. 2nd day. (February 25th, 1838.) The imperial will has been received.

“ I order that *Kwo-Se-ping* be immediately strangled. This criminal has audaciously dared to form connexions with the outside foreigners at the important passes of the sea frontier. *He opened a shop, stored it with opium, and seduced people to buy and smoke it.* He has been known to be engaged in this way for five years; but the former governors and lieutenant-governors have been negligent, and not one of them has examined and managed this affair with a regard to truth. But *Tang-tingching* ordered his officers to seize strictly, and he was immediately taken. It may, therefore, be seen that when pursuit and prosecution are managed with a regard to truth, the effects are evident. I order that *Tang* and *Ke* be referred to the proper board, for their merits to be taken into consideration; and hereafter, with reference to the offences of buying and selling opium, and opening smoking houses, if in these instances criminals are guilty, they must be seized at all times and all places, and punished; they must not be suffered to escape out of the net: thus they will be a warning to others. *Respect this.*”

The punishment for the crime of smoking opium or dealing in it, was changed to its present severity by Taoukwang in the 10th year of his reign.

Those who deal in opium shall be punished according to the law against those who trade in prohibited goods, (gunpowder, salt-petre, nitre, sulphur, military weapons.) The principal shall wear the collar one moon, and be banished to the army at a *near* frontier. The accomplices shall be punished with 100 blows and banished from the province.

He who clandestinely opens an opium smoking shop, and seduces the sons and younger brothers of respectable families to smoke opium, shall be punished according to the law against those who delude the multitude by depraved doctrines. The principal, when his crime is proved, shall be strangled after his term of imprisonment; the accomplices shall be punished with 100 blows, and banished 3,000 le. And the boat-people, constables, and neighbours shall all receive 100 blows, and be banished from the province for three years.

The following are the penalties for buying and smoking opium.

If an officer of government buys and smokes opium, he is to be dismissed the service, to wear the collar for two months, and be beaten with 100 blows; soldiers and the people are to be punished with 100 blows and wear the collar for one month. Eunuchs in the imperial palaces are to wear the collar for two months, and be sent to the most distant frontiers, as slaves to the soldiers.

In the first year of Taoukwang (1820-21,) a native named *Yih-hang-soo*, was the great agent for opium at Macao. When he

fell under the notice of government, he was only banished as a slave to the army ; and we are told that he is living in comfort in some of the distant provinces, where he carries on a flourishing trade, and is supposed to be rich.

The earnest attention of different high officers continued to be given to the subject, and about November 1838, the following close-reasoning memorial was presented to the Emperor :

“HWANG TSEOTSZE, president of the Sacrificial Court, upon his knees addresses the throne, soliciting the adoption of severe measures to prevent a continual draining of the country, in the hope of enhancing thereby the national resources.

“When your minister observes the nightly watchings, and the late meals, to which, in your diligent and anxious care to provide for the interests of the empire for thousands of future generations, your august majesty is subjected—and when he sees, nevertheless, that the national resources are inadequate, that very few among the people enjoy affluence, and that this condition of things is gradually growing worse, each year falling behind its precursor,—to what cause, he is induced to ask, is this attributable? In the reign of your majesty’s progenitor, surnamed the ‘Pure,’ (Kien-lung,) how many were the demands for the settlement of the frontier! How great the changes incurred on imperial progresses! How extensive the public works and improvements! And yet abundance prevailed amid high and low, and the nation attained to the pinnacle of wealth. In the time of Keaking, too, riches and affluence yet lingered among us, insomuch that the families of the scholars and people, as well as the great merchants and large traders, acquired habits of luxury and prodigal expenditure. Shall we compare those times with the present? Heaven and earth can better bear comparison! How is it, that the greater extravagance was then attended with more affluence, and that now the greater frugality is followed but by increasing scarcity?

“It seems to your minister, that the present enhanced value of silver, of a tael of which the cost has recently exceeded 1600 cash, arises not from the waste of silver bullion within the country, but from its outflow into foreign regions.

“From the moment of opium first gaining an influx into China, your majesty’s benevolent progenitor, surnamed the ‘Wise,’ (Keaking,) foresaw the injury that it would produce, and therefore he earnestly warned and cautioned men against it, and passed a law plainly interdicting it. But at that time his ministers did not imagine that its poisonous effects would ever pervade the empire to the present extent. Had they sooner been awake to this, they would have awarded the severest penalties and the heaviest punishments, in order to have nipped the evil in the bud.

“There is a regulation by which every foreign vessel, upon reaching the coast of Canton, has to obtain the suretyship of a Hong merchant, who is required to bind himself under sureties,

that the ship has no opium on board, nor until this is done can any vessel enter the port. But this suretyship, though it is still required, has in process of time come to be regarded as an empty form; and it has been found impossible to prevent opium from being brought in the ships. From this cause, before even the third year of Taoukwang, (1823,) the annual draining of silver had already amounted to several millions of taels.

“In the first instance, the use of opium was confined to the pampered sons of fortune, with whom it was an idle luxury, but still used with moderation and under the power of restraint. Since then, its use has extended upwards to the officers and belted gentry, and downwards to the labourer and the tradesman, to the traveller, and even to women, monks, nuns, and priests. In every place its inhalers are to be found. And the implements required for smoking it are sold publicly in the face of day. Even Moukden, the important soil whence our empire springs, has become infected by its progressive prevalence.

“The importation of opium from abroad is constantly on the increase. There are vessels for the specific purpose of storing up opium, which do not enter the Bocca Tigris, but remain anchored off Lintin, and off the Grand Ladrone and Lantao, islands in the open sea. Depraved merchants of Kwangtung form illicit connexions with the militia and its officers appointed to cruise on the sea-coasts, and, using boats designated ‘scrambling dragons,’ ‘fast crabs,’ &c., they carry silver out to sea, and bring in the opium in return. In this way, between the third and eleventh years of Taoukwang, (1823-31,) the country was drained to the annual amount of from seventeen to eighteen millions of taels; between the eleventh and fourteenth years, it was drained to the annual amount of more than twenty millions; and between the fourteenth year and this time, to the yearly amount of thirty millions and upwards. In addition to this, too, from the coasts of Fuhkein, Chekeang, Shantung, and from the port of Tientsin, there has been a total efflux of many millions of taels. This outpouring of the useful wealth of China into the insatiable depths of transmarine regions—in exchange, too, for an article so baneful—has thus become a grievous malady, still increasing, day by day, and year by year: nor can your minister see where it is to end.

“The land and capitation taxes, and the contributions for supply of grain, are paid, for the most part, in all the provinces and districts, in copper cash. When the sums collected are accounted for to government, these copper cash have to be exchanged for silver. The loss now experienced upon this exchange is so very heavy, that, in consequence of it, the officers have everywhere to supply deficiencies in the revenue, whereas formerly there was in general an overplus.* The salt merchants of the several provinces

* An allowance is made for loss in the exchange, which formerly more than covered, but now (according to the memorialist,) does not equal, the actual loss experienced.—*Trans.*

always sell the salt for copper coin, while they are invariably required to pay the gabel in silver; and, hence, the business of a salt merchant, a business formerly contended for as affording certain profit, is, under existing circumstances, looked upon as a pursuit surrounded with risks. If this state of things continue a few years longer, the price of silver will become so enhanced, that it will be a question how the revenue collected can possibly be accounted for, or the gabel paid up. And, should any unanticipated cause of expenditure arise, it will become a question, how it can by possibility be met. Whenever your minister reflects on these things, the anxious thoughts they occasion wholly deprive him of sleep.

“Throughout the empire, it is now universally acknowledged, that the draining of the country’s resources is the consequence of the introduction of opium: and many are the suggestions and propositions for staying the evil. By one it is proposed to guard strictly the maritime ports, and so block up the paths of outlet and admission; but it is not considered that the officers who must be appointed to this preventive guard, cannot always be depended upon as upright and public spirited men; and that the annual trade in opium, amounting to some tens of millions, will yield these officers, at the rate of one-tenth or one-hundredth only, as their share, [the price of their connivance,] not less than some millions of taels. Where such pecuniary advantage is to be acquired, who will faithfully watch or act against the traffic? Hence, the instances of seizure that do sometimes occur are few and far between. Besides, along a maritime coast of thousands of miles, places of outlet and admission abound everywhere. These considerations make it clear, that this, for one, is not practicable as a preventive of the national draining.

“Others say, ‘put an entire stop to foreign commercial intercourse, and so wholly eradicate the origin of the evil.’ These, it would seem, are not aware, that the woollens, and the clocks and watches imported by the foreigners from beyond sea, together with the tea, rhubarb, and silk, exported by them, constituting the body of the legitimate trade, cannot be valued at ten millions of taels. The profit therefore enjoyed from this trade, does not exceed a few millions, and is at the same time but a barter of one commodity for another. Its value is not a tenth or twentieth part of that of the opium traffic; and, consequently, the chief interest of the foreign merchants is in the latter, and not in the former. Though, therefore, it should be determined to set aside the revenue derived from the maritime customs of Canton, and to forbid commercial intercourse; yet, seeing that the opium vessels do not even now enter the port, they will no doubt continue to anchor outside, in the open seas, there waiting for high prices; and the native consumers of opium, unable to bear a moment’s delay of smoking, will still find depraved people ready to go thither and

convey it to them. Hence the difficulty of prevention is not as regards the foreign merchants, but as regards the depraved natives. This, too, must plainly, then, be ineffectual as a preventive of the national draining.

“Others again propose to search for and arrest all who deal in opium, and severely to punish them, as well as all who keep houses for smoking it, maintaining that thus, though we may fail to purify the source, yet it will be possible to arrest the stream. Are these persons ignorant, that, since the enactment of the laws against opium, the punishment awarded to dealers therein has been enslavement to the military at a distant frontier district, and that awarded to the keepers of smoking houses has been strangulation, or one degree beyond the punishment of those who by false doctrines deceive the people and honest families? Notwithstanding this, how incalculably numerous are the dealers in opium and the keepers of smoking houses! and how exceedingly few the cases, in any of the provinces, in which these penalties are inflicted! For in the province of Kwang tung, the wholesale dealers in opium having established large stores, maintain a good understanding with the custom house officers along the various routes from that to the other provinces. The opium dealers in the several provinces, if possessed of capital, obtain the protection of these wholesale men; and the corrupt officers of the places of customs and toll consequently connive, and suffer them to pass; while, on the other hand, legitimate traders, passing to and fro, are, under pretence of searching for opium, vexatiously detained and subjected to extortion. The keepers of smoking houses, too, in all the departments and districts, are depraved and crafty under-officers, police-runners, and such like. These, acting in base concert with worthless young men of large families possessed of a name and influence, collect together, under the protection of many doors, and in retired alleys, parties of people to inhale the drug; and the private officers and attendants of the local magistrates, being one half of them sunk into this vicious habit, are induced always to shield these their friends and abettors. From these causes, we find this measure also ineffectual as a preventative of the national draining.

“There is yet another proposal, to remove the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy, and to suffer the preparation of opium within the country, by which it is hoped to stay the increasingly ruinous effects of foreign importation, to stop the efflux of silver. Are the proposers of such a measure altogether ignorant, that the home-prepared opium, when smoked, does not yield the needed stimulus, that it is merely used by the dealers to mix up with the foreign opium, with the view of increasing their profits? No, this measure, should it be adopted, and the planting of the poppy no longer prohibited, will also be found effectual as a preventive of the national draining.

“The injury inflicted by opium, is it then altogether past prevention? Your minister would fain think that to prevent it is not impossible, but only that the true means of so doing have not yet been discovered.

“Now the great waste of silver arises from the abundant sale of opium, and this abundant sale is caused by the largeness of the consumption. Were the consumption of it to cease, there would of course be no sale, and did the sale of it fail, the importation of it by foreigners from abroad would necessarily cease also. If then it be desired to increase the severity of punishments, it is against the *consumers* of the opium that this increased severity must be directed.

“Your minister would therefore solicit your august Majesty to declare by severe edicts your imperial pleasure, that, from such a month and day of this year, to such a month and day of next year, a period of one year will be granted, in which to overcome the practice of using opium. Within this period of time, it cannot be impossible for those even with whom the habit is most confirmed to overcome it altogether. If, then, after the period of a year any continue to smoke opium, they may be regarded as lawless and incorrigible, and none will hesitate to admit the justice of subjecting them to the heaviest penalties. I find that the existing laws against opium smokers, award no more severe punishments than the wearing of the wooden collar, the bastinado, and, in case of refusing to point out the dealer, a chastisement of a hundred blows, with transportation for three years. Thus the utmost severity of punishment stops short of death, and the pain of breaking off the habit of using opium is greater than that of the punishments, the cangue, the bastinado, and transportation. Of this, crafty and hardened breakers of the law are well aware, and they do not therefore strive to overcome the vile habit. But, were the offence made capital, the bitter anguish of the approaching punishment would be found more trying than the protracted languor of breaking off the habit; and your minister feels assured, that men would prefer to die in their families, in the endeavour to refrain from opium, rather than to die in the market place, under the hands of the executioner.

“In considering what may be the clear and thoughtful views of your Majesty, in regard to such punishments, an apprehension may be presumed to exist in the imperial breast, lest, if the laws be rendered somewhat too severe, they may become, in the hands of evil men, instruments for drawing down penalties upon the guiltless. But an habitual smoker of opium can always be so readily distinguished when brought before a magistrate for trial, that one who is not such a smoker, but a good orderly subject, cannot be hurt by false accusations, though instigated by the greatest animosity and the most implacable hatred; while one who is really a smoker will not by any means be able to gloss

over or conceal the fact. Though such severe punishments, therefore, be had recourse to, there can no evil flow therefrom.

“ In the history of Formosa, written by Yu Wance, your minister finds it mentioned, that the inhabitants of Java were originally nimble, light-bodied, and expert in war; but when the [European] red-haired race* appeared, these prepared opium and seduced them into the use of it; whereupon they were subdued, brought into subjection, and their land taken possession of. Among the red-haired race, the law regarding those who daily make use of opium is, to assemble all their race as spectators, while the criminal is bound to a stake, and shot from a gun into the sea. Hence among the red-haired race, none is found so daring as to make use of it. The opium which is now imported into China is from the English and other nations, where are found preparers of it alone, but not one consumer of it. Your minister has heard moreover, that the foreign ships coming to Canton pass on their way, the frontiers of Cochin China, and that at the first they seduced the Cochin Chinese into the use of opium; but that these, discovering the covert scheme laid for them, instantly interdicted the drug under the most severe penalties, making the use of it a capital crime, without chance of pardon. Now, if it is in the power of barbarians out of the bounds of the empire, to put a stop by prohibitions to the consumption of opium, how much more can our august Sovereign, whose terrors are as the thunderbolts and vivid lightnings of heaven, render his anger so terrible that even the most stupid, perverse, and long-besotted, shall be made to open their blind eyes and dull ears!

“ The great measures affecting the interests of the empire, it is not within the compass of ordinary minds to comprehend. The sacred intelligence, and heaven-derived decisiveness, of the Sovereign may however, unaided determine, and need not the co-operation of every mind. Yet it may be, that men of fearful dispositions, unwilling to bear reproach for the sake of their country, will, though well aware that none but severe punishments can stay the evil, pretend nevertheless, that the number of those who smoke opium is so great as to give cause for apprehending, that precipitate measures will drive them into a calamitous outbreak. To meet these fears it is, that the indulgent measure is suggested, of extending to the smokers one year wherein to repent. The point of greatest importance is, that at the first declaration of the imperial pleasure, the commands issued should be of an earnest and urgent character; for if the Sovereign's pleasure be forcibly expressed, then the officers who are to enforce it will be profoundly attentive; and if these officers be attentive, the breakers of the law will be struck with terror. Thus in the course of a

* This term, originally applied to the Dutch and northern nations, was afterwards extended to the English, of whom it has latterly become the exclusive patronymic.—*Trans.*

year, even before punishments shall have been inflicted, eight or nine out of every ten will have learned to refrain. In this manner, the consumers of opium will in fact owe to the protection of the laws the preservation of their lives; and those who have not been smokers will be indebted to the restraint and cautions of the laws, for their salvation from impending danger. Such is the vast power of your august Majesty, for the staying of evil. Such your Majesty's opportunities of exhibiting abundant goodness, and wide-spreading philanthropy.

Once more your minister solicits that commands may be issued to all the governors and lieutenant-governors of provinces, to publish earnest and urgent proclamations for the general information of the people, and to give wide promulgation to prescriptions for the cure of the habit of smoking opium, that these high functionaries may be required to suffer no smoking beyond the allotted period of forbearance. And that, at the same time, they may be directed strictly to command the prefects of departments and magistrates of districts, to examine and set in order the tithings and hundreds, giving beforehand clear instructions in regard to the future enforcement of the new law. The people, after the year of sufferance shall have elapsed, should be made to give bonds—a common bond from every five adjoining houses, and if any one continues to transgress, it should be required of all to inform against him, that he may be brought to justice, and to this end liberal rewards should be accorded to the informers; while, should a transgression be concealed and the offender shielded, not only should the transgressor, upon discovery, be in accordance with the proposed new law executed, but all those mutually bound with him, should also be punished. With regard to general marts and large towns, where people are assembled from all parts, seeing that the merchants there are ever passing to and fro, and not remaining in one place, it would be found difficult, should their neighbours be made answerable for them, to observe their conduct. The keepers of shops and lodging-houses, should, therefore, be held responsible, and should be made punishable for sheltering opium-smokers, in the same manner as for harbouring and concealing thieves. If any officer, high or low, actually in office, continue to smoke after the year of sufferance shall have elapsed, he, having become a transgressor of those very laws which it is his duty to maintain, should be punished in a higher degree than ordinary offenders, by the exclusion of his children and grandchildren from the public examinations, in addition to the penalty of death attaching to himself. Any local officers who, after the period of sufferance shall have elapsed, shall with true-heartedness fulfil their duty, and shall show the same by the apprehension of any considerable number of offenders, should be, upon application for the imperial consideration of their merits, entitled to a commensurate reward, according to the provisions of the law relating to the apprehension of thieves.

If any relations, literary friends, or personal attendants of officers, continue, while residing with such officers, to smoke opium, in addition to the punishment falling upon themselves, the officers under whose direction they may be, should also be subjected to severe inquiry and censure. As to the military, both of the Tartar and the Chinese forces, each officer should be required to take from the men under his immediate command a bond similar to those of the tithing-men. And their superior officers, in case of failing to observe any transgression, should be dealt with in the same manner as has been suggested in relation to civil officers failing to observe the conduct of those residing with them.

“ Thus it may be hoped that both the military and the people—those of low, as well as those of high degree,—will be made to fear and to shun transgression.

“ Such regulations [if adopted] will need to be promulgated and clearly made known everywhere, even in decayed villages and wayside hamlets, that the whole empire may be made acquainted with our august Sovereign’s regard of, and anxiety for, the people and their welfare, and his extreme desire to preserve their lives from danger. Every opium-smoker who hears thereof, cannot but be aroused, by dread of punishment, and by gratitude for the goodness extended to him, to change his face and cleanse his heart. And thus the continual draining of the nation will be stayed, and the price of silver will cease to be enhanced. And this being the case, plans may then be discussed for the cultivation of our resources. This will in truth be a fountain of happiness to the rulers and the ruled in ten thousand ages to come.

“ Your servant’s obscure and imperfect views are thus laid before your August Majesty, with the humble prayer that a sacred glance may be vouchsafed that their fitness or unfitness may be determined. A respectful memorial.”

The Emperor’s pleasure in this matter was recorded as follows:—

“ Hwang Tsestsze has presented a memorial, soliciting the adoption of measures to stay the continual draining of the country, with the hope of enhancing thereby the national resources. Let the commanders-in-chief in the provinces of Mookden, Kirin, and Tsitsihar, and the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the other provinces, express, in the form of regulations, their own several views on the subject, and lay the same speedily before the throne. To this end let the memorial be sent to them herewith. Respect this.”

Consequent on the foregoing the following imperial edict was issued:—“ In reference to a memorial laid before us by Hwang Tsestsze, the vice-president of the sacrificial court, it has now been represented to us, by the sub-censor, Tau Szelin, that the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces having been more strict in the seizure of opium, a brighter spirit has recently been exhibited throughout the provinces. It thus appears that the repre-

sentations before made by Hwang Tsestsze were all right: but that all the officers have, with one consent, mismanaged the matter. When, perchance, they have made seizures, these have been so few and far between, that it cannot be that they have all acted with uprightness and public spirit. Hwang Tsestsze and those with him have, however, apprehended and punished with true purpose of heart, and he has represented his views with plainness and perspicuity: he may well be called a servant useful and devoted to us. Let, therefore, the board of office consider of his merits liberally, in order that we may, by rewarding him, encourage like conduct.

“Henceforth, let the governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces, with severity and earnestness, make known their commands to the people. And let them, at the same time, send out officers with military retinues to make search, imperatively requiring that the depraved merchants who deal in opium, and those people who open houses for smoking it, shall, without fail, be apprehended and brought to trial; and these, after a period of three months shall have elapsed, shall, according to a new law, be condemned to death, and so punished. The consumers of opium throughout the provinces must be imperatively required, within the space of three months, to throw off the habit of using it. If any should continue its use after the lapse of this period, such persons must be regarded as unruly people, fearless of the laws, and shall also be condemned, in accordance with the new law, to the penalty of death.

“The governors and lieutenant-governors of the provinces must utterly root out the evil, and must allow no guilty persons to escape through the meshes of the net. If any officers dare to connive at, pass over, or fail to discover, acts of disobedience, besides receiving in their own persons the penalties prescribed by the new law, their sons and grandsons, also, shall be excluded from the public examinations. Such local officers as may with all their hearts fulfil their duty, shall, in accordance with the new law, be, upon fitting representation, rewarded conformably to their merits. Let these commands be generally made known to the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the provinces. Respect this.”

(Without date. True translation.)

“J. ROBERT MORRISON,
“Chinese Secretary’s Interpreter.”

Captain Elliot, Her Majesty’s Superintendent of Trade in China, who was averse to the opium trade, and foresaw the evil effects which must inevitably result from its continuance and open prosecution, issued a public notice on the subject.

“I, CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British subjects in China, moved by urgent considerations immediately affecting the safety of the lives and property of all Her

Majesty's subjects engaged in the trade at Canton, do hereby formally give notice, and require, that all British owned schooners, cutters, and otherwise-rigged small craft, either habitually or occasionally engaged in the illicit opium traffic within the Bocca Tigris, should proceed forth of the same within the space of three days from the date of these presents, and not return within the said Bocca Tigris, being engaged in the said illicit opium traffic.

“ And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all her majesty's subjects engaged in the aforesaid illicit opium traffic, within the Bocca Tigris, in such schooners, cutters, or otherwise-rigged small craft, that if any native of the Chinese empire shall come by his or her death by any wound feloniously inflicted by any British subject or subjects, any such British subject or subjects being convicted thereof, are liable to capital punishment, as if the crime had been committed within the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's court at Westminster.

“ And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all British subjects being owners of such schooners, cutters, or otherwise-rigged small craft, engaged in the same illicit opium traffic within the Bocca Tigris, that Her Majesty's government will in no way interpose if the Chinese government shall think fit to seize and confiscate the same.

“ And I, the said chief superintendent, do further give notice, and warn all British subjects employed in the said schooners, cutters, and otherwise-rigged small craft, engaged in the illicit traffic in opium within the Bocca Tigris, that the forcible resisting of the officers of the Chinese government in the duty of searching and seizing, is a lawless act, and that they are liable to consequences and penalties in the same manner as if the aforesaid forcible resistance were opposed to the officers of their own, or any other government, in their own, or in any foreign country.

“ Given under my hand and seal of office, at Canton, this eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight.

(Signed)

“ CHARLES ELLIOT,
“ Chief Superintendent of the Trade of
British subjects in China.”

The Chinese government also issued several strigent and severe proclamations and edicts against the importation and use of opium ; but, as the naval and military forces of China were unable to contest with the armed English opium vessels, the traffic increased with fearful rapidity.

The Emperor and cabinet at Peking, finding all further proclamations and injunctions futile, resolved to depute an imperial commissioner to Canton, with the highest powers and authority which could be conferred on a subject. The officer chosen for this purpose was named *Lin*, a man about fifty-five years of age, of high repute as a scholar, born and bred in one of the maritime

provinces, of stern demeanour, and possessed of qualities which in any country would have made him distinguished. He was considered a true patriot; of incorruptible honesty, and stood high in the favour of the Emperor, from whom it is said the commissioner received his instructions in person, to whom also the Emperor narrated his "deep sense of the evils that had long afflicted his children by means of the flowing poison;" and adverting to the future, his majesty paused, wept, and said, "how, alas! can I die and go to the shades of my imperial father and ancestors until these direful evils are removed."

The powers thus vested in Commissioner Lin have only been thrice delegated by the monarch of the present dynasty. The appointment of his excellency was thus announced by the authorities at Canton:—

Injunction from the governor and Lieutenant-governor, to the territorial commissioner and others, in reference to the anticipated arrival of the imperial commissioner.

"On the 23rd of January, 1839, a despatch was received from the board of war, giving conveyance to the subjoined imperial edict, delivered to the inner council on the 31st December, 1838.

'Let Lin Tsihsen, governor of Hookwang, and ex-officio director of the board of war, be invested with the powers and privileges of an imperial commissioner; and let him, with all speed, proceed to Kwangtung to make inquiry, and to act in regard to the affairs of the sea-ports. Let also the whole naval force of the province, be placed under his control. Respect this.'

"On the same day (23rd January,) arrived also a communication from the general council, of the following address and tenor.

'To the governors of the two Kwang, Tang, and the Lieutenant-governor of Kwang tung, E. On the 3rd of January, we received the annexed imperial edict.

'The daily increasing prevalence of the use of opium, and the continually augmenting loss arising from the removal of pure silver beyond the seas, have of late years repeatedly caused us to declare to the governors and others, our desire and command, that they should with true purpose of heart, make enquiry and act in this matter. But an evil practice, so long and deeply rooted, is not, it must be feared, to be at once wholly eradicated. If the source of the evil be not clearly ascertained, how can we hope that the stream of pernicious consequences shall be stayed?

'We recently expressed it to be our pleasure, that Lin Tsihsin the governor of Hookwang, should repair with speed to the province of Kwangtung, to make enquiry and to act in regard to the affairs of the sea-ports; and that he should be invested with the powers and privileges of an imperial commissioner, and should have the whole naval force of the province placed under his control. Lin Tsihsen on his arrival at Canton, will of course exert his utmost strength in inquiring and acting in obedience to our ex-

pressed pleasure, with the view of thoroughly removing the source of this evil.

‘ But the buildings in which the opium undergoes preparation, the smuggling vessels in which it is conveyed, and the shops opened for its sale, or for indulgence in the use of it, with all such-like evil and pernicious establishments, will need to be thoroughly uprooted as they shall, from time to time, and in one place after another, be brought to light. Let Tang Tinching, and Eleang arouse, then all their energies, and persevere in the work of investigating and putting measures in operation to attain this end. Let them not in any degree become remiss, neither let them entertain any vain anticipations of ease, nor still less harbour any reserve to evade or to transfer their duties.

‘ Tang Tingching holding, however, the entire sway over the two provinces, a multitude of affairs must press upon him. Should the special responsibility of making inquiry and adopting measures to arrest the importation of opium, and the exportation of pure silver, be also laid on him, it may be feared that in giving attention to one duty, he may be distracted from others; and that he will thus be prevented from applying his whole mind and strength to the extirpation of this evil. It is for this reason We have commissioned Lin Tsihsen to go and take on him the special management of the matter.

‘ It will be the duty of all to apply their efforts, with increasing diligence and ardour, to cast down every wall of separation, fulfilling with earnestness each his own particular duties, and uniting together in whatever requires combination of counsel and action, reporting conjointly to us. Let them henceforth embrace every practicable measure, vigorously to redeem their foregone negligence. It is our full hope, that the long-indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated. We would fain think that our ministers will be enabled to substantiate our wishes, and so to remove from China the dire calamity. Let these our commands be made known to those concerned. Respect this.

‘ In obedience to these imperial desires, we the ministers of the council, address to you this communication.’

“ The above documents having been received by us, the governor and lieutenant-governor,—while, on the one hand, we forward copies of them to the several commanders of divisions of the naval forces, to be made known by them—while also we direct the Hong merchants, Woo Shaouyung and his fellows, to pay respectful obedience,—and while further we instruct the colonels in command of the central regiments of our own respective battalions, to consult together immediately, and within three days, without fail, to present to us lists of the number of military seunpoo (or aides-de-camp) and koshiha (or orderlies), who shall be appointed to attend (on the imperial commissioner), together with their names,—while effecting these several objects, we at the

same time, forward a copy to the territorial and financial commissioner, that he may act in accordance with the sovereign commands, and may in concert with the judicial commissioner, the commissioner of the gabel, and the commissary, make the same generally known, for the obedience of all. And in reference to the approaching visit of the high imperial commissioner to Canton, to make inquiry and act in regard to the affairs of the sea-ports, let these officers give their immediate attention to the following questions, viz.: what shall be the place allotted for his public residence at Canton? In case he should require to go in person to view the three divisions—central, eastern, and western—of the naval force on the coast; what portions are of most importance? And in what naval vessels will it be fitting for him to embark? What number of attendant officers, civil, seunpoo, and clerks, should be appointed to form his suite; and from what officers should they be chosen? Let them consider these questions jointly, and within three days present, for our revisal, lists, comprising the names of such officers as should be so appointed.”

Preparatory to the arrival of Commissioner Lin, the annexed warning to the people was posted in printed placards in all the streets of Canton. It is supposed to have been written by Commissioner Lin himself. The translator says:—“It is beautifully composed, and would be no discredit to the first scholar of the land. We have taken a good deal of pains to translate it, but confess that we have not done justice to the beauty of the original, nor indeed is it in our power to do it justice. No language on earth, for pith, brevity, terseness, harmony of style, and apposite expressions, can be compared to the classic language of China. We must, therefore, beg our readers not to judge of the merits of the original, by the poverty of the translation.”

This remarkable document is well deserving a thoughtful perusal.

“Of all the evils that afflict mankind, the greatest are those which he perversely brings upon himself. In his life, he not only builds up a line of conduct, that leads him to a miserable death, but contentedly sinks down to the lowest of his species, and becomes an object of hatred and scorn to his fellow-men. Having perversely brought these evils upon himself, which lead him to a miserable death: when he dies, no man pities him! contentedly sinking down to the lowest of his species, and becoming an object of hatred and contempt to his fellow-men, he is pleased with his depravity, which is not the original nature of man: to be not of the original nature of man then, and to die unpitied, is what belongs to reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine; certainly not to the human species!

“Why do I thus express myself? reptiles and wild beasts possess no knowledge, they are not aware of the infelicity of a miserable death, and they take no steps to guard against it! Dogs and swine never heard of the expressions, right and wrong, glory and dis-

grace : they quietly receive the kicks and curses of man, and they remember not his insults with a blush of shame ! Therefore it is, that men who by their own act have reduced themselves to a similar footing, are upbraided with being as reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine ; and though they may be unwilling to submit to such degrading epithets, yet are they unable to shake off these appellations which have been so happily applied to them ! But there are men still more brutish than the brutes ! Reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine, do not corrupt the morals of the age so as to cause one anxious thought to spring up in the breast of our gracious sovereign : now, however, there are *men* who do so, who consequently are beneath reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine ; and these *men are the smokers of opium !*

“ It is worthy of remark that opium smoking commenced by one or two careless, worthless fellows, who mutually instigated each other to this vicious indulgence, simply by way of amusement ! When people begin to smoke, they at first observe no evil effects produced by it ; when they have smoked for some time, they then require what is call *renovation* ; when the time for renovating comes, if they do not smoke, then the hands and feet become weak and palsied, the mouth drops, the eyes become glazed, rheum flows from the one, and saliva from the other ; they are subject to complaints which resemble phlegm, asthma, and convulsive fits : when they arrive at this stage of the disease, every atom of human reason appears to have left them. You may beat them, scold them, curse them, and insult them, yet will they not get up to give you any rejoinder ! This is the first view, showing how baneful opium is to human life !

“ And having smoked it still longer, the constitution begins to give way, the interior gradually decays, thousands of worms and maggots gnaw the intestines, their faces become discolored, their teeth black, their appearance like charcoal, their shoulders rise to their ears, their necks shrink in, the thrapple protrudes, and their whole frame is hateful as that of a ghost or devil (which is the reason why they are called *A peen kwei* or opium smoking devils), and in fine, they insensibly hug their bane, till death overtakes them in the very act ! This is the second view that I present of the horrors of opium !

“ Further, people who are in the habit of smoking opium, require the most costly viands to nourish them, and of these costly viands, the *renovating item* is the most costly of all ! Day by day it goes on increasing from one and two mace, to five and six mace ; there is no certain rule, but they reckon a mace of opium as among their necessaries of life. A man’s wealth, as well as his strength, has its bounds : even a rich man may not always be able to fill or replenish this leak in the cup, how much less then a poor man ? The evil habit thus leads to one cruelly neglecting the comfort of his father and mother, and leads to his unfeelingly exposing his wife

and children to cold and want; he cares not for his morning or evening meal, but to do without his opium, were impossible! This then is the third view that I present of the evils of opium!

“ Moreover, opium smokers, by indulging chiefly in their baneful habit at night-time, waste many candles and consume much oil. Till morning they do not sleep, and while the sun shines upon the world, and other men rise to go to work, the opium smoker alone is still in his slumbers! Thus by not getting up till midday in constant succession, the employed neglects his public duties, the scholar flings aside his book, the workman’s occupation goes to ruin, the merchant drains his substance, the soldier and officer become slothful and impotent, and the servant lazy in obeying his master’s commands: thus then, by it, time is mispent, duty neglected, wealth dissipated, life lost, and families overtaken by destruction! This is the fourth view that I present of the pernicious effects of opium.

“ Now, in reference to these four points of view in which I have shown opium to be a great calamity, it is not that people don’t *see* it, it is not that people don’t *know* it; but still, such is the fact, that with all this staring them in the face, they mutually hasten, they mutually urge each other to their bane, and contentedly yield up their lives to its noxious influence! As the waters of the great river flow to the east, and day by day roll on without ceasing; so we find of this evil habit, when it first began, that those who smoked, avoided the gaze of other men, they kept their shame secret and feared to avow it; *now*, however, it is taken in public, and even served up as a treat to guests and strangers! At first, none but slaves and the vilest of the vile smoked it; *now*, however, it has infected the capped and gowned gentry of the land! At first, it was merely used by the people of Canton and Fokien, and those parts which border on the sea; *now*, however, it has gone east and west, it has crossed the frontiers into Tartary, nor is there a province of the empire where it has not found its way! At first, none but a few depraved wretches of the male sex used it, and *now* we find that even Bonzes, Taou priests, married women, and young girls are addicted to the life-destroying drug. In every item! in every respect! is the evil becoming daily more grave, more deeply rooted than before! so much so, that its baneful influence seems to threaten little by little to degrade the whole population of the Celestial Empire to a level with reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine! When the people of our empire shall have been degraded to this brutish level, then the three relations will be annihilated,* the nine laws or punishments will cease to act, the five businesses of life will be utterly neglected, man’s reason at an end for ever, and unnumbered woes will arise! From the time that

* The three relations, (or bonds), viz.: prince and people, father and son, husband and wife.

there ever was people until now, never, never, was there a calamity, which, in its first beginnings so bland, so bewitching, threatened to consume all things with its blaze, like as this fearful drug!

“Above, our sovereign, and his virtuous ministers brood over this national misfortune, and lament the havoc it has made: below, all good men, and all disinterested employers, exert themselves to counteract its effects: yet are they unable to arrest its progress! When one reflects on all these things, even granting that the final sentence of the law should be awarded to those men who have caused such disasters, who is there that may lift up his voice and say, ‘it would not be right so to do?’ Nor does the evil stop here. Those foreigners by means of their poison dupe and befool the natives of China! It is not only that year by year they abstract thereby many millions of our money, but the direful appearances seem to indicate a wish on their part, utterly to root out and extinguish us as a people!* I repeat, that from the time of our becoming a nation until now, never did any evil, at first so bland, so enticing, blaze so fearfully as does this dreadful poison!

“My countrymen of China well know the dangerous position they stand in, yet they contentedly hug their bane, which brings on them ruin and death! Thus it is, that by land and by water, in the public markets and in the mountain passes, those who sell opium, are to be met with by hundreds and by thousands at a time! These are all so many cut-throat ruffians, as careless of their own lives, as of those of others; they go about, with their swords and spears all prepared, in order to prosecute with violence their illegal calling: equally depraved are the police and soldiery, for they, in order to turn their employment to good account, pretend that they are searching for the prohibited drug, and under this excuse turn the baggage of the lawful traveller upside down, and subject good people to every species of annoyance. These evils and abuses day by day become more wide-spreading, more deeply-rooted, and they are entirely brought on by the *smokers of opium!* When I reflect upon this, it seems to me, that, though every one of these said opium-smokers should be exterminated, yet would not their death be sufficient to atone for the crimes they have committed, for the evils they have brought about!

“Now I have heard that our gracious Emperor, after mature consultation, is about to take this abandoned class of his subjects, and utterly cut them off! the necessity of the case imperiously calls for it, and reason strongly justifies the measure! Why is it that I thus express myself? Why, because a crime committed against an individual, against his property, or against a fraction of the community, is a small matter compared with one which threatens to put the whole empire in a blaze! and amidst a calamity

* Many Chinese are under the impression that it is our object to take their country by means of opium.

which thus affects the country from one end to another, is our sovereign lord to sit quietly looking on and see it raging, without putting forth the rod of his power to punish and repress? Moreover, such are the dictates of reason that guide mankind: where there are those who degrade themselves to a level with reptiles, wild beasts, dogs, and swine, their fellow men despise them: where their fellow-men despise them, they also reject and cast them off: thus misery is superadded to misery, and looking upon them like birds of prey, we may hunt them down, or as herbs, we may root them up, without the least feeling of pity or compunction! it is only they who have brought this woe upon themselves!

“Now, although happiness is built upon a foundation, misery has also a source from which it springs, and amidst the discord of those warring principles, it belongs to those above to seize the opportunity of bringing forth good out of evil! In reference to this, Chin-tung-foo has said. ‘When the bulk of the people are joyfully hastening to their ruin, and when it is not in the power of gods or devils to change their course, *man can do it!* and if it be asked me, how can man change their course? I reply, by killing in order to stay killing!’ (i. e. by putting a few to death, as an example and warning to others). Now, therefore, in reference to opium smokers, if we do not impose those laws upon them, they will die from the pernicious properties of the drug:—if we do impose those laws upon them, then will they die under the hand of the executioner:—but it seems better that a few should perish under the hand of the executioner, with the prospect of being able to arrest the evil, than that they should die from opium and our race become exterminated.

“Again, there are appearances in nature as if heaven* and earth at times repent of unnecessary severity; moreover, the holiest of men trembles while punishing wickedness, if he has not distinctly warned the parties beforehand. Obscure individual that I am, not being in the situation of the high officers of government, I cannot presume to know or regulate their plans, and for me thus to obtrude my impertinent advice, may justly be reckoned unto me as a crime! But I look upon ye all as of the same species with myself, as my brethren of the human race: in the midst of my retirement I have thought of your situation with grief and pain: and I deeply pity you, seeing the terrors of the law about to take hold of you! I have, therefore, composed a short discourse, which with the kindest bowels of compassion, I offer up for your perusal, earnestly hoping that my brethren will give good heed to

* “Heaven” is said to repent of severity by the Chinese; e. g. supposing heaven to have visited the land with long drought, when the refreshing rain falls, this is said to be a proof of heaven repenting, and vice versâ. The meaning of the author is, that as “heaven” has been cruel in permitting the opium poison to rage over the land, perhaps He will relent, and bless the vigorous measures we are now taking to put a stop to it.

the faithfulness of my intentions, and deeply ponder upon my words! It is to the following effect:

“Every man who is endowed with the gift of reason, knows to prize his life above all things: from the time our feeble body is scarce a cubit high, if it be wounded, we mourn and weep! In childhood, when traversing a dangerous road at dead midnight, we tremble and mutually warn each other to beware; whatever enticement may be held out, we reject it with suspicion and feel alarmed to proceed: this is, *because we fear to die!* And when grown to man’s estate, whatever is noxious to our persons, we endeavour to avoid with the utmost anxiety; if we cannot succeed in avoiding it, we feel sorrowful and perhaps repair to a temple to implore divine aid. From childhood till old age, without distinguishing between the virtuous and the depraved, the noble and the base, the object of all our active exertions by night and by day, the object for which we rack our minds with the most intense anxiety, is merely to obtain what will benefit us, and avoid what will injure us: to follow after happiness, to shun misery, and *nothing more*. If we are overcome by dangers or sickness, we are sad: if informed that we are about to die, we are sorrowful: such is the nature of man, and *opium smokers* offer the only exception! These run after their death! these sit contentedly on the brink of danger! even as the silly moth, which keeps fluttering round the candle which consumes him! Among men, there is no one who does not like the idea of making his name famous or honourable: if you upbraid a man with being depraved, he gets angry: if you still further insult him, by telling him that his heart is cruel as that of a wild beast or bird of prey, that he is deficient of knowledge as the reptile that crawls on the ground, and that he cannot be classed as one of the human species: methinks that at language of this kind, his eyes must ‘like stars start from their spheres! and each particular hair must stand on end like quills upon the fretful porcupine!’* He must put himself in a posture of defiance, and hurl back the reproach with a curse! But opium smokers are alone different in this respect! They, it is true, do not *wish* to receive such insults, but not wishing to receive the name, and doing that which induces the appellation, is very much the same as sitting down contentedly under the reproach. Therefore it is, that they who smoke opium and clearly know that it is destroying their life, are guilty of folly: they who smoke opium, and know that while they do so, it is sullyng their name and reputation, are lost to every sense of shame! and those who associate with the lowest of the low, the vilest of the vile, and who in the company of such, turn day into night, have forgotten every rule of decency and propriety! To smoke opium, and not to look after the comfort of your parents, is to play the part of an undutiful child! to smoke opium and give no heed to the instruction of your son, is not fulfilling your duty as a father! to smoke opium and care not though

* This expresses somewhat the meaning of the writer.

your wife suffer cold and want, is what no kind husband would do: to corrupt the manners and customs of the age, and entail calamities upon posterity, is to be a robber of the world: to violate the laws, to break through the regulations, and not to repent of your crime, is the conduct of a rebel: to take the intelligent and educated mind of a Chinese, and prostitute it so as to be duped by distant foreigners, with their corroding poison, to heap up unnumbered crimes, to refuse to awake from your delusion, and to die with it in your embrace, shows that ye know not reason, and that your hearts are like those of the brutes!

“Now then ye who smoke opium! look at the nine foregoing crimes that ye commit! and when ye take up the opium pipe to smoke, do one and all of you put the hand upon the heart, and ask yourselves: Do I deserve death, or not? ought I to leave off this hateful vice, or not? People who have rebelled against high heaven, who have injured their fellow-men, who have opposed reason, who have trampled on the five relations of mankind, who have set at defiance every rule of decency and propriety: methinks that though our sovereign’s laws may not slay them, yet that heaven and earth, gods and spirits, must exterminate them with their avenging lightning! And though you may escape our human punishments, think you that you can escape the punishment of heaven? although you have human faces and dress like men, though your houses may overflow with wealth, and you may fare on dainties every day, yet loaded as you are with every species of guilt, I can find no difference between you and reptiles, wild beasts, dogs and swine! Can ye hear a reproach of this kind, without starting with horror! without the cold sweat trickling down your foreheads!

“Before I finish, a word to you who are mandarins, and employers in government offices. It belongs to you to rule the people! You try their crimes, and you award their punishments! Let me ask of you, supposing you were called upon to judge *your own* crimes in this respect, pray by what law or statute would you judge them? And ye who are scholars and learned men! Ye have already studied a great many works! Ye know what propriety is! Let me then ask of you, supposing you were called upon to give an opinion of *your own* conduct in this respect, pray under what standard of propriety would you class it? For the operative, for the merchant, and for every class and description of the people, are there laws made and punishments annexed,—but for you!”

The authorities at Canton, in order to deter, if possible, the English from prosecuting the opium traffic, executed a Chinese, on 27th February, 1839, who had been found with opium, opposite the British factories.

The following is a description of the mode in which the punishment of death is inflicted for dealing in opium. The execution

here referred to, took place outside the wall of Macao, and was also intended as a warning to foreigners. About five o'clock a large number of Chinese, together with some foreigners, assembled outside the wall, near the Saint Antonio gate. The *Tso-tang* of Macao arrived, and with him from fifty to sixty police runners. A few minutes afterwards the *Yew-foo*, military officers from Casa Branca, the *Fleang-shan-teen*, district magistrate of Fleang-shan, and *Keun-min-foo*, of Casa Branca, came in rotation, followed by the unfortunate culprit, in a bamboo cage, borne by the two executioners, and guarded by about one hundred of the imperial infantry, armed with boarding pikes, and other formidable weapons of war. There were two bamboo matted sheds built up for this occasion, the distance between them being from thirty-five to forty yards; one of these sheds was furnished with chairs and tables, where the mandarins seated themselves after having exchanged the customary civilities one with the other; the other was the place for the execution, and contained merely a slight wooden cross, about six feet in height, with a hole in the upper part, immediately above the horizontal cross-piece. Three guns were fired as a signal to prepare for the execution of the culprit. With his arms and legs heavily loaded with shackles of iron, he was literally shaken out of the cage, a most pitiable looking object, covered with filth, and so emaciated from an existence of about four months in a Chinese prison, as to seem more dead than alive. He was dragged to the place of execution, and placed standing on a piece of brick, touching the cross with his back. The executioners commenced by lashing a rope round his legs, under the arms, and then through a hole in the upper part of the cross; after which it was placed several times round his neck, and again through the hole. They then made use of a stick, resembling a long arrow, about five feet in length, which was passed through the loops of the cord, and twisted round several times, for the purpose of tightening the rope, so as to effect strangulation. No apparent signal, other than the removal of the piece of brick from under the feet, was given for the fatal turning of the stick. The expression of the poor man's countenance did not change, nor was he perceived to make any struggle. The manner in which his arms and legs were tied must account for the latter circumstance. When the unfortunate victim of our cupidity had been dead about ten minutes, the mandarins departed under a salute of three guns, and shortly afterwards the executioners followed, but not until they had fully assured themselves, by examining the mouth and eyes of the culprit, that he was quite dead. They left him still fastened to the cross, but removed from his hands and feet the shackles, with which up to this time they had been bound. The body was ordered to continue hanging on the cross for three days, *as a spectacle and warning to all dealers in opium and others*; after which period his friends would have permission to remove the body, on

their application for the same. The name of the unfortunate man was Kwok-pung; he kept a small shop for twenty years, at Shaletton, a village on the eastern side of the inner harbour of Macao, in the neighbourhood of the place of execution. He bore an excellent character among all those who had any dealings with him, and was seized on for having sold only a few balls or cakes of opium, on account of another party.

Kwok-pung was about forty-five years of age, he left three wives, several children, and a numerous circle of connexions to lament his untimely end.

About the middle of March 1839, a remarkable letter was addressed by Commissioner Lin to the Queen of England, and His Excellency expressed an anxious desire to know how he should convey his missive to Her Majesty. The Hong merchants at Canton obtained the annexed copy of the letter in question :

Letter to the Queen of England from the Imperial Commissioner, &c.

“ Lin, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Hoo,—Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang,—and E., a vice-director of the Board of War, and lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung,—conjointly address this communication to the sovereign of the English nation, for the purpose of requiring the interdiction of opium.

“ That in the ways of Heaven no partiality exists, and no sanction is allowed to the injuring of others for the advantage of one’s self,—that in men’s natural desires there is not any great diversity, (for where is he who does not abhor death and seek life?)—these are universally acknowledged principles;—and your honourable nation, though beyond the wide ocean, at a distance of twenty thousand miles, acknowledges the same ways of Heaven, the same human nature, and has the like perception of the distinctions between life and death, benefit and injury.

“ Our heavenly court has for its family all that is within the four seas; the great Emperor’s Heaven-like benevolence—there is none whom it does not overshadow: even regions remote, desert, and disconnected, have a part in the general care of life and of wellbeing.

“ In Kwangtung, since the removal of the interdicts upon maritime communication, there has been a constantly flowing stream of commercial intercourse. The people of the land, and those who come from abroad in foreign ships, have reposed together in the enjoyment of its advantages, for tens of years past, even until this time. And as regards the rhubarb, teas, raw silk, and similar rich and valuable products of China, should foreign nations be deprived of these, they would be

without the means of continuing life. So that the Heavenly court, by granting, in the oneness of its common benevolence, permission for the sale and exportation thereof,—and that without stint and grudge,—has indeed extended its favours to the utmost circuit [of the nations], making its heart one with the core of Heaven and earth.

“But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people, who having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons, and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late, from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source—its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. It is not to be denied that the simple folk, inasmuch as they indulge their appetite at the expense of their lives, are indeed themselves the authors of their miseries: and why then should they be pitied? Yet, in the universal empire under the sway of the great and pure dynasty, it is of essential import, for the right direction of men’s minds, that their customs and manners should be formed to correctness. How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas, should be left wilfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is, that those who deal in opium, or who inhale its fumes, within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing.

“We have reflected, that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honourable nation. Doubtless, you, the honourable sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. But amid the various nations there are a few only that make this opium; it is by no means the case that all the nations are herein alike. And we have heard that in your honorable nation, too, the people are not permitted to inhale the drug, and that offenders in this particular expose themselves to sure punishment. It is clearly from a knowledge of its injurious effects on man, that you have directed severe prohibitions against it. But what is the prohibition of its use, in comparison with the prohibition of its being sold—of its being manufactured,—as a means of thoroughly purifying the source?

“Though not making use of it one’s self, to venture nevertheless on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is, to seek one’s own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one’s own advantage by other men’s injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man—are utterly opposed to the ways of Heaven. To the vigorous sway exercised by the celestial court over both the civil-

ized and the barbarous, what difficulty presents itself to hinder the immediate taking of life? But as we contemplate and give substantial being to the fullness and vastness of the sacred intelligence, it befits us to adopt first the course of admonition. And not having as yet sent any communication to your honourable sovereignty,—should severest measures of interdiction be all at once enforced, it might be said, in excuse, that no previous knowledge thereof had been possessed.

“We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty, means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it,—and you, in the nations under your dominion, forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honourable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these Heavens and this Earth, of any portion of the hurtful thing. Not only then will the people of this land be relieved from its pernicious influence: but the people of your honorable nation too (for as they make, how know we that they do not also smoke it?) will, when the manufacture is indeed forbidden, be likewise relieved from the danger of its use. Will not the result of this be the enjoyment by each of a felicitous condition of peace? For your honorable nation’s sense of duty being thus devout, shows a clear apprehension of celestial principles, and the supreme Heavens will ward off from you all calamities. It is also in perfect accordance with human nature, and must surely meet the approbation of sages.

“Besides all this, the opium being so severely prohibited in this land, that there will be none found to smoke it, should your nation continue its manufacture, it will be discovered after all that no place will afford opportunity for selling it, that no profits will be attainable. Is it not far better to turn and seek other occupation than vainly to labour in the pursuit of a losing employment?

“And furthermore, whatever opium can be discovered in this land is entirely committed to the flames, and consumed. If any be again introduced in foreign vessels, it too must be subjected to a like process of destruction. It may well be feared, lest other commodities imported in such vessels should meet a common fate—the gem and the pebble not being distinguished. Under these circumstances, gain being no longer acquirable, and hurt having assumed a visible form, such as desire the injury of others will find that they themselves are the first to be injured.

“The powerful instrumentality whereby the celestial court holds in subjection all nations, is truly divine and awe-inspiring beyond the power of computation. Let it not be said that early warning of this has not been given.

“When your majesty receives this document, let us have a speedy communication in reply, advertising us of the measures you adopt for the entire cutting off the opium in every seaport. Earnestly reflect hereon. Earnestly observe these things.

“Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d month, —— day. Communication sent to the Sovereign of the English nation.”

It is presumed that this beautiful and convincing letter never reached the Queen of England.

The commissioner arrived in Canton the beginning of March 1839, and on the 18th issued an edict to foreigners of all nations.

“Lin, high imperial commissioner of the Celestial Court, a director of the Board of War, and governor of Hookwang, issues his commands to the foreigners of every nation, requiring of all full acquaintance with the tenor thereof. It is known that the foreign vessels which come for a reciprocal trade to Kwangtung, have derived from that trade very large profits. This is evidenced by the facts, that, whereas the vessels annually resorting hither were formerly reckoned hardly by tens, their number has of late years amounted to a hundred and several times ten; that whatever commodities they may have brought, none have failed to find a full consumption; and whatever they may have sought to purchase, never have they been unable readily to do so. Let them but ask themselves whether between heaven and earth, any place affording so advantageous a commercial mart is elsewhere to be found. It is because our great emperors, in their universal benevolence, have granted you commercial privileges, that you have been favoured with these advantages. Let our port once be closed against you, and for what profits can your several nations any longer look? Yet more—our tea and our rhubarb—seeing that, should you foreigners be deprived of them, you therein lose the means of preserving life—are without stint or grudge granted to you for exportation, year by year, beyond the seas. Favours never have been greater! Are you grateful for these favours? You must then fear the laws, and in seeking profit for yourselves, must not do hurt to others. *Why do you bring to our land the opium, which in your own lands is not made use of, by it defrauding men of their property, and causing injury to their lives?* I find that with this thing you have seduced and deluded the people of China for tens of years past, and countless are the unjust hoards that you have thus acquired. Such conduct rouses indignation in every human heart, and is utterly inexcusable in the eye of Celestial reason.

“The prohibitions formerly enacted by the Celestial Court against opium were comparatively lax, and it was yet possible to smuggle the drug into the various ports. Of this the great Emperor having now heard, his wrath has been fearfully aroused, nor will it rest till the evil be utterly extirpated? Whoever among the people of this inner land deal in opium, or establish houses for the smoking of it, shall be instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the

laws ; and it is in contemplation to render capital also the crime of smoking the drug. And you, having come into the territory of the Celestial Court, should pay obedience to its laws and statutes, equally with the natives of the land.

“I, the high commissioner, having my home in the maritime province of Fookien, and consequently having early had intimate acquaintance with all the arts and shifts of the outer foreigners, have for this reason been honoured by the great Emperor with the full powers and privileges of a high imperial commissioner, who having repeatedly performed meritorious services, is sent to settle the affairs of the outer frontier : should I search closely into the offences of these foreigners, in forcing for a number of years the sale of opium, they would be found already beyond the bounds of indulgence ; but, reflecting that they are men from distant lands, and that they have not before been aware, that the prohibition of opium is so severe, I cannot bear, in the present plain enforcement of the laws and restrictions, to cut them off without instructive monition. I find that on board the warehousing vessels, which you now have lying at anchor in the Lintin and other off-ings, there are stored up several times ten thousand chests of opium, which it is your purpose and desire illicitly to dispose of by sale. You do not consider, however, the present severity of the measures in operation, for seizure of it at the ports. Where will you again find any that will dare to give it escort ? And similar measures for the seizure of it are in operation also in every province. Where else then will you yet find opportunity of disposing of it ? At the present time the dealings in opium are brought utterly to a stand, and all men are convinced that it is a nauseous poison. Why will you be at the pains then of laying it up on board your foreign store-ships, and of keeping them long anchored on the face of the open sea, not only expending to no purpose your labour and your wealth, but exposed also to unforeseen dangers from storms or from fire. I proceed to issue my commands. When these commands reach the said foreign merchants, let them with all haste pay obedience thereto. Let them deliver up to government every particle of the opium on board their store-ships. Let it be ascertained by the Hong merchants, who are the parties so delivering it up, and what number of chests is delivered up under each name, and what is the total quantity in catties and taels. Let these particulars be brought together in a clear tabular form, and be presented to government, in order that the opium may all be received in plain conformity thereto, that it may be burnt and destroyed, and that thus the evil may be entirely extirpated. There must not be the smallest atom concealed or withheld. At the same time let these foreigners give a bond, written jointly in the foreign and Chinese languages, making a declaration of this effect : ‘ That their vessels, which shall hereafter resort hither, will never again dare to bring opium with them :

and that should any be brought, as soon as discovery shall be made of it, the goods shall be forfeited to government, and the parties shall suffer the extreme penalties of the law: and that such punishment will be willingly submitted to. I have heard that you foreigners are used to attach great importance to the word '*good faith.*' If then you will really do as I, the high commissioner, have commanded,—will deliver up every particle of the opium that is already here, and will stay altogether its future introduction, as this will prove also that you are capable of feeling contrition for your offences, and of entertaining a salutary dread of punishment, the past may yet be left unnoticed. I, the high commissioner, will, in that case, in conjunction with the governor and lieutenant-governor, address the throne, imploring the great Emperor to vouchsafe extraordinary favour, and not alone to remit the punishment of your past errors, but also—as we will further request—to devise some mode of bestowing on you his imperial rewards, as an encouragement of the spirit of contrition and wholesome dread thus manifested by you. After this, you will continue to enjoy the advantages of commercial intercourse; and, as you will not lose the character of being good foreigners, and will be enabled to acquire profits and get wealth by an honest trade, will you not indeed stand in a most honourable position?

“If, however, you obstinately adhere to your folly and refuse to awake—if you think to make up a sale covering over your illicit dealings—or to set up as a pretext, that the opium is brought by foreign seamen, and the foreign merchants have nothing to do with it—or to pretend, craftily, that you will carry it back to your countries, or will throw it into the sea—or to take occasion to go to other provinces in search of a door of consumption—or to stifle inquiry, by delivering up only one or two-tenths of the whole quantity; in any of these cases it will be evident that you retain a spirit of contumacy and disobedience, that you uphold vice and will not reform. Then, although it is the maxim of the Celestial Court to treat with tenderness and great mildness men from afar, yet, as it cannot suffer them to indulge in scornful and contemptuous trifling with it, it will become requisite to comprehend you also in the severe course of punishment prescribed by the new law.

“On this occasion, I, the high commissioner, having come from the capital, have personally received the sacred commands: that wherever a law exists, it is to be fully enforced. And as I have brought these full powers and privileges, enabling me to perform whatever seems to me right; powers with which those ordinarily given, for inquiring and acting in regard to other matters, are by no means comparable; so long as the opium traffic remains unextinguished, so long will I delay my return. I swear that I will progress with this matter from its beginning to its ending, and

that not a thought of stopping half-way shall for a moment be indulged.

“Furthermore, observing the present condition of the popular mind, I find so universal a spirit of indignation aroused, that should you foreigners remain dead to a sense of contrition and amendment, and continue to make gain your sole object, there will not only be arrayed against you the martial terrors and powerful energies of our naval and military forces; it will be but necessary to call on the able-bodied of the people, (the militia), and these alone will be more than adequate to the placing all your lives within my power. Besides, either by the temporary stoppage of your trade, or by the permanent closing of the ports against you, what difficulty can there be in effectually cutting off your intercourse? Our central empire, comprising a territory of many thousands of miles, and possessing in rich abundance all the products of the ground, has no benefit to derive from the purchase of your foreign commodities, and you may, therefore, well fear, that from the moment such measures are taken, the livelihood of your several nations must come to an end. You, who have travelled so far, to conduct your commercial business, how is it that you are not yet alive to the great difference between the condition of vigorous exertions, and that of easy repose—the wide distance between the power of the few and the power of the many? As to those crafty foreigners, who, residing in the foreign factories, have been in the habit of dealing in opium, I, the high commissioner, have early been provided with a list of them by name. At the same time, those good foreigners, who have not sold opium, must also not fail to be distinguished. Such of them as will point out their depraved fellow-foreigners, will compel them to deliver up their opium, and will step forth amongst the foremost to give the required bonds—these shall be regarded as the good foreigners. And I, the high commissioner, will at once, for their encouragement, reward them liberally. It rests with yourselves alone to choose whether you will have weal or woe, honour or disgrace.

“I am now about to command the Hong merchants to proceed to your factories, to instrust and admonish you. A term of three days is prescribed for an address to be sent in reply to me. And at the same time let your duly attested and faithful bonds be given, waiting for me, in conjunction with the governor and lieutenant-governor, to appoint a time for the opium to be delivered up. Do not indulge in idle expectations, or seek to postpone matters, deferring to repent, until its lateness render it ineffectual. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 2nd month, 4th day, (March 18th, 1839).

(True translation).

J. ROBERT MORRISON,

“Chinese Secretary, and Interpreter to
the Superintendent of British Trade
in China,”

Along with the above, the Hong merchants received, while on their knees before the commissioner, an address to themselves—several of whom, as well as a number of the linguists and a com-pradors of the foreigners, he had previously examined.

On 19th March, the High Commissioner ordered that no leave or passes be given to foreigners to proceed from Canton to Macao. The next step of his Excellency was to stop all commercial inter-course, to prevent communication with the shipping at Whampoa; troops were collected around Canton, and armed cruisers were stationed in front of the foreign factories. When the three days elapsed, on which the opium was ordered to be surrendered, he threatened to take off the heads of two of the Hong mer-chants; viz.: Howqua and Mowqua, who were deprived of their official buttons, and brought before the high commissioner at the Cohong, or public exchange room of the Hong merchants, with chains round their necks. The British and other foreign resi-dents held a meeting, at their chamber of commerce, at Canton, and sent a deputation to the Hong merchants, with a copy of a resolution of the chamber, declaring that there was “an almost unanimous feeling in the community, of the absolute necessity of the foreign residents at Canton, having no communication with the opium traffic.”

(Signed)

W. S. WETMORE, Chairman.

To this the Hong merchants replied, that unless some opium was given up, two of their number would be beheaded in the morn-ing. Several of the foreign traders there, stated they would give up 1,037 chests. This was rejected by the commissioner as in-sufficient. On 24th March, Captain Elliot, then Her Majesty's superintendent of trade, arrived from Macao at Canton, with a view of protecting Her Majesty's subjects. On his arrival a cor-don of guards and boats was closely drawn around the factories, in which there were more than two hundred foreigners. Rafts were laid across the river, to prevent boats arriving from Macao or Whampoa, all letters were prevented being sent from the fac-tories; the Chinese servants were forced to leave them, and the foreign residents were compelled to attend on themselves, and per-form all household duties.

On 26th March, Commissioner Lin issued the following edict:

Proclamation from his excellency, the high commissioner Lin, de-siring foreigners speedily to deliver up their Opium, under four heads, or four reasons:—

“Firstly. Ye ought to make haste and deliver it up, by virtue of that reason which Heaven hath implanted in all of us. I find that during the last several tens of years, the money out of which you

have duped our people by means of your destructive drug, amounts I know not to how many tens of thousands of myriads. Thus, while you have been scheming after private advantage, with minds solely bent on profit, our people have been wasting their substance, and losing their lives; and if the reason of Heaven be just, think you that there will be no retribution? If, however, ye will now repent and deliver up your opium, by a well-timed repentance, ye may yet avert judgment and calamities: if not, then your wickedness being greater, the consequences of that wickedness will fall more fearfully upon you! Ye are distant from your homes many tens of thousand miles; your ships, in coming and going cross a vast and trackless ocean; in it ye are exposed to the visitations of thunder and lightning, and raging storms, to the dangers of being swallowed up by monsters of the deep; and under such perils, fear ye not the retributive vengeance of Heaven? Now our great Emperor, being actuated by the exalted virtue of Heaven itself, wishes to cut off this deluge of opium, which is the plainest proof that such is the intention of high Heaven! It is then a traffic on which Heaven looks with disgust; and who is he that may oppose its will? Thus, in the instance of the English chief Roberts who violated our laws; he endeavoured to get possession of Macao by force, and at Macao he died! Again, in the 14th year of Taoukwang (1834), Lord Napier bolted through the Bocca Tigris, but being overwhelmed with grief and fear he almost immediately died; and Morrison, who had been darkly deceiving him, died that very year also! Besides these, every one of those who have not observed our laws, have either on their return to their own country been overtaken by the judgments of Heaven, or silently cut off ere they could return thither! Thus then it is manifest that the heavenly dynasty may not be opposed! And still, oh, ye foreigners, do you refuse to fear and tremble thereat?

“Secondly. You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, in order to comply with the law of your own countries, which prohibits the smoking of opium, and he who uses it is adjudged to death! Thus plainly showing that ye yourselves know it to be an article destructive to human life. If then, your laws forbid it to be consumed by yourselves, and yet permit it to be sold that it may be consumed by others, this is not in conformity with the principle of doing unto others what you would that they should do unto you: if on the other hand, your laws prohibit its being sold, and ye yet continue to sell it by stealth, then are ye sporting with the laws of your own countries! And, moreover, the laws of our Chinese empire look upon the seller as guilty of a crime of a deeper dye, than the mere smoker of opium. Now you foreigners, although ye were born in an outer country, yet for your property and maintenance do you depend entirely upon our Chinese Empire; and in our central land ye

pass the greater part of your lives, and the lesser portion of your lives is passed at home; the food that ye eat every day, not less than the vast fortunes ye amass, proceed from nought but the goodness of our Emperor; which is showered upon you in far greater profusion than upon our own people. And how is it then, that ye alone know not to tremble and obey before the sacred majesty of your laws! In former times, although opium was prohibited, yet the penalty attached thereto, did not amount to a very severe punishment, this arose from the extreme mildness of our government; and therefore it was that your clandestine dealings in the drug were not scrutinized with any extraordinary rigor. Now, however, our great emperor looks upon the opium trade with the most intense loathing, and burns to have it cut off for ever; so that henceforward, not only is he who sells it adjudged to death, but he who does not more than smoke it must also undergo the same penalty of the laws! Now try and reflect for one moment. If ye did not bring this opium to China how should the people of our inner land be able either to sell or smoke it? The lives of our people which are forfeited to the laws, are taken from them by your unrighteous procedure; then what reason is there that the lives of our own people should be thus sacrificed, and that ye alone should escape the awful penalty? Now I, the high commissioner, looking up to the great Emperor, and feeling in my own person his sacred desire to love and cherish the men from afar, do mercifully spare you your lives. I wish nothing more than that ye deliver up all the opium you have got, and forthwith write out a duly prepared bond, to the effect, that you will henceforth never more bring opium to China, and should you bring it, agreeing that the cargo be confiscated, and the people who bring it put to death. This is pardoning what is past, and taking preventive measures against the future: why any longer cherish a foolish indiscriminate generosity! Moreover, without discussing about the opium which ye have sold in bygone years, and adding up its immense amounts; let us only speak about that quantity which during the last years ye have clandestinely sold, which I presume was no small matter, hardly equal to the quantity which ye have now stored up in your receiving ships, and which I desire may be entirely surrendered to the mutual advantage of all. Where is there the slightest chance or prospect that after this you will be permitted to dupe our deluded people out of their money, or inveigle them to do an act in which destruction overtakes them? I have with deep respect examined the statutes of this the Ta Tsing dynasty, and upon these statutes I find it recorded, 'If a Chinese or a foreigner break the laws they shall be judged and condemned by the same statutes;' and words to that effect. Now upon former occasions we have condemned foreigners to death, as in the case of having killed our people, they require to give life for life, of which we have instances recorded. Now think for a

little: depriving an individual of his life is a crime committed in a moment, and still the perpetrator of it must forfeit his own life in return. But he who sells opium has laid a plot to swindle a man out of his money, as well as to deprive him of his life; and how can one say that it is only a single individual, or a single family that the opium seller thus dupes and entangles in destruction! And for a crime of this magnitude, ought one to die or not to die? And still will ye refuse to deliver up your opium? Which is the way to preserve your lives? Oh, ye foreigners, do ye deeply ponder upon this!

“Thirdly. You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, by reason of your feelings as men. Ye come to this market of Canton to trade, and ye profit thereby full threefold. Every article of commerce that ye bring with you, no matter whether it be coarse or fine, in whole pieces or in small, there is not one iota of it that is not sold off and consumed; and of the produce of our country, whether it be for feeding you, for clothing you, for any kind of use, or for mere sale, there is not a description that we do not permit you to take away with you: so that not only do you reap the profit of the inner land by the goods which you bring, but moreover by means of the produce of our central land, do you gather gold from every country to which you transport it. Supposing that you cut off and cast away your traffic in the single article of opium, then the other business which you do will be much increased, you will thereon reap your threefold profit comfortably; and you may, as previously, go on acquiring wealth in abundance: thus neither violating the laws, nor laying up store for after misery. What happiness, what delight will be yours. But if on the other hand, ye will persist in carrying on the opium traffic, then such a course of conduct must infallibly lead to the cutting off of your general trade. I would like to ask of you, if under the whole heaven ye have such an excellent market as this is? Then without discussion about tea and rhubarb, things which you could not exist without; and every kind and description of silk, a thing which you could not carry on your manufacture without, there are under the head of eatable articles, white sugar-candy, cassia, cassia buds, &c., &c.; and under the head of articles for use, vermillion, gamboge, alum, camphor, &c.: how can your countries do without these? And yet our central land is heaped up and overflowing with every kind of commodity; and has not the slightest occasion for any of your importations from abroad. If on account of opium, the port be closed against you, and it is no longer in your power to trade more, will it not be yourselves, who have brought it upon yourselves? Nay, further, as regards the article of opium, there is now no man who dares to buy it, and yet ye store it up in your receiving ships, where you have so much to pay per month for rent; day and night ye must have labouring men to watch and guard. And why all this useless and

enormous expense? A single typhoon, or one blaze of fire, and they are forthwith overwhelmed by the billows, or they sink amid the consuming element! These are all things very likely to happen! What better plan then, than at once to deliver up your opium, and to reap enjoyments and rewards by so doing?

“Fourthly. You ought to make a speedy delivery of your opium by reason of the necessity of the case. Ye foreigners from afar, in coming hither to trade, have passed over an unbounded ocean; your prospect for doing business depends entirely on your living on terms of harmony with your fellow-men, and keeping your own station in peace and quietness. Thus may you reap solid advantage, and avoid misfortune! But if you will persist in selling your opium, and will go on involving the lives of our foolish people in your toils, there is not a good or upright man whose head and heart will not burn with indignation at your conduct; they must look upon the lives of those who have suffered for smoking, and selling the drug as sacrificed by you; the simple country folks and the common people must feel anything but well pleased, and the wrath of a whole country is not a thing easily restrained: these are circumstances about which ye cannot but feel anxious! The men who go abroad are said to adhere bigotedly to a sense of honour. Now our officers are every one of them appealing to your sense of honour, and on the contrary we find (to our amazement) that ye have not the slightest particle of honour about you! Are ye quite tranquil and composed at this? And will ye yet acknowledge the necessity of the case or not? Moreover, viewing it as an article which ought never to be sold at all, and more especially considering that it is not permitted to be sold at this present moment, what difficulty should you make about the matter? why feel the smallest regret to part with it? Still further, as ye do not consume it in your own country, why bootlessly take it back? If you do not now deliver it up to the government, pray what will be the use of keeping it on hand! After having once made the delivery of it, your trade will go on flourishing more abundantly than ever! Tokens of our regard will be heaped on you to overflowing. I, the high commissioner, as well as the governor, and lieutenant-governor, cannot bear the idea of being unnecessarily harsh and severe, therefore, it is that, though I thus weary my mouth, as it were, entreating and exhorting you, yet do I not shrink from the task! Happiness, and misery, glory and disgrace, are in your own hand! Say not that I did not give you early warning thereof! A special proclamation, to be stuck up before the foreign factories.”

“Taoukwan, 19th year, 2nd month, 12th day. [March 26th, 1839.]”

Commissioner Lin might as well have preached to the winds, as to the opium smugglers voluntarily to give up the drug.

At six o'clock in the morning of the day following this edict

(27th March, 1839), Captain Elliot issued a public notice, calling on all British subjects to surrender the whole of the opium in their possession into his hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese government, holding himself responsible on the behalf of Her Majesty's government. This demand was promptly answered by the surrender of 20,283 $\frac{3}{4}$ chests of opium, or rather the orders to receive the same from the different receiving vessels outside or near to the coast. Indeed, the efforts of Commissioner Lin had been so stringent, and his orders so efficiently obeyed, that the traffic in the drug had almost ceased; along the east coast it was found impossible to sell a chest, or even to procure any of the usual supplies of provisions from the natives. The compradors or linguists of the different vessels, whenever they attempted to land, were seized and sent in chains to Canton. It was, therefore, a wise policy of the opium owners to surrender it at once to Commissioner Lin.

It is not necessary to discuss here the right of the Chinese Imperial High Commissioner to shut up the Europeans in their factories, in order to obtain possession of the opium which they had under their control, although it was in their vessels off Lintin in the Canton river, but assuredly as much within the legal jurisdiction of the Empire of China, as the Nore is within the limits of the British Empire. The commissioner waited until the opium was delivered up to him, and so accurate was his information, that he not only knew the number and names of the vessels containing the opium, but also the quantity on board each vessel.

Although the commissioner had received the written promise that 20,283 chests of opium should be delivered up, he was unwilling to relax entirely his hold over its owners, until he had the opium in his possession, lest the vessels should sail away with the drug from Lintin; on the 2nd of April, he therefore notified to Captain Elliot that the servants should be restored after one fourth of the whole be delivered, the passage-boats be permitted to run after one-half be delivered, the trade opened after three fourths be delivered, and everything to proceed as usual after the whole be delivered. Breach of faith to be visited, after three days of loose performance of engagements, with the cutting off of supplies of fresh water; after three days more, with the stoppage of food; and after three days more, with the last degree of severity on Captain Elliot himself.

But for these measures Commissioner Lin would never have received the opium. On the 3rd of April, Mr. Johnston, the deputy superintendent of trade, accompanied by an escort of Chinese officers, Hong merchants, &c., proceeded down the river, without the Bogue forts, to receive the opium for H. E. Commissioner Lin.

On the 5th of April, the commissioner required the owners of the opium to enter into a bond, that "they would not again intro-

duce any opium into the inner land ; that if such be done the vessel and cargo containing the opium should be confiscated to the use of government ; and that the parties offending would readily submit to suffer death at the hands of the Celestial Court." The merchants declared that they "*hereby bound themselves for ever to cease from opium,*" and that they "*united together in this plain declaration, that this their full and earnest bond is true.*"

It is not very creditable to several who signed this bond, to state that it was very quickly violated. Mr. Lancelot Dent, I understand, honourably adhered to his bond, so also the respected American firm of S. Wetmore and Co.

On 10th of April, Commissioner Lin, and the governor of Canton, proceeded to the Bogue to witness the delivery of the opium in person. On the 12th there were rumours that the parties outside the Bogue had resumed the opium traffic, whereupon Captain Elliot addressed an earnest remonstrance to Her Majesty's subjects to abstain from the traffic, for the lives of those detained at Canton might be sacrificed. Owing to the tardiness of the receiving ships in coming to the Bogue, the whole of the opium was not delivered up until the 4th of May, and on the following day the trade was re-opened and affairs resumed their usual course.

The war which followed these proceedings is detailed in the preceding pages.

The account of this memorable transaction, would be incomplete without describing the final destruction of the 20,238 chests of this pernicious drug (valued at 6,000,000 dollars), which the Chinese government were unwilling to cast into the river, lest the fish should be thereby poisoned. My estimable friend, the late Mr. King, an American merchant at Canton, was permitted with others to be present at the destruction of the opium. Mr. King and his amiable wife were treated with great and marked kindness by Commissioner Lin, by reason of his having always abstained from the opium trade.

It was the express command of the Emperor that the opium should be destroyed near Canton, where the natives and foreigners might "both alike hear of it and see it." The place of destruction was at Chunhow (Chinkow), near the Bogue forts, about five miles from Chuenpe.

A large area was surrounded by a strong palisade with gates on each side, where sentinels were stationed, and no person was allowed to enter without a ticket. On going out of the place, every one was examined. The number of workmen was said to be about five hundred. The number of officers, civil and military, could not have been less than sixty or eighty. All these officers were employed as inspectors and overseers. A part of them were on elevated seats, under mat sheds, to watch all the movements, in every part of the enclosure ; and their position was such that

nothing could escape their notice. By alternation, some of these were kept always at their posts, day and night. Another part of the officers superintended the delivery of the opium from the chests, which had been stored up in small enclosures within the large one. Special care was taken to see if each chest and parcel now corresponded to what it was marked down, when taken from the store-ships.

On the west side of the enclosure, just within the palisades, were three large vats or trenches, running from east to west, say one hundred and fifty feet long, seventy-five feet broad, and seven deep, flagged with stone, and lined along the sides with heavy timbers. Each of these three had its own fence, with entrances only on one side.

The process to which the drug was subjected, was briefly this. In the first place a trench was filled two feet deep, more or less, with fresh water, from the brow of the hill. The first trench was in this state, having just been filled with fresh water. Over the second, in which the people were at work, forms, with planks on them, were arranged a few feet apart. The opium in baskets was delivered into the hands of coolies, who going on the planks carried it to every part of the trench. The balls were then taken out one by one, and thrown down on the planks, stamped on with the heel till broken in pieces, and then kicked into the water. At the same time, other coolies were employed in the trenches, with hoes and broad spatulas, busily engaged in beating and turning up the opium from the bottom of the vat. Other coolies were employed in bringing salt and lime, and spreading them profusely over the whole surface of the trench. The third was about half-filled, standing like a distiller's vat, not in a state of active fermentation, but of slow decomposition, and was nearly ready to be drawn off. This was to be done through a narrow sluice, opened between the trench and the creek. This sluice was two feet wide, and somewhat deeper than the floor of the trench. It was furnished with a screen, made fine like a sieve, so as to prevent any large masses of the drug from finding their way into the creek. The destruction of the opium, which commenced on the 3rd, was completed by the 23rd. Not less than 1000 chests per day were worked off.

By half-past 11 o'clock, Mr. King had examined, and re-examined, every part of the process of destruction. The degree of care and fidelity, with which the whole work was conducted, was remarkable; no business could be more faithfully executed. The watch was apparently much stricter, on every side, than it was during the detention of foreigners in Canton. One poor man, at Chunhow, for only attempting to carry off some small pieces of opium about his person, was, on detention, almost instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the law. If any was pilfered, it must have been in very small quantities, and at the most imminent hazard of life. H. E. Commissioner Lin, superintended this extraordinary scene.

Mr. King, after witnessing the destruction of the opium, was honoured by Commissioner Lin with an interview. H. E. made very particular inquiries respecting the intentions of the English in withdrawing from the port, and also as to the best mode of conveying communications to the Queen of England and other European sovereigns, in order to secure their co-operation for the suppression of the traffic in opium. Inquiries were made for maps, geographies, and other foreign books; and particularly for a complete copy of Morrison's Dictionary. Mr. King says, that from the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was to do away the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honorable. Both in the manner and matter of his conversation, he appeared well; betraying, indeed, now and then, more or less of Chinese partiality for his own country and sovereign. Throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was "barbarous or savage." He appeared to be not more than forty-five years of age; short, rather stout; with a smooth, full round face, a slender black beard, and a keen dark eye. His voice was clear, and his tones distinct. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness. Once only he smiled. The accounts given him of British naval power—especially of steam vessels—seemed rather unpalatable, and once or twice raised a frown on his brow. This remarkable man, to whom justice has not been done by the British nation, is now governor-general of the province of Kweichoo, and has recently published an extraordinary work on different subjects, scientific and political.

After taking leave of the commissioner, a large collection of presents was sent to Mr. King and others.

The commissioner had in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue. The first a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second an old man, educated at Serampore. The third a young man, who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth a young lad, educated in China, and able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease and correctness.

A few further explanatory remarks, on this extraordinary traffic, which is now being carried on to a greater extent than it has ever been, will be desirable.

The purchasers of the drug in India, are principally native merchants—Parsees and Hindoos. Agents for large houses, such as Jardine, Matheson & Co., give these merchants an advance of from two-thirds to three-fourths of the invoice amount, at the rate of 210 rupees per 100 Spanish dollars; the dollars payable in China from the proceeds. The opium is shipped in a "clipper," belonging to the agents in China; pays a very high rate of freight, and is,

probably, insured in an office where they are the principal partners.

The agents' profit, apart from freight and insurance, supposing the drug to be sold, at 700 dollars per chest, is commission, 3%	21 dollars.
Premium on Spanish dollars exchanged for Mexican 5%	35 „
Profit on the purchase of bills on India, at the rate of 225 rupees per 100 dollars per chest. .	50 „
Remitting commission 1%	7 „
	<hr/>
Per chest	113 dollars.

The agent's connection with the drug, does not cease when it is *nominally* passed through his sale book, and account sales rendered the shipper. It is commonly taken over at a certain price, and shipped to the coast of China, where, in a few weeks, it is actually sold on his (the agents') account, at an advance of 100 dollars per chest, or more, payment being made in sycee, which is sold at a premium of 2 or 3%. It will be seen from the foregoing :—

1st. The *bonâ fide* purchasers and shippers, very rarely make a profit, *if shipped under advance*.

2nd. The rich agent, with a capital to make advances, cannot fail to clear a large sum in the transaction.

3rd. Strong temptations are afforded the agent, who, being himself the buyer, cannot be anxious to see the market high anywhere, except on the coast of China.

4th. The fact of one house (Jardine, Matheson & Co.,) sharing among the partners a profit of *three millions sterling* in twenty years, when we consider the nature of the trade they were engaged in, is no longer a mystery. Much the larger portion of the sum was amassed within the last ten years, and the profits of that house now, far exceed those of any former period.

The profits of this iniquitous traffic are divided among a few individuals in China and India, and the mercantile interests of England suffer materially, in purse as well as in character, by the smuggling. When I enquired of the *Toutai*, (chief Chinese officer at Shanghai), how trade could best be promoted, he immediately, and with great sternness, instantly answered: "*Cease sending us millions' worth of opium, and then our people will have more money to purchase your manufactures.*"

This reply solves the case, why our exports have not increased to China; a few opium smugglers are draining and impoverishing the people of China, and then our manufacturers at Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Halifax, and Sheffield, wonder why they cannot find purchasers for their wares in China!

There are a number of vessels engaged in the opium trade. Jardine & Company have the following opium vessels stationed

—at Amoy, one; Namoa, one; Chimmo Bay, one; Fuhchoo, one; Shanghai or Woosung, one; Macao, one; Whampoa, one; and four or five always plying between Hong Kong and the coast of China.

About five vessels are employed conveying opium between India and China, and a large receiving ship of 700 tons, is moored all the year round at Hong Kong. Dent & Company have nearly as many vessels as Jardine & Company, but of a smaller class. Burn, Macvicar & Company, about four on the coast, and two between India and China. Gilman & Company, three on the coast. Pyver, two on the coast with India. A Parsee firm, Rustomjee & Company, two on the coast. An American firm, Russell & Company, four on the coast, and three between India and China, under the American flag.

Altogether there are about fifty vessels or "clippers" of various sizes, generally well-manned and armed, and fast sailers, engaged in the opium traffic. The *Mazeppa*, a schooner, of only 130 tons, conveyed on one occasion half-a-million dollars from the north-east coast of China to Hong Kong, the proceeds of opium sold on the coast. The vessels conveying the drug from India to China are probably the finest boats in the world. The *Lanrick* of 283 tons register, built at Liverpool, cost £13,000, belonging to Jardine & Co., is superior in sailing on a wind to any man-of-war. I made a voyage in her down the China Seas to Java in 1845, in the teeth of the monsoon, when she was under the command of one of the most skilful and daring seamen that ever sailed. Frequently we were running eight and nine knots close hauled, and carrying royals, when a frigate would have had reefed topsails and courses. In one of her voyages the *Lanrick* carried 1,250 chests of Bengal opium, valued at £200,000 sterling.

The *Lanrick*, like the other vessels of her class, was fully armed with long nine-pounders, musketry, &c. These vessels give a good idea of the 'buccaneers,' which frequented the Spanish Main. Their commanders are generally educated men, of gentlemanly manners, very hospitable, of generous dispositions, well skilled in seamanship, and of a courage and boldness unsurpassed.

It is painful to see qualities so useful, directed to such pernicious purposes. A similar remark may be made with reference to those engaged in the opium trade in China; who have several excellent characteristics, are prompt in kindly acts, and imbued with strong national feelings. The late Mr. Jardine was a good example of his class: originally a naval surgeon, his quick and calculating mind led him early to perceive the great wealth that might be made in China from opium. To this object he devoted all his time and singular energies for about twenty years, and then returned to England, with a fortune of more than a million sterling. He lived but a short period for its enjoyment—died from a most excruciating and lingering disease—and bequeathed his vast wealth

in an equitable manner among his nephews and nieces. While in China many meritorious young men, who had no claims on him, but seemed deserving of encouragement, were advanced in life by Mr. Jardine. By the Chinese, as well as by the English at Canton, he was respected for his active habits, his intelligent mind, and hospitable disposition. Steady and ardent as a friend, equally steady and implacable as a foe; he devoted himself to the opium trade, totally divested of all consideration as to its moral consequences, unscrupulous of the means employed, and regardless of the saying, which in China has almost become a proverb, that "*ill luck and misfortune sooner or later overtake all engaged in the opium trade.*" But the blame ought not to be cast solely on the individuals engaged in this dreadful traffic; it rests chiefly on the government of our Gracious Sovereign, and on that of the East India Company. To dwell more on this distressing theme would be unnecessary; if the facts herein stated will not awaken the minds of those who *call themselves Christians in England*—neither would they hear, "although one came from the dead." It would be contrary to the admitted order of Divine Providence, to suppose that such a career of iniquity as we have been pursuing in China, can bring with it any blessing. If there be a Supreme Being—the Creator of the Universe and of man—if *He be a God of justice*, and have any regard for the creatures He has made, it is not possible to contend that He can view with indifference the commission of crimes, such as the previous pages incontestably establish.

The grossest idolater admits and practically recognises the truth of this principle. Those who have the slightest belief in the Jewish and Christian Testaments, must, at least with their lips, acknowledge that the Creator and Preserver of mankind, has by example and precept established most conclusively the retributive decree, that *as a nation sows, so it must reap*. Can England reasonably expect peace and plenty at home, when she is scattering poison and pestilence abroad? Can she without hypocrisy consecrate churches and ordain ministers of a Christian faith, while her rulers and governors are licensing opium-hells, and appointing supervisors to extract the largest amount of profit from the iniquity therein perpetrated?

Is Christianity a name, or is it a principle? What an abomination it must be in the sight of a great and good Deity, to behold national prayers offered to Him to avert dispensations of calamity, while the very nation that is offering them is *daily inflicting destitution and death on more than three million of our fellow creatures?* Thus impiously seeking relief from its own suffering, while recklessly spreading sorrow, vice, and crime among myriads of mankind!

The records of wickedness since the world was created, furnish no parallel to the wholesale murders which the British nation have been, and still are, hourly committing in China. Neither are they

committing this awful destruction of human beings in ignorance. There never was a question on which our Parliament concurred more unanimously than on the iniquities of the opium trade; no senator ventured to say that that good man Lord Ashley had exaggerated in the slightest degree the magnitude of the evils which his lordship implored, with an eloquence heightened by piety, the legislature to correct. On the contrary, the assembled representatives of the nation, men of all parties—ministers and ex-ministers concurred with the noble lord in the enormity of the crime we were perpetrating, deplored its continued existence, and promised its correction.

What has been done since on the subject? Have we simply remained passive, and allowed the crimes and the murders caused by the opium trade to go on silently, unnoticed and unapproved by Her Majesty's government? We cannot even allege the poor miserable plea of winking as a government against a crime which it is pretended could not be checked. On the contrary, the representative of Queen Victoria has recently converted the small barren rock which we occupy on the coast of China, into a vast "opium smoking shop;" he has made it the "Gehenna of the waters," where iniquities which it is a pollution to name, can not only be perpetrated with impunity, but are absolutely *licensed* in the name of our gracious Sovereign, and protected by the titled representative of Her Majesty!

Better—far better—infinately better—abjure the name of Christianity; call ourselves heathens—idolaters of the "*golden calf*"—worshippers of the "evil one."

Let us do this, and we have then a principle for our guide; the acquisition of money at any cost—at any sacrifice. Why the "slave trade" was merciful compared to the "opium trade." We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive;—we did not *debase their natures, corrupt their minds,*—nor *destroy their souls*. But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners,—while every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety—and where the English murderer and the Chinese suicide vie with each other in offerings at his shrine.

No blessing can be vouchsafed to England while this national crime is daily calling to Heaven for vengeance;—none of the millions of mere nominal Christians who throng our churches, one day in the week, can expect to prosper in their worldly callings, while they are silently abetting an awful crime, which no sophistry can palliate, no ingenuity refute.

We stand convicted before the nations of the world, as well as before an Omniscient Deity from whom nothing can be hidden, as a government and people actively and legally engaged in the perpetration of murder and desolation, on a scale of such magnitude as to

defy calculation. Disguise it as we may, this is the naked truth,—this is the damning fact which no water will obliterate.

We are all involved in the guilt, and participants, even by our silence, in a sin—which if not rooted out—must ere long bring on us that Divine vengeance which though slow, is sure, and never invoked in vain !

CHINA;

POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, AND SOCIAL.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"As a writer upon Statistical, Commercial, and especially Colonial subjects, Mr. Montgomery Martin has achieved by his ability, industry, and intelligence a very high reputation. Appointed to a high official situation, for which his talents peculiarly fitted him, in connexion with the Government of Hong-Kong, he made a voluntary surrender of his office in order to place himself in a position to be able to return to this country, and to press personally upon the Home Government, the adoption of a line of policy, which he believed to be essential to the maintenance and extension of our commercial relations with the Chinese Empire. The book is extremely valuable and interesting,—valuable because its impartiality may be relied on, and interesting because it puts before us in a concise form, a series of facts relating to the character, habits, resources and social position of a people, of whom, probably, less is known to Europeans than of any other Nation in the World."—*Exeter Western Luminary*, 22nd Dec. 1846.

"Mr. Montgomery Martin has a loftier purpose in his labours than merely to contribute to the stores of our yet very imperfect knowledge of the great Empire of China, and its teeming population, numbering nearly one-third of the human race. He hopes for moral results from the investigations which he has pursued with so much diligence; he aims at the establishment of a truly friendly intercourse between the civilizations of the West and the East, to the incalculable advantage of both; he thinks, even, that the conversion to Christianity of a large majority of the Chinese is not only possible, but an event which, by judicious effort, might come to pass in no very distant future. But even if that brilliant vision be *but* a dream, still certain it is that we know far less of China and her people than we ought to know; that our intercourse is not placed upon the secure basis which it should boast; that more might be accomplished if both peoples were better informed as to each other's character, opinions, government, statistics, and social and political economy. It is to aid in the spreading of such information that Mr M. Martin, who has already contributed so largely to home knowledge of our vast colonial empire, has availed himself of his residence in the East, as Treasurer at Hong Kong, to collect an immense store of materials relative to the Chinese empire, which he has classified and arranged with unwearied diligence and the workmanlike ability of an experienced author; and the first part is now before the public, teeming with a wealth of intelligence."—*The Critic*, London, 26th Dec. 1846.

"Four hundred millions of people yet to be introduced into communication with the rest of mankind! What a prospect for the merchant, the manufacturer, and ship-owner! But there is still a higher and holier prospect. Four hundred millions of active and intelligent human beings have to be brought within the pale of Christianity! Wary stepping too it will require to enable us to succeed in realizing either of these objects. To assist us, an abler man for the task could not be found than the author of the work before us."—*Liverpool Standard*, 22nd Dec. 1846.

"An important *expose* of the present state of the resources, population, &c. of the whole of China, which must doubtless prove highly satisfactory and important to all parties connected with the history of that yet almost unknown country."—*Sun*, 11th Dec. 1846.

"A work descriptive of the vast Empire of China, of which we know comparatively little, will be a valuable addition to our store of national literature, and doubtless beneficial also in our commercial relations with the extensive field of commerce now opened to us. The task could not have been confided to more able hands than Mr. M. Martin."—*Felix Farley's Journal*, Bristol, 3rd Dec. 1846.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"A work which will be read with great interest; it abounds in materials which suddenly illuminate what has hitherto been a dark page in the topography of nations; in reading it we gain an intelligent view into the seeming chaos of that immense social fabric which myriads of human beings have been labouring, for innumerable ages to construct, to improve, and to mar, in pertinacious isolation from the common family of nations."—*Journal of Commerce, London, 19th Dec. 1846.*

"No living writer is so capable of doing justice to the vast subject of China as Mr. M. Martin. His high official situation, his previous literary training, the character of his mind, which can grasp large facts and complicated statistics, with remarkable ease, eminently fit him for the task he has undertaken."—*Gloucester Chronicle, 19th Dec. 1846.*

"The present undertaking embraces a vast field, and Mr. M. Martin has in the part before us given good earnest of his talent for usefulness. We have no hesitation in pronouncing, from what we have seen of the part before us, that this work will be found one of the most useful books."—*Bell's Messenger, London, 19th Dec. 1846.*

"The writer of this very interesting work has evidently well qualified himself for the task by diligent study of the subject, and by exercising his acute powers of observation whilst in China. He is not a mere dry detailer of statistics, but combines with his important array of facts, the tact of being able to lay these facts before the reader in a striking and agreeable point of view. The book is, from this peculiarity, almost as entertaining as a 'New Novel.' Mr. M. M. is evidently an amiable man, and is moved by a spirit of religion and humanity to deal honourably and kindly by the immense multitudes of China."—*Gloucester Journal, 12th Dec. 1846.*

"This number is worthy of Mr. Martin's high reputation, and when complete it will be a standard work."—*Exeter Flying Post, 17th Dec. 1846.*

"No one is more capable than the able writer of these pages of giving a history of China. The laudable intention of the Author cannot fail of awakening the deepest interest throughout the country."—*Plymouth and Devonport Herald, 12th Dec. 1846.*

"The official position of the Author of this work, must have conferred upon him peculiar advantages in obtaining authentic information as far as possible respecting the internal condition of the Chinese Empire. Of these advantages, Mr. Martin appears to have availed himself with his accustomed industry and acumen. The present part is a satisfactory specimen of the work, comprehensive in design, and minutely exact in detail."—*Edinburgh Evening Post, 16th Dec. 1846.*

"The first part of a work on a country daily becoming of greater importance to us, from the pen of a gentleman peculiarly suited to the task, and whose name is a sufficient guarantee for the entire truth of his announcements. The style is forcible and lucid, like all Mr. Martin's productions, and accompanied with valuable statistical tables and a well-executed map of China."—*Blackburn Standard, 9th Dec. 1846.*

"The Author is well known as one of the most talented statistical writers of the day, and the appearance of this work from his pen is sure to awaken an earnest interest in this country, from our recent transactions with that extraordinary race, the Chinese."—*Mark Lane Express, 7th Dec. 1846.*

"It is with no little pleasure that we see before the public a work on the Empire of China by a celebrated writer, undoubtedly the most important geographical and commercial work that has emanated from the press during the past year. The great clearness, accuracy, and fullness of the various details merit our special praise. He leaves no field untouched, no point unsifted, but with his well-known talent in all that concerns the colonial and foreign possessions and trade of this country, gives us a work that cannot fail to adorn the cabinet of the statesman as well as the library of the merchant. The information it affords is immense."—*Bradford Gazette, 24th Dec. 1846.*

"Mr. M. Martin's work promises to become one of standard authority. This part is replete with valuable information."—*Bolton Chronicle, 26th Dec. 1846.*

"The professed motive of this work is good; it is full of interest, and abundance of valuable information, elegantly and clearly written."—*Bristol Mercury, 9th Dec. 1846.*

"This is the introductory part of a most promisingly useful and readable work, entitled *China; Political, Commercial, and Social*. It is edited by Mr. R. Montgomery Martin, and, judging from the contents of this portion of the work, we doubt not that it will well deserve and obtain popular countenance. It contains an excellent map of China; we have seen nothing equal to it. As a book of reference this, when complete, will be found of considerable value."—*Morning Advertiser January 7, 1847.*



