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Miss S. M. Threlwell

from her affectionate Mother

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INIQUITIES

OF THE

OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA.

THE
INIQUITIES
OF THE
OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA;
BEING A
DEVELOPEMENT OF THE MAIN CAUSES
WHICH EXCLUDE
THE MERCHANTS OF GREAT BRITAIN
FROM THE
ADVANTAGES OF AN UNRESTRICTED COMMERCIAL
INTERCOURSE WITH THAT VAST EMPIRE.

WITH EXTRACTS FROM AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS.

BY THE REV. A. S. THELWALL, M.A.,
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

*Drawn up at the request of several Gentlemen connected with the
East-India Trade.*

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CONTENTS.

	Page
To the Reader	ix
PART I.—The Facts of the Case	1
1. Effects of Opium when used as a stimulant	3
Extracts from “London Encyclopædia”	5
—— from Madden’s Travels in Turkey	7
—— from Pouqueville’s Travels in the Morea.....	<i>ib.</i>
—— from Macnish’s Anatomy of Drunkenness	9
—— from Davis’s “The Chinese”	11
—— from Medhurst’s “China” ...	<i>ib.</i>
—— from a Chinese Memorial ...	15
Account of some Paintings by a Chinese artist—“The Progress of an Opium Smoker”	16

	Page
Extracts from the Chinese Repository, “Remarks on the Opium Trade with China”	21
2. The Extent to which Opium is introduced into China by our Countrymen	24
Extracts—On the “Cultivation of the Poppy,” from the Chin. Rep.	25
—— “On the Preparation of Opium for the Chinese Market,” Ibid.	31
—— from Montgomery Martin’s Statistics of the Colonies, a “State- ment of the Sales of Opium by the E.I.C.”	32
—— from Medhurst’s “China”— on the Quantity of Opium intro- duced into China	33
—— from the Chinese Repository, “Remarks on the Opium Trade”	36, 41
3. The Manner in which this Opium is intro- duced into China	42
Memorial of Heu Naetse, Vice-Presi- dent of the Sacrificial Court	45
Imperial Edict, in answer	55
Extract from the Report of the Go- vernour of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c.	57

4. The light in which the Government of China look upon this traffic, and upon us as a people engaged in it	62
Memorial of Choo Tsun, member of the Council, &c.	65
Extracts from the Memorial of Heu Kew, sub-censor over the Military Department	82
Edicts of the Governor of Kwang- tung and Kwangse, &c. No. 1 ...	91
——— No. 2.	94
Letter to the Editor of the Canton Register	102
Extracts from "British Intercourse with Eastern Asia"	108
——— from the Chinese Repository, by "Another Reader"	110
——— from "The History of Java," by Sir Stamford Raffles	116
——— from Medhurst's "China" ...	120
Summary of Facts	129
PART II.—Remark and Practical Appeals	134
Letter from a Gentleman who had long resided in India	162
Returns to be moved for in Parlia- ment	170
Conclusion	173

TO THE READER.



IN introducing the following pages to your notice, it is only needful to observe, that three or four months ago, a number of documents on the subject of the Opium Trade with China were put into the hands of the Author, by several gentlemen connected with the India trade, who were also deeply interested in the cause of humanity: and he was requested to digest the information thus supplied into a little volume; which is now presented to your consideration. The Author has used his best endeavours to arrange and condense his information, and to put the subject in a clear point of view. Beyond this, the responsibility of this publication rests

with the gentlemen at whose request he has laboured : and much that, as an individual and a clergyman (taking views and holding opinions which he has never shrunk from maintaining on all proper occasions), he might have been disposed, and even expected to urge, in connexion with a question so important, he has entirely suppressed, in order that the present work might appear rather as a kind of official statement of facts from a collective body, than as a declaration of individual feelings and opinions.

It should, perhaps, be added, that several of the extracts from different works which are introduced, were found in the pages of the *Chinese Repository*, in which the question has been investigated very much at large : but the author has taken pains to verify and correct them.

PART I.

THE FACTS OF THE CASE.

Anti-Slavery 8.1.75.
Letters on the Church 2.2.75.

THE
 INIQUITIES
 OF THE
 OPIUM TRADE WITH CHINA.

PART I.

“THE Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China?” methinks I hear some one exclaim, on reading the title of my book: “I never heard before that we carried on any such traffic; much less that any iniquities were connected therewith.” This ignorance ought not to surprise me: for I was, till very recently, equally ignorant myself. But some weeks ago my attention was called to the circumstances connected with the traffic in opium, which is con-

3

tinually carried on between the possessions of the East-India Company and that vast empire. The subject was then entirely new to me. But—as it was represented as a matter of very grave importance—as a traffic which brought the greatest dishonour upon the British flag—and as some documents were put into my hands, which (I was assured) would enable me to judge for myself, I was induced to examine, and to consider the question. The result was, that it appeared to me a subject of such moment, that the attention of all ranks and orders ought to be called to it without delay. The honour and welfare of this Country, and the interests of Religion and humanity, seemed all to be most seriously concerned.

I shall perhaps deal most fairly, both with the subject and with my readers, by proceeding at once to state the facts of the case, as they appear from the testimony and documents before me. These facts will call for some remarks, and furnish ground for a practical appeal to various classes who are, or ought to be, interested in the subject.

I. In stating THE FACTS OF THE CASE it will be necessary — 1st. Briefly to point out *the effects of opium*, when used as a stimulant or intoxicating drug; 2d, to show *the vast extent to which opium is introduced into China*; 3d, to direct attention to *the manner in which it is introduced*; and, 4th, to show *in what light the Chinese government and people look upon this traffic, and upon us, as a people engaged in it.*

1. With regard to the first point, the use and potency of opium, as a medicine, are well known. It is, in skilful hands, one of the greatest alleviations of bodily suffering and anguish that a merciful Providence has vouchsafed us. Yet every physician knows that it needs to be used with skill and caution. In some painful diseases, which might seem at first sight to demand its use, the effects would be highly injurious, or even fatal; and there are many constitutions to which a very moderate dose of opium, even under the circumstances which would commonly call for its exhibition, would be fearfully deleterious. Perhaps there are few persons, who (looking round among the range

of their acquaintance) cannot find one or two who know, by experience, that they must not venture upon the use of opium at all: the most moderate dose would cause them severe suffering.

What then must be said to the use of this potent drug as *a mere luxury*, at the will and pleasure of the ignorant individual who takes a fancy to indulge in it? I put the question plainly to one of the most eminent physicians in London, and his unhesitating answer was, that *no one could thus use it without shortening his life*.

Yet as a mere stimulant or luxury, it is used in various countries to a vast extent. Some swallow a certain dose of it raw, to produce the desired excitement; others smoke a preparation of it, to produce the same effect. In whichever way it is used, the first indulgence prepares the way for a second; the second for a third; and so on till it becomes habitual. There is something peculiarly ensnaring in the use of opium; not only on account of the high excitement of the imagination which is the im-

mediate result of the stimulus, but more especially because that high excitement is soon followed by a correspondent lassitude and intolerable depression, which scarcely anything but a repetition of the dose can relieve. Thus the habit grows upon the wretched victim, till he becomes entirely enslaved to it; and so strong is the necessity of having recourse to the stimulus at the regular hour, that it has even been affirmed, that fatal consequences might result from sudden and total abstinence.

A few extracts from authors of credit and works of authority, will best illustrate and confirm these statements.

The use of opium for the purpose of exhilarating the spirits has long been known in Turkey, Syria, and China, and of late years it has been, unfortunately, adopted by many, particularly females, in this country. Russell says that, in Syria, when combined with spices and aromatics, he has known it taken to the amount of three drachms in twenty-four hours. Its habitual use cannot be too much reprobated. *It impairs the digestive organs, consequently the vigour of the whole body, and destroys also gradually the mental energies.* The effects of opium on those addicted to its use, says Russell, are at

first obstinate costiveness, succeeded by diarrhœa and flatulence, with the loss of appetite and a sottish appearance. 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. (See *Phil. Trans.*, xix., 288-290.)

In moderate doses, opium increases the fullness, the force, and the frequency of the pulse, augments the heat of the body, quickens respiration, and invigorates both the corporeal and mental functions, exhilarating even to intoxication; but by degrees these effects are succeeded by languor, lassitude, and sleep; and, in many instances, headache, sickness, thirst, tremors, and other symptoms of debility, such as follow the excessive use of ardent spirits, supervene. In very large doses the primary excitement is scarcely apparent, but the pulse seems to be at once diminished, drowsiness and stupor immediately come on, and are followed by delirium, sighing, deep and

stertorous breathing, cold sweats, convulsions, apoplexy, and death. The appearances on dissection are those which indicate the previous existence of violent inflammation of the stomach and bowels; but notwithstanding the symptoms of apoplexy which an overdose, when it proves fatal, occasions, no particular appearance of an inflammatory state or fullness of the brain is perceived. — *London Encyclopædia*, p. 461.

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 effect is usually produced in two hours, and lasts four or five: the dose varies from three grains to a drachm. * * * *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. — *Madden's Travels in Turkey*, &c. vol. i., pp. 24-25.

There is another set of people, however, who live in a still cheaper way than the dervises; strangers to the pleasures of the table, an opium pill supports, intoxicates them, throws them into ecstasies, the de-

lights of which they extol very highly. These men, known under the name of *theriakis*, are mentioned by Monsieur de Tott and others, as being looked upon even in a more despicable light than the drunkards, though I know not that the practice betrays more dissoluteness of morals. They begin with taking only half a grain at a dose, but increase it as soon as they perceive the effect to be less powerful than at first. They are careful not to drink water, which would bring on violent colics. *He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, must scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the latter is the utmost age that, for the most part, they attain.* After some years they get to 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. But no consideration,—*neither the certainty of premature death* nor of the infirmities by which it must be preceded, can correct a *theriaki*; he answers madly to any one who would warn him of his danger, that his happiness is inconceivable when he has taken his opium pill. If he be asked to define this supernatural happiness, he answers, that it is impossible to account for it: that pleasure cannot be defined. *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 paregoric in any way relieve their sufferings; become 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.*—*Pouqueville's Travels in the Morea*, p. 297.

Opium retains, at all times, its power of exciting the imagination, provided sufficient doses are taken. But when it has been continued so long as to bring disease upon the constitution, the pleasurable feelings wear away, and are succeeded by others of a very different kind. Instead of disposing the mind to be happy, it now acts upon it like the spell of a demon, and calls up phantoms of horror and disgust. The fancy is still as powerful as ever, but it is turned in another direction. Formerly it clothed all objects with the light of heaven; now it invests them with the attributes of hell. Goblins, spectres, and every kind of distempered vision, haunt the mind, peopling it with dreary and revolting imagery. The sleep is no longer cheered with its former sights of happiness. Frightful dreams usurp their place, *till, at last, the person becomes the victim of an almost perpetual misery.* Nor is this confined to the mind alone, for the body suffers in an equal degree. Emaciation, loss of appetite, sickness, vomiting, and *a total disorganization of the digestive functions, as well as of the mental powers,* are sure to ensue, and

never fail to terminate in death, if the evil habit which brings them on is continued.—*Macnish's Anatomy of Drunkenness*, p. 51.

The foregoing extracts refer to the dreadful consequences of the habit of *eating* opium, which is the mode of taking this poisonous drug adopted in Turkey, and in some other countries in which the use of opium as a stimulant prevails. The mode of using it which is more commonly adopted in China is different, though it would seem that there also it is sometimes used in much the same way as it is in Turkey.

The method of preparation is as follows: It is imported in chests, which contain a number of packages of crude opium that has attained a certain degree of consistency. This is first dissolved in hot water, and the extract thus obtained is dried and *smoked through a pipe*. But the effects of opium when smoked are much the same as when swallowed in the crude state. This will appear from the following statements. The first is from "The Chinese," by John Francis Davis, Esq., vol. ii. p. 454.

A late memorial to the Emperor from one of the Censors laid open the evil in all its deformity, and showed its prevalence among the officers of government. "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 that 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." (See also the whole account, pp. 453-458.)

The following extract from Medhurst's "China," (London, 1838), pp. 56, 57, speaks yet more strongly and plainly:—

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; as soon, and as certainly,

if not much more so, than is seen to be the case with those unhappy persons who are addicted to the use of ardent spirits. 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.

Again, in pp. 83-85, I find the following remarks :—

Those who grow and sell the drug, while they profit by the speculation, would do well to follow the consumer into the haunts of vice, and mark the wretchedness, poverty, disease, and death, which follow the indulgence; for did they but know the thousandth part of the evils resulting from it, they would not, they could not, continue to engage in the transaction. Previous to the year 1796 opium was admitted into China on the payment of a duty, when

a few hundred chests annually were imported. Since that time the drug has been openly interdicted, and yet clandestinely introduced at the rate of 20,000 chests annually, which cost the Chinese four millions of pounds sterling every year. This quantity, at twenty grains per day for each individual, would be sufficient to demoralize *nearly three millions of persons*. When the habit is once formed it grows till it becomes inveterate; discontinuance is more and more difficult, until at length the sudden deprivation of the accustomed indulgence produces certain death. In proportion as the wretched victim comes under the power of the infatuating drug, so is his ability to resist temptation less strong; and debilitated in body as well as mind, he is unable to earn his usual pittance, and not unfrequently sinks under the cravings of an appetite which he is unable to gratify. Thus they may be seen hanging their heads by the doors of the opium shops, which the hard-hearted keepers, having fleeced them of their all, will not permit them to enter; and shut out of their own dwellings, either by angry relatives or ruthless creditors, they die in the streets unpitied and despised. It would be well if the rich opium merchant were sometimes present to witness such scenes as these, that he might be aware how his wretched customers terminate their course, and see where his speculations, in thousands of instances, end. When the issue of this pernicious habit is not fatal, its tendencies are to

weaken the strength, and to undermine the constitution; while the time and property spent in this voluptuous indulgence constitute so much detracted from the wealth and industry of the country, and tend to plunge into deeper distress those weak and dependent members of society, who are already scarcely able to subsist at all. In fact, every opium-smoker may calculate upon shortening his life ten years from the time when he commences the practice; one half of his physical energies are soon gone; one third of his scanty earnings are absorbed; and feeling strength and income both diminishing, while the demands upon his resources are increased, he seeks to obtain by duplicity what he cannot earn by labour, and thus his moral sense becomes blunted and his heart hardened, while he plunges into the vortex of ruin, dragging with him his dependent relatives, and all within the sphere of his influence. *Calculating, therefore, the shortened lives, the frequent diseases, and the actual starvation, which are the result of opium-smoking in China, we may venture to assert that this pernicious drug annually destroys myriads of individuals.* No man of feeling can contemplate this fearful amount of misery and mortality, as resulting from the opium trade, without an instinctive shudder. But the most appalling fact of all is, that the trade is constantly increasing.

A native of China in a high official situation gives the following statements in a memorial

addressed to the Emperor, which we shall have to consider more at large hereafter.

When any one is long habituated to inhaling opium, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it, being inveterate, is destructive of time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life. Of those who use it to great excess *the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, and the teeth black* : the individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it, yet cannot refrain from it. * * *

It will be found on examination, that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them. * * * And though there are smokers to be found who have overstepped the threshold of age, yet *they do not attain to the long life of other men.*

The plainest proofs, however, of the baneful effects of opium-smoking in China are, perhaps, to be drawn from the fact, that the subject engages the most serious attention of the Chinese government ; and persons of the highest rank, and in the most responsible situations, see and feel the increase of this habit among the people to be an evil of such vast and fearful importance, that all their faculties are tasked to de-

wise a remedy, or the means of effectually putting a stop to its progress. I shall have to call attention more particularly to the different plans which have been recommended to the supreme government, *and which concur in the view which they present of the magnitude of the evil.* In the mean time the subject may be illustrated in a different way. The Chinese Repository for April 1837 (published at Canton), as a kind of appendix to a valuable article on the Opium Trade, gives a curious and interesting account of

Some paintings by a native artist in China-street, (Canton) named Sunqua. They are on rice-paper, six in number, forming a series, designed to exhibit the progress of the opium-smoker, from health and prosperity to misery and degradation : in fact, they are a counter-part to Hogarth's famous 'Rake's Progress.' So far as we can ascertain, the idea was original with the painter ; and, regarded as mere works of art, the pictures are by no means unworthy of notice. The figures and attitudes are well conceived and drawn, and the story clearly and strongly carried through. We were surprised to see how exactly some of the pictures "hit off" the character of the opium-smoker, as described by the writers in

the preceding appendix ; and we will not fail to make further inquiries respecting them, and the circumstances which led the painter to form his design.

The account of these pictures by the native artist so aptly illustrates the fearful consequences which result from smoking opium, that I cannot do better than transcribe from the above-mentioned periodical, the explanations which accompany the pictures.

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 either 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 to 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.

These pictures, be it remembered, are entirely the work of a Chinese artist. The explanations also are his, translated from the original Chinese. They give, therefore, the impression of the baneful effects of opium-smoking which facts and observation have made, not upon an individual alone, but upon multitudes of the Chinese : for such pictures are commonly the result, not of a singular notion in the mind of an isolated individual, but of a feeling that widely prevails. They are indications of the

general sense of a class at least of the community.

One fact, in addition, needs to be mentioned. It appears that the opium may be smoked a second time. Thus, after having satisfied the more luxurious appetite of the wealthy consumer, the refuse may serve to feed the same depraved appetite in a lower class of victims, and thus double the mischief. This appears from the account of the 5th picture of the series, and also is abundantly confirmed from other sources.

I cannot better conclude this part of my statement than by quoting the following passage from the Chinese Repository for November 1836. It is extracted from a pamphlet entitled "Remarks on the Opium Trade with China," published at Calcutta, with a Preface by Archdeacon Dealtry, not long before, and reprinted in that periodical, which informs us (p. 406) that it was written (as they are assured on good authority) *in China*, by a British merchant, who must therefore be considered as an eye-witness of the deplorable effects of opium

smoking which he describes. The comparison between the effects of ardent spirits and those of opium is peculiarly important.

The intoxicating property, or rather properties, of opium, differ in their nature from the intoxicating property of alcohol. In some respects the effects of the intoxication are also different. They both agree, however, in this, that they both stimulate the nervous system to an unnatural degree, and are only fit for use when such a state of bodily illness already exists as to make a stimulus of this nature subservient to the restoration of other vital functions disordered. They both agree in this, that the pleasurable sense of excitement attending their indulgence is followed by a relaxation of the system, and an undue depression of both the bodily and mental powers, when the excitement is over. They both agree in this, as a consequence, that the oftener they are indulged in for the sake of this pleasurable sense of excitement, the greater must be the quantity used, in order to keep up that same degree of excitement; *so that, if once the appetite is formed, constantly increasing indulgence is necessary and almost inevitable*, and not only so, but is yielded to unconsciously of this increase. The craving of the appetite is insensibly the man's standard for estimating what he can (as he supposes) safely indulge in. They both agree in this, that they disorder the digestive organs, predispose to

most other diseases, *and materially shorten the term of life.* They both agree in this, that *they stupify and derange the intellectual powers, and that habitually;* for the seasons of depression are quite as far below healthy mental vigor, as those of alternate excitement are beyond. And over the final stages of mental suffering to which they both lead, one is fain to draw the veil: fiction can paint nothing of horror half so horrible. They both agree in this, that *they utterly corrupt the moral sense; give to gross appetite the reins of reason; deprave and brutalize the heart; shut up all the avenues to conscience; and make their victim the easy prey to every temptation that presents itself.*

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.* We need not appeal to the highly-wrought narratives of personal experience on the subject, which have of late years come before the public: they rather invite distrust than otherwise, by the exaggeration of their poetical style. But the fact is far too notorious to be questioned for one moment, that *there is in opium, once indulged in, a fatal fascination,*

which needs almost superhuman powers of self-denial and also capacity for the endurance of pain, to overcome.

The operation of opium is, on this account, more deadly, by many degrees, than its less tyrannous rival. In other respects, above mentioned, there is generally a more rapid, and more permanent, influence exerted by opium than by ardent spirits; an influence so directly inimical to all human happiness whatever, that, if the fact were not before our eyes, we might well doubt the cunning of the arch-fiend himself, to recommend to one son of Adam the use of such an instrument of self-destruction.

If this sketch be at all correct, it may almost seem unnecessary to ask, as proposed, "How far a man in health is justified in using opium as a stimulant?"

* * * * *

He who shuns not the temptation, invites the crime; *the crime is theft*; and the law of God says, "Thou shalt not steal." Does not the opium-smoker permit his depraved appetite to steal away his reason, his health, his peace of mind, his bodily rest, his time, his money, all hope for this life or the next? *The crime is murder*; and the law of God says, "Thou shalt not kill." But *the opium-smoker is the most determined of suicides*, for he pursues his self-destruction (in spite of himself, I may say, but that only proves the fatal desperation of his case more strongly) perhaps for some years together. Ordinary suicides effect their object more speedily;

but the opium-smoker equally succeeds in cutting short his days in the land of the living. I might go on, but I purposely abstain. I hope I have suggested enough at least to prove that it is very far from certain that opium-smoking is consistent with morality. I hope it may be seriously doubted whether it can harmlessly be indulged in, even in the slightest possible degree. I hope a suspicion may be awakened that *all use of opium, except under medical prescription, is an abuse of it; that utter abstinence from it is the only moderation*, and the smallest indulgence whatever intemperance. If such doubts be once awakened, a conscientious man will not smoke opium till they are allayed. He will examine the question as one in morals; and he will not rest until he has applied to the case before him, all those precepts of temperance, sobriety, self-denial, spiritual-mindedness, love to God, and a regard for his glory "in all things," patience, meekness, industry, charity, which the Bible contains, and which, under God's blessing, cannot fail to convince him that he is, as an opium-smoker, guilty of disobedience to them all.

2. The next point to be considered is—*the extent to which this pernicious drug is introduced into China by our countrymen in the East-Indies.*

The poppy is cultivated to a vast extent in the possessions of the East-India Company, and more particularly in Bengal, where the

circumstances of its cultivation demand particular attention. The following account is taken from an article on the "Cultivation of the Poppy," in the Chinese Repository for February 1837, pp. 473-475.

In India, the extent of territory occupied with the poppy, and the amount of population and capital engaged in its cultivation and in the preparation of opium, are far greater than in any other part of the world. Malwa, Benares, and Behar (Patna), are the chief localities; and nearly every chest of the drug exported from India bears one of their names, according to the part of the country in which it was produced. About one-half of the whole product of India is obtained from Malwa. Though the chiefs of Malwa are under British protection, the management of the soil is entirely beyond the Company's authority, and both the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium are free. The traffic in the drug is also free, excepting "transit duties," which are levied upon it when passing through the British territories, as most of it does on its way to Bombay, from whence it is exported to China. But in Benares, Behar, and throughout all the territories within the Company's jurisdiction, the cultivation of the poppy, the preparation of the drug, and the traffic in it, until it is brought to Calcutta, and sold by auction for exportation, are under a

strict monopoly. Should an individual undertake the cultivation, without having "entered into engagements with the government to deliver the produce at the fixed rate," his property would be immediately attached, and the ryot* compelled either to destroy his poppies, or give securities for the faithful delivery of the product. Nay, according to a late writer, "*the growing of opium is compulsory on the part of the ryot.*" Advances are made by Government, through its native servants, and if a ryot refuses the advance, "the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the peons seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. The business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he applies himself, as he may, to the fulfilment of his contract."

Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with poppies, *which require a very superior soil in, order to produce opium in perfection.* Hence, its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but *into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural purposes*, where other plants, "grown from time immemorial," have been driven out before it. But though poppies are now spread over a wide extent of territory, the cultivation is still, as it has long been, rapidly on the increase. *In 1821, in the single district of Sarun,*

* The *ryot* is the immediate cultivator of the soil.

belonging to the province of Behar, there were, according to the testimony of Mr. Kennedy (many years collector of land revenue and deputy opium agent in that district), between 15,000 and 20,000 bigahs of land (about one-third of an acre per bigah), then under cultivation. *In 1829, the amount was nearly or quite doubled, and the produce, in the meantime, had increased in a still greater degree.* * * *

The mode of cultivation pursued in the "Patna district" may afford a good idea of that which obtains in other places. The ryot, having selected a piece of ground, always preferring (*cæteris paribus*) that which is nearest his house, encloses it with a fence. He then, by repeated ploughings, makes it completely fine, and removes all the weeds and grass. Next, he divides the field into two or more divisions, by small dikes of mould, running lengthways and crossways, according to the slope and nature of the ground. He afterwards divides the field into smaller squares, by other dikes leading from the principal ones. A pit, or sort of well, is dug about ten feet deep at one end of the field, from which, by a leathern bucket, water is raised into one of the principal dikes, and in this way it is carried into every part of the field, as required. This irrigation is necessary, because the cultivation is carried on in the dry weather. The seed is sown in November, and the juice is collected in February and March, during a period usually of about six weeks. Throughout the whole

process the ryot is assisted by his family and servants, both women and children. As soon as the plants spring up, the weeding and watering commence and are continued till the poppies come to maturity. Perpendicular cuts or scratches are then made in the rind of the bulbous heads, with a muscle-shell, found in all the tanks of the country. From these cuts the juice exudes, and is daily collected and delivered to the local officers. This is a very tedious process, requiring constant attention. When the poppies are exhausted, their colour changes from green to white. The seeds contain no opium, and the labours of the season are now closed. The cultivator receives about three and a-half rupees (Sp. Dls. 1. 65) for each seer* of the poppy juice, which is required to be of a specified consistency. This must be such that a gomastah can take it out of the vessel in which it is brought for delivery by the ryot, and turn it over without its dropping off his hand; if it is not sufficiently dry to admit of this, it is either returned to the ryot for further evaporation, or an additional quantity must be delivered, to make up the deficiency.

The lands under cultivation are measured every year, and their boundaries fixed, in order to prevent collision among those to whom they are assigned. The government annually enters into an engagement with the cultivators, through an intermediate

* The *seer* = 1 lb. 13 oz. 13·866 dr. avoirdupois.

agency, constructed in the following manner : There is, 1st a collector, who is a European ; 2ndly, there are gomastahs, a superior class of men, both in education and caste ; 3rdly, sudder mattús, a respectable class of landholders ; 4thly, village mattús, the principal villagers, a little superior to the ryots ; and 5thly, the ryots, the chief labourers in the cultivation of poppies. The "engagement" entered into with the government is this : When the poppy is ripe, and immediately before the period of extracting the juice, the gomastah and his establishment make a circuit of the country, and form, "by guess," a probable estimate of the produce of each field. *He then makes the ryot enter into an engagement with him to deliver the quantity thus estimated, and as much more as the field will yield, at the price previously fixed ; if he fails to deliver the estimated quantity, and the collector has reason to suppose he has embezzled the deficiency, he is empowered by law to prosecute the ryot in the civil court for damages.*

The product in India, for the last year, it is said, amounts to about 35,000 chests. The Malwa averages about 134 lbs. per chest ; the other 116 lbs. The weight of a chest, however, varies, and is sometimes 140 lbs. In Turkey, the product may be 2,000 or more chests, annually. In regard to China, we have only the testimony of the counsellor Choo Tsun, respecting his native province, Yunnaw. The poppy, he says, is cultivated all over the hills and open cam-

paign, and the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests.

From the foregoing statements, derived chiefly from official documents, the reader will be able to form some opinion, as to the extent of territory, and the amount of population and capital, now devoted to the production of opium. Taking into account the whole of Turkey, China, and India, it will be seen that *many thousands of acres, with millions of the inhabitants, are employed in the cultivation of poppies.**

The purpose for which the poppy is cultivated and opium prepared to this vast extent in our Indian possessions, is plainly and unequivocally declared in the following extract from an article "On the Preparation of Opium for the Chinese Market: written in March 1835, and then communicated to the Benares and Behár Agencies; by D. Butter, M.D., Surgeon 63d B.N.I., late Opium Examiner of the Benares Agency." It was published in the

* The facts which are stated in the above article are supported by references to a great number of works: among which may be mentioned Thornton's State and Prospects of British India; the Singapore Free Press; Mr. Fleming's Papers on Revenue; and, more especially, Kennedy and Stark in Evidence on East-India Affairs.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 51, March 1836.

The great object of the Bengal opium agencies is to furnish an article suitable to the peculiar tastes of the population of China, who value any sample of opium in direct proportion to the quantity of hot-drawn watery extract obtainable from it, and to the purity and strength of the flavour of that extract when dried and smoked through a pipe. The aim, therefore, of the agencies should be to prepare their opium so that it may retain as much as possible its native sensible qualities, and its solubility in hot water. Upon these points depends the virtually higher price that Benares opium brings in the China market, and the lower prices of Behár, Malwa, and Turkey opium. Of the last of these, equal (Chinese) values contain larger quantities of the narcotic principles of opium, but are, from their greater spissitude, and the less careful preparation of the Behár and Malwa, incapable of yielding extract in equal quantity and perfection of flavour with the Benares.

It therefore becomes a question, how the whole process of the production of opium, from the sowing of the seed to the packing of the chests for sale, should be conducted, so as to preserve, with the least injury, its native flavour and its solubility.—*Chinese Repository, March 1837, p. 495.*

It may easily be supposed that, from this mo-

nopoly of the opium trade, the Indian government must derive a very considerable revenue. I have before me that portion of Mr. Montgomery Martin's elaborate and most valuable work, entitled "Statistics of the Colonies of the British Empire," which relates to Hindostan, and there I find (book iv. p. 360) a "Statement of the Sales of Opium by the East-India Company at Calcutta, from 1798-99 to 1836-37," from which it appears that

In the season	Chests.	Sicca Rupees.
ending 1800 they sold	4,054	for 3,142,591
1810	4,561	..... 8,070,955
1820	4,006	..... 8,255,603
1830	8,778	..... 11,255,767
1835	12,977	..... 13,215,464
1837	16,916	..... 25,395,300

The value of the sicca rupee varies; it is about 46-100ths of a dollar, or 2s. sterling. Sometimes it amounts to 2s. 2d. At the lower rate, the value of the opium sold in 1837 would amount to £2,539,530 sterling.

There follows a table in p. 361, containing a "Statement of the Opium exported from Calcutta to China, to the Ports in the Indian

Archipelago, and to Europe, from 1795 to 1835 ;” whence it appears that

in 1795-6, 1,070 chests were exported to China.

in 1834-5, 10,207 (nearly ten times as much !)

besides which, from Bombay and Damaun there were, of Malwa Opium, exported to China—

in 1821, 2,278 chests.

in 1835, 12,933 „

whence it appears that, in fifteen years, the quantity increased nearly six-fold !

At the same time, it is acknowledged, that “this estimate does not show the exact quantity brought to China, the table being very incomplete.”

On turning to another work (already quoted) entitled, “China: its State and Prospects, with especial reference to the Spread of the Gospel,” by W. H. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, I find, p. 85,

“The following statement exhibits the consumption of opium during the last twenty years :

1816 chests	3,210	value	3,657,000	dollars.
1820	4,770	.....	8,400,800	„
1825	9,621	.....	7,608,205	„

1830 chests	18,760	valued	12,900,031	dollars
1832	23,670	.....	15,338,160	„
1836	27,111	.....	17,904,248	„

And in a note, it is added,

The quantity introduced up to (during) the year ending in the spring of 1837, was 34,000 chests, and the deliveries during the month of July of the same year amounted to 4,000 chests.

Thus, in twenty-one years, the quantity imported has increased more than ten-fold!

Such, then, is the information I have been enabled to collect with regard to the quantity of opium which is imported by the English into China. What must we suppose to be the mischief resulting from the consumption of such an amazing quantity?

The “Remarks on the Opium Trade with China,” to which I have already referred, having been reprinted in the Chinese Repository for Nov. 1836, “A READER” attempted to reply to them in the following month, and made a calculation, from which it appears that 34,000 chests of opium annually imported, would yield 33,320,000 *taels* of the smokeable

extract, and this, divided by 365, would give 912,000* regular victims to this pernicious habit, allowing to each one *tael* per day. And as this amounts to only 1-326th of the whole population of China, and a considerable deduction (he supposes) must be made, for those who only occasionally indulge in this “sociable article of luxury and hospitality,” (who might, in the vast extent of the empire, be supposed to consume a large portion of the opium imported), “A READER” seems to think that no man’s conscience need be at all disturbed on account of the evil effects of the opium trade with China.

What sort of *conscience* “A READER” must have, who can so calmly contemplate the case of one-half, or one-third, of 91,200 “victimized smokers” of opium, I leave to my English readers to determine. But “ANOTHER READER,” in the number for Jan. 1837, makes the follow-

* There is a mistake in these figures, arising (as appears elsewhere) from a misprint, which runs through the Refutation also. I have therefore built nothing upon this calculation, but have made another, which is altogether independent of it.

ing observations in reply ; in introducing which I would merely remark, by the way, that even his calculations do not reach to the real amount of the evil : for the opium-eater and the opium-smoker *begin with a very small dose, which is gradually increased* till it comes to that quantity which marks the man as an irreclaimable victim to the habit. The number of opium-smokers who have entered on this sure and certain road to ruin, may, therefore, be fairly estimated at nearly double the number which a calculation would give, made on the assumption that each person consumes as much as the writer supposes, that is, a mace per day.

I have seen such a parade of figures now more than once ; and though it is barely worth the trouble, yet it may be as well to expose the fallacy which it involves. It is assuming that in China there are 300,000,000 people, and that 33,320,000 taels of the smokeable extract are imported yearly, making of “ victimized smokers,” as “ A Reader” truly calls them, 912,000, at the rate of 365 taels each, or $30\frac{1}{3}$ pounds-weight per annum, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pounds per month, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ounce per day, or $1\frac{1}{3}$ ounce per head for each and all of the immense population of China, from the remotest part of Tartary and Bokhára to the sea ;

besides the native poison grown in the country, which is supposed to be not inconsiderable. Of the 300,000,000 in China, &c., more than one-half may be safely put down as children and youth: of the remainder, one-half may be women; leaving probably, not (much) more than fifty millions of men; thus supposing that *all the men in China* could, and would use the drug, the number of the victimized, 1 in 912, is brought to 1 in 150; and from this an enormous deduction must be made for the aged, sick, and poor, and for those too far removed from the head quarters of the importers and sea-board to be able to obtain it at even enormous prices. It is, in fact, unlikely that it can as yet penetrate in large quantities much beyond the maritime provinces: and if only their population is taken, it will be seen that the ratio of "victimized smokers" will be prodigious; though even allowing the validity of the argument, I can scarcely admire a defence resting solely on the fact that only *a share* has been contaminated, and not *all*! This is much on the same principle as that of the girl who, being reproved for enriching the parish with a child, excused herself on the ground of its being "a very small one." The morality or immorality of the practice is unaffected by the extent to which it is carried; it is just or indefensible *per se* whether it spreads over one village or ten, and not, as an arithmetical question, as to the number within whose reach the drug is put.

And in a note he adds :

I am told, *au fait*, as to this, by Chinese, that it is but rarely that a man can be found who can consume a tael weight* of prepared opium in twenty-four hours ; and that, in any case, no one could long continue to do so. His death would prevent it. A mace† weight is, it is said, a tolerably good allowance ; and twice or thrice that quantity entitles one to the rank of a confirmed opium-smoker, “a hard goer,” in fact. One mace will fill twelve pipes. This would bring down “A Reader’s” estimate, say to 1 in 25 or 30. This amount of “excitement” to so sober a people as the Chinese are admitted to be, appears to me terrific, especially if its use is nearly confined to only parts of the country. As to the effects of this drug on the Chinese, I would recommend “A Reader” to look at Gutzlaff’s account of it in his junk voyage along the coast of China. He may there “sup full of its horrors.” Or, if he has not been in a public den of opium-smokers, let him see a picture of a madhouse, as shown in one, before he apologises for it as a harmless or elegant diversion. The awful picture in “Anastasius” of one of these dens in Turkey, is a correct one, also

* The tael = 10 drachms very nearly (apothecary’s weight), or, more accurately, 593·4 grains troy.

† That is to say, 59·34 grains, or very nearly one drachm.

of those which I have seen in this part of the world.
—Chin. Rep. pp. 407-410.

If this estimate be correct; if a mace weight would fill twelve pipes (which may be allowed to be “a tolerably good allowance” *for each day*), and if it be further observed that (according to some accounts) the mace weight which has served a luxurious smoker to-day will supply the pipe of a more wretched slave to this habit to-morrow; then will 34,000 chests (the amount imported during the last year to which my information extends) be abundantly sufficient to ruin the health and shorten the days of no less than 2,980,000 individuals. And, if he who begins to use this baneful drug at twenty years of age can never expect to reach his fortieth year, then what must be the average number *per annum*, of those who are cut off prematurely by the use of opium. The ordinary calculation is, unless my memory fails me, that of sixty persons living and in health at the age of twenty, one may be expected to die every year. That is to say, the above-mentioned 2,980,000 persons

who are living and in health at the age of twenty, would not, in the ordinary course of nature, be all dead in less than sixty years. If, on the contrary, in consequence of the use of opium, they all die in twenty years, the rate of mortality is tripled ! and thus within the space of twenty years, not less than 1,996,000 are murdered by the use of this pernicious drug ; or 99,300 * every year ! I confine myself, in this calculation, to the effects of *imported* opium. At whose hands will the blood of all these victims to opium-smoking be required ?

* This calculation may seem extreme, or even exaggerated : nor is it easy to make any calculation, in cases of this nature, which can be depended upon. If the destruction of life by means of opium-smoking amounts to only *one-tenth* of this number, it is sufficiently awful. But, sad to say, if we may judge at all from a comparison of the rate at which the Chinese population increased *before* the traffic in opium began, with the much diminished rate at which it has been increasing *since*, we should be led to fear that even the calculation in the text does not by any means reach the real extent of the waste of life that has resulted from this baneful traffic. Perhaps many who have actually died of famine, by murder, or by the increased virulence of various diseases, might be set down as *indirectly* the victims of opium.

On this head I need only add the following extract from the "Remarks on the Opium Trade with China," which I have already noticed, as I find them reprinted in the Chinese Repository for Nov. 1836, pp. 304, 305.

We have no such access to China as enables us to render a full statistical account of the desolation spread there by opium. It would be of comparatively little use if we had; for at the rate at which the trade is now advancing, statistics are utterly distanced long before they could be properly compiled. The importation of opium into China is increasing in a ratio which doubles it in nearly four years! It amounted in value last year to not much less than four crores of rupees! (About Sp.Dls. 19,230,769.) Notwithstanding the rapid progress in the increasing supply, the demand more than keeps pace with it; and there is every probability, unless some direct interference of Providence mercifully thwart the natural course of events, that both will go on increasing in an increasing ratio until "ruin stand aghast" at its own awful doings. Our sin in growing and encouraging the trade in opium is, indeed, one of the darkest that ever invoked the wrath of the most high God upon a people. Where are the preachers of the gospel? where is the spirit of common humanity fled, that this sin should till this moment exist unrebuked? Oh! what a wail of misery would awaken

your remorse and compassion, could the dying agonies of one poor opium-victim reach your soul? Think then of THE MILLIONS who have already thus perished, and then ask yourself how long is this to continue, and no man in a Christian land to regard it.

3. That under any circumstances, that in any way, such a vast quantity of this poisonous drug should be introduced into China, to spread its baneful influence among the population of that country, and to ruin such multitudes both in mind and body, is surely a fact to be most deeply deplored, and such as cannot fail to affect with painful emotions every man who is not utterly lost to every feeling of humanity. But this is not the whole of the evil. It is necessary to call attention to *the manner in which this opium is introduced into that country.*

It was, in the first instance, considered simply as a medicine, which, under certain circumstances, might properly be administered, and tend greatly to alleviate human suffering. It was, therefore, inserted in the tariff of Canton as such, and subject to a regular duty. But, as early as the year 1796, the evils resulting from the practice of opium-smoking had awak-

ened the attention of the Chinese government. The practice was accordingly forbidden, under penalties which have been continually increasing in severity ; the importation was also strictly forbidden, and (in 1821) the Hong merchants of Canton were called upon to give securities that no opium was contained in any of those vessels which were permitted to enter the harbour of Canton and to discharge their cargoes there. Nay, so fully were the East-India Company convinced of the absolute necessity of carrying on their regular trade with China with clean hands, and free from all appearance of in any way aiding or abetting the introduction of opium, that *any one of their regular captains or officers, who had brought with him to Canton in his ship a single chest of opium, would have been instantly and for ever dismissed from the Company's service.*

All the opium therefore which is now, and has been for the last forty-three years, introduced into China by us, has been *smuggled* into the country *in defiance of the Laws and Regulations of the Chinese government.*

It will be proper to illustrate and confirm this statement by extracts from authentic documents, which have been presented to the Chinese government on the subject.

The first of these, from which I shall quote, is a memorial addressed to the Emperor by Heu Naetse, an officer of one of the local courts of Peking, who had been for some time commissioner of the salt agency in Canton, and for a short time (in 1834) acting judicial commissioner; in both which offices, as he himself states, he had made it his special duty to enquire particularly into every thing of importance respecting the province. It will appear from the document itself, that he had contrived to gain most accurate information respecting the facts of the case: the whole process of the iniquity of the opium trade is therefore perfectly well known to the Chinese government. With regard to the view he takes and the measures he advises, the character of Heu Naetse, whether as a man or a politician, will not, I conceive, appear to my readers in so favourable a light as that of another memorial-

ist whom I must presently introduce to their notice. There seems to be in him a cool, reckless apathy to the sufferings and ruin of the common people; if only he can preserve the officers of the government, the scholars, and the military, from the ruinous effects of opium-smoking. His testimony, however, to the facts of the case and the nature of the trade, is highly important: on these points, therefore, let him speak for himself. To the memorial (which I think it best to insert at full length) I subjoin the imperial edict, which acknowledges the receipt of it, and gives directions thereupon.

Heu Naetse, Vice-President of the Sacrificial Court, presents the following memorial in regard to opium, to show that the more severe the edicts against it are made, the more widely do the evils arising therefrom spread; and that it is right urgently to request, that a change be made in the arrangements respecting it; to which end he earnestly entreats his Sacred Majesty to cast a glance thereon, and to issue strict orders for a faithful investigation of the subject.

I would humbly represent that opium was originally ranked among medicines; its qualities are stimulant; it also checks excessive secretions, and

prevents the evil effects of noxious vapours. In the materia medica of Le Shechin, of the Ming dynasty, it is called afooyung. *When any one is long habituated to inhaling it, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it, being inveterate, is destructive of time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life.* Of those who use it to great excess, *the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, the teeth black; the individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it, yet cannot refrain from it.* It is indeed indispensably necessary to enact severe prohibitions in order to eradicate so vile a practice.

On inquiry, I find that there are three kinds of opium: one is called *Company's*; the outer covering of it is black, and hence it is also called 'black earth,' *it comes from Bengal*; a second kind is called 'white skin,' *and comes from Bombay*; the third kind is called 'red-skin,' *and comes from Madras.* *These are places which belong to England.*

In Keënlung's reign, as well as previously, opium was inserted in the tariff of Canton as a medicine, subject to a duty of three taels per hundred catties, with an additional charge of two taels, four mace and five candareens, under the name of charge per package. After this, it was prohibited. *In the first year of Keaking, (1796), those found guilty of smoking opium were subject only to the punishment of the pillory and bamboo. Now they have, in the course of*

time, become liable to the severest penalties, transportation in various degrees, and death after the ordinary continuance in prison. Yet the smokers of the drug have increased in number, and the practice has spread throughout almost the whole empire. In Keën-lung's and the previous reigns, when opium passed through the custom-house and paid a duty, it was given into the hands of the Hong merchants, in exchange for tea and other goods. But at the present time, the prohibitions of government being most strict against it, none dare openly to exchange goods for it: all secretly purchase it with money. In the reign of Keäking there arrived, it may be, some hundred chests annually. The number has now increased to upwards of 20,000 chests, containing each a hundred catties. The 'black earth,' which is the best, sells for about 800 dollars, foreign money, per chest; the 'white-skin,' which is next in quality, for about 600 dollars; and the last, or 'red-skin,' for about 400 dollars. The total quantity sold during the year amounts in value to ten and some odd millions of dollars; so that, in reckoning the dollar at seven mace standard weight of silver, the annual waste of money somewhat exceeds ten millions of taels. Formerly, the barbarian merchants brought foreign money to China, which, being paid in exchange for goods, was a source of pecuniary advantage to the people of all the sea-board provinces. But latterly, the barbarian merchants have clandestinely sold opium for money,

which has rendered it necessary for them to export foreign silver. Thus foreign money has been going out of the country, while none comes into it.

During two centuries, the government has now maintained peace, and by fostering the people, has greatly promoted the increase of wealth and opulence among them. With joy we witness the economical rule of our august Sovereign, an example to the whole empire. Right it is that yellow gold be common as the dust.

Always in times past, a tael* of pure silver exchanged for nearly about 1,000 coined cash, but of late years the same sum has borne the value of 1,200 or 1,300 cash; thus the price of silver rises but does not fall. In the salt agency, the price of salt is paid in cash, while the duties are paid in silver: now the salt merchants have all become involved, and the existing state of the salt trade in every province is abject in the extreme. How is this occasioned, but by the unnoticed oozing out of pure silver? If the easily exhaustible stores of the central spring go to fill up the wide and fathomless gulph of the outer seas, gradually pouring themselves out from day to day, and from month to month, we shall shortly be reduced to a state of which I cannot bear to speak.

* For properly 1 tael = 10 mace; 1 mace = 10 candareens; and 1 candareen = 10 cash: and 7 mace 2 candareens = 1 Spanish dollar = 4s. 6d. sterling. The tael, therefore = 6s. 10d. English.

Is it proposed entirely to cut off the foreign trade, and thus to remove the root, to dam up the source of the evil? The Celestial Dynasty would not, indeed, hesitate to relinquish the few millions of duties arising therefrom. But all the nations of the West have had a general market open to their ships for upwards of a thousand years, *while the dealers in opium are the English alone*; it would be wrong, for the sake of cutting off the English trade, to cut off that of all the other nations. Besides, the hundreds of thousands of people living on the sea-coast depend wholly on trade for their livelihood; and how are they to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepôt and the native sea-going vessels can meet them there; it is then impossible to cut off the trade. Of late years, the foreign vessels have visited all the ports of Fuhkeën, Chě-keäng, Keängnan, Shan-tung, even to Teëntsin, and Mantchouria, *for the purpose of selling opium*. And although at once expelled by the local authorities, yet it is reported that the quantity sold by them was not small. Thus it appears that, though the commerce of Canton should be cut off, yet it will not be possible to prevent *the clandestine introduction of merchandise*.

Is it said the daily increase of opium is owing to the negligence of officers in enforcing the interdicts? *The laws and enactments are the means which extor-*

tionate underlings and worthless vagrants employ to benefit themselves; and the more complete the laws are, the greater and more numerous are the bribes paid to the extortionate underlings, and the more subtle are the schemes of such worthless vagrants. In the first year of Taoukwang, the governor of Kwantung and Kwangse, Yuen Yuen proceeded with all the rigour of the law against Ye Hangshoo, head of the opium establishment then at Macao. The consequence was that foreigners, having no one with whom to place their opium, proceeded to Lintin to sell it. This place is within the precincts of the provincial government, and has a free communication by water on all sides. *Here are constantly anchored seven or eight large ships, in which the opium is kept, and which are therefore called 'receiving ships.'* At Canton there are brokers of the drug, who are called 'melters.' *These pay the price of the drug into the hands of the resident foreigners, who give them orders for the delivery of the opium from the receiving ships. There are carrying boats plying up and down the river, and these are vulgarly called 'fast crabs' and 'scrambling dragons.'* *They are well armed with guns and other weapons, and are manned with some scores of desperadoes, who ply their oars as if they were wings to fly with. All the custom-houses and military posts which they pass are largely bribed. If they happen to encounter any of the armed cruising boats, they are so audacious as to resist, and slaughter and carnage*

ensue. The late governor Loo, on one occasion, having directed the commodore Tsin Yuchang to cooperate with Teën Poo, the district magistrate of Heängshan, they captured Leäng Heënně, with a boat containing opium to the amount of 14,000 catties. *The number of men killed and taken prisoners amounted to several scores.* He likewise inflicted the penalty of the laws on the criminals Yaoukow and Owkwan (both of them being brokers,) and confiscated their property. This shows that faithfulness in the enforcement of the laws is not wanting; and yet the practice cannot be checked. *The dread of the laws is not so great on the part of the common people, as is the anxious desire of gain, which incites them to all manner of crafty devices, so that sometimes, indeed, the law is rendered wholly ineffective.*

There are also, both on the rivers and at sea, *banditti, who, with pretence of acting under the orders of government, and of being sent to search after and prevent the smuggling of opium, seek opportunities for plundering.* When I was lately placed in the service of your Majesty as acting Judicial Commissioner at Canton, circumstances of this nature were very frequently reported. Out of these arose a still greater number of cases, in which money was extorted for the ransom of plundered property. *Thus a countless number of innocent people were involved in suffering.* All these wide-spread evils have arisen since the interdicts against opium were published.

It will be found, on examination, that *the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them*, and are unworthy of regard or even of contempt. And though there are smokers to be found who have over-stepped the threshold of age, yet *they do not attain to the long life of other men*. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire, and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein: while, on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great, or too early, precautions against the annual waste which is taking place of the resources, the very substance of China. Now, to close our ports against [all trade] will not answer; and as the laws issued against opium are quite inoperative, the only method left is to resort to the former system, and to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium, paying duty thereon as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the custom-house, it shall be delivered to the Hong merchants only in exchange for merchandise, and no money be paid for it. The barbarians, finding that the amount of duties to be paid on it is less than what is now spent in bribes, will also gladly comply therein. Foreign money should be placed on the same footing with sycee silver, and the exportation of it should be equally prohibited. Offenders when caught should be punished by the entire destruction of the opium they may have, and the confiscation of the money that may be found with them.

With regard to officers, civil and military, and to the scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfil the duties of their rank and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or to walk in a path *which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property*. If, however, the laws enacted against the practice be made too severe, the result will be mutual connivance. It becomes my duty, then, to request that it be enacted, that any officer, scholar, or soldier found guilty of secretly smoking opium, shall be immediately dismissed from public employ, without being made liable to any other penalty. In this way, lenity will become, in fact, severity towards them. And further, that, if any superior or general officer be found guilty of knowingly and wilfully conniving at the practice among his subordinates, such officer shall be subjected to a court of inquiry. Lastly, that no regard shall be paid to the purchase and use of opium on the part of the people generally.

Does any suggest a doubt, that to remove the existing prohibitions will detract from the dignity of Government? I would ask, if he is ignorant that the pleasures of the table and of the nuptial couch may also be indulged in to the injury of health? Nor are the invigorating drugs *footsze* and *wootow* devoid of poisonous qualities: yet it has never been

heard that any one of these has been interdicted. Besides, the removal of the prohibitions refers only to the vulgar and common people, those who have no official duties to perform. So long as the officers of government, the scholars, and the military are not included, I see no detriment to the dignity of government: and by allowing the importation and exchange of the drug for other commodities, more than ten millions of money will annually be prevented from flowing out of the central land. On which side then is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance. But if we still idly look back, and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when eventually it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are impoverished, and their wealth departed. Should we then begin to turn round, we shall find that reform comes too late.

Though but a servant of no value, I have by your Majesty's condescending favour been raised from a subordinate censorship to various official stations, both at court and in the provinces; and filled, on one occasion, the chief judicial office in the region south of the great mountains (Kwangtung). Ten years spent in endeavours to make some return have produced no fruit; and I find myself overwhelmed with shame and remorse. But with regard to the

great advantages, or great evils, of any place where I have been, I have never failed to make particular inquiries. Seeing that the prohibitions now in force against opium serve but to increase the prevalence of the evil, and that there is none found to represent the facts directly to your Majesty, and feeling assured that I am myself thoroughly acquainted with the real state of things, I dare no longer forbear to let them reach your Majesty's ear. Prostrate I beg my august Sovereign to give secret directions to the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of Kwangtung, together with the Superintendant of maritime customs, that they faithfully investigate the character of the above statements; and that, if they find them really correct, they speedily prepare a list of regulations adapted to a change in the system, and present the same for your Majesty's final decision. Perchance this may be found adequate to stop further oozing out of money, and to replenish the national resources. With inexpressible awe and trembling fear I reverently present this memorial, and await your Majesty's commands.*

The following document was received on the 2nd of July, from the Grand Council of Ministers at Peking, addressed "to the Governor of Leäng Kwang, Täng, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Kwangtung, Ke, by whom it is to be enjoined also on the Hoppo Wän ;"

* Manifest errors of the press have been corrected in this and other extracts from the Chinese Repository.

On the 29th of the 4th month (12th June 1836,) the following Imperial Edict was given to us :

Hew Naetse, Vice-President of the Sacrificial Court, has presented a memorial in regard to opium, representing that the more severe the interdicts against it are made, so much the more widely do the evils arising from it spread ; and that of late years, the barbarians, not daring openly to give it in barter for other commodities, have been in the habit *of selling it clandestinely* for money, thus occasioning an annual loss to the country, estimated at above ten millions of taels. He, therefore, requests that a change be made in regard to it, again permitting it to be introduced and given in exchange for other commodities. Let Tǎng Tingching deliberate with his colleagues on the subject, and then report to us. Let a copy of the original memorial be sent with this edict to Tǎng Tingching and Ke Kung, who are to enjoin it also upon Wǎn. Respect this.

In obedience hereto, we, the Ministers of the Grand Council, transmit the enclosed.—*Chinese Repository for July 1836*, pp. 139-144.

The above document is at once so curious and so important, that, though some parts of it scarcely seem relevant to the question before us, I have deemed it best not to mutilate it, but to give it to my readers as I find it. I have only taken the liberty of printing in italics

those passages or expressions, to which it seems peculiarly important to direct the attention of the English reader; who will perceive that, while it incidentally confirms the statements of the pernicious effects of opium which have been already made, it more particularly sets forth *the evils of the system by which it is smuggled into China*: and affords the clearest proof, that the iniquities of which our countrymen are guilty herein are fully known to the Emperor of China and to his ministers at Peking. If confirmation be needed, this is abundantly confirmed by the following extract from the "Report of the Governor of Kwangtung* and Kwangse, and the Lieut.-governor of Kwangtung," &c. (to whom the above memorial was referred), "in reference to the proposal to sanction the importation of opium."

Now, in regard to opium, it is an article brought into the central empire from the lands of the far-distant barbarians, and has been imported during a long course of years. In the reigns of Yungching

* Kwangtung is Canton, or, rather, the province of which Canton is the capital.

and Keënlung, it was included in the tariff of maritime duties, under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing it, or inhaling it. But *in the 4th year of Keaking (1799)*, the then governor of this province, Keihking, of the imperial kindred, regarding it as a subject of deep regret, that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land, *to the waste of their time and the destruction of their property*, presented a memorial requesting that the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment. *This punishment has been gradually increased to transportation and death by strangling.* The law is by no means deficient in severity; but *the people are not so much influenced by the fear of the laws as by the desire of gain.* Hence, from the time that the prohibition was passed, the crafty schemes and devices of evil men have daily multiplied. On the one hand, *receiving ships are anchored in the entrances from the outer seas.* On the other hand, *brokers, called melters, are everywhere established in the inner land.* Then again, *'fast crabs' and 'scrambling dragons'*—as the boats are called—*are fitted out for clandestine commerce; and lastly, vagabonds, pretending authority to search, have under this pretext indulged their own unruly desires.* Thus, what was

at first a common article, of no esteem in the market, *either for smoking or eating*, and also of a moderate price, has, with the increase in the severity of the regulations, increased in demand, and been clandestinely and largely imported, annually drawing away from the pecuniary resources of the inner land, while it has done nothing to enrich it.

We, your Majesty's Ministers, having examined the original memorial, and considered the details therein contained respecting the evils to be removed, *regard the whole as true and accurate.*—*Chinese Repository for Oct. 1836*, pp. 260-261.

The same facts which are mentioned in these Chinese documents have been detailed to me by one who, from long personal acquaintance with India and the trade with China, and from long employment in the service of the East-India Company, was qualified to speak as an eye and ear-witness to the facts. Vessels have been built and equipped for this traffic in the various ports of India ; and (sad to think, in connexion with the traffic in which they are engaged !) they are among the finest vessels that anywhere float upon the mighty waters : so built, so equipped, and so manned, that they seem to achieve impossibilities. The receiving ships,

which serve as warehouses, are anchored at Lintin. There are English agents at Canton, who transact the necessary business with the Chinese dealers in opium, who receive the money from them in payment, and give them orders for such quantities of the drug as they require upon the receivers at Lintin. And from the receiving ships, the opium is conveyed up the country by native boats, manned by desperadoes of the worst and lowest class. All the iniquities of bribery, fraud, duplicity, perjury, and violence, which are inseparably connected with smuggling, are continually going on! And (as is specially mentioned in the above memorial) occasional bloody collisions with the Native Authorities are sometimes the inevitable consequences; if indeed, at other times, they are not a part of the system of iniquity and fraud, got up (at the expence of many lives) when a long course of connivance, purchased by bribery, has given occasion for suspicions, which must be lulled to sleep by a great display of vigilance and activity.

Is it needful, in this enlightened age, to en-

large upon the evils which are inseparably connected with such a system of smuggling? or to point out to the inhabitants of any civilised country, the direful demoralization that must be the inevitable result, with all those who are directly or indirectly involved in it? Do we not know, that, if we needed to look out for ready instruments for the perpetration of all imaginable atrocities, we need only go into the haunts of smugglers to find them?

I know not what those who consider themselves as enlightened Britons will think or say upon this subject. I know not what judgment they will pronounce upon *the practice of opium-smoking*, or *the system of determined smuggling*, by means of which this poisonous drug is introduced in such quantities into China. This little book, from first to last, is but an appeal to my Countrymen on the question. We shall see, in due time, what kind of response it meets with. But this I know, that the Chinese Government and people, absurd, unenlightened, prejudiced, ignorant, and semi-barbarous, as perhaps we imagine them to be,

have formed their judgment, deliberately and decidedly, both with regard to the practice of opium-smoking, and with regard to the conduct and character of those who are engaged in smuggling opium into China.

4. It is perhaps, to any one who is jealous for the honour of his country, the most humiliating part of the enquiry, to ascertain *in what light the Government of China look upon this traffic, and upon us as a people engaged in it,* and (herewith) engaged in deliberate and systematic evasion and violation of their laws; and all this for the purpose of getting gain by the sale of a drug, of which the effect, if not the purpose, is, to ruin and poison a large proportion of their population! But facts must be known. It will not do, in such an age as this, to shut our eyes or our ears against them.

We are, perhaps, so much disposed to think highly of ourselves, and to look down with contempt upon other and distant nations, that we can scarcely persuade ourselves that Chinese statesmen are capable of investigating a question of this nature, or of forming a distinct

and luminous opinion respecting the effects of opium, or the nature and evils of that system of smuggling by which it is introduced into their country. We imagine, that they are scarcely capable of anything beyond a blind and bigoted attachment to the customs of past ages. The preceding memorial of Heu Naetse, however, (though not the most favourable specimen of a Chinese statesman), will serve to show, that the officers of the Chinese government are by no means such mere slaves of prejudice: that they have sufficient energy and independence of judgment to contemplate the question of important changes in their system, to enquire into facts, to penetrate the subtle disguises under which a system of fraud is carried on, to detect the whole process of foreign iniquity, and to investigate the circumstances which call for new regulations. But the following memorial, taking an opposite view of the question (of legalizing the trade in opium), will give a much fairer specimen of the Chinese mind. It presents to us another Chinese statesman, taking a calm and delibe-

rate view of a question in which the welfare of the Chinese empire and people is concerned; reasoning thereon like a politician, a philosopher, and a philanthropist; defending, indeed, the present system, and deprecating a change; but doing this with a soundness of reasoning and weight of argument, which might well put to shame very many of our European statesmen. This memorial is the more important, as it seems calculated to bring before us the motives and principles by which the Chinese government have hitherto been actuated, in prohibiting the use and importation of opium: while at the same time (though in the calmest manner) it points out the evils connected, both with the use of opium and with the manner in which it is imported; and shows that the minds of the Chinese government are sufficiently awake, to enable them to penetrate into the deepest designs of Foreign governments, and to foresee the remoter consequences of present evils. If their suspicions go so far as to impute to us designs which we never dreamed of, it is only the more to be lamented that they

see our countrymen engaged in such a course of systematic iniquity, as appears to warrant them in imputing to us the very worst motives of baseness and treachery that the mind of man can conceive.

Let us now proceed to the memorial itself, which I give as I find it in the Chinese Repository for January 1837, pp. 390-398; only printing (as before) the most striking and important passages and expressions in a different type.

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 respectfully 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 desuetude. 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 in 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 entrusted 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 transac-

tion 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 Teën Poo, the magistrate of Heängshan, those officers seized a vessel belonging to Leäng Heënnëë, 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 necessarily 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 stoppages 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 per-

plexed and bewildered by it, think that a prohibition, which does not *utterly* prohibit, is no better than one which does not at all 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 Kwangse 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 unbecomingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

Again, it is said that the prohibitions against the planting of the poppy by the natives should be relaxed; and that the direct consequences 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. Is it, 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 at 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 Keängsoo, Chëkeäng, Fuhkeën, 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 Keängsoo pieces, Fuh-

keën 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 what is in ordinary use.

From Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, Chěkeäng, 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 see 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 to 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 always prefer 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 Hung-maou (Red-haired), came thither, and having manufactured opium, seduced some of the natives into the habit of smoking it. From these 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 HUNG-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 Fuhkeën, Chěkeäng, Keängnan, and Shantung, and even to Teëntsin,—*to what motives 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 following remark by him, dated the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign (1717):—"There is cause for apprehension, lest, in centuries or millenniums 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 consideration 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 Keäking (1818), your Majesty's benevolent predecessor, surnamed the Profound, directing the Governor of Canton to adopt measures to control and restrain the barbarians, ad-

dressed him in the following terms :—“ The empire, 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 favors ; but to the rebellious and disobedient, it displays its terrors. *Respecting the English trade at Canton*, and the anchorage grounds 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 principle 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 indecisive manner,

lest those towards whom it is exercised should see 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 Lieut.-Governors, the Commanders of the forces, and their subordinates, have again and again been directed to pay the strictest attention to the discipline and exercise 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 care 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 instance of the campaign against the Yaou rebels, in the 12th year of our Sovereign's reign (1832). In the army sent to Leënchow 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 ear-rings,"—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 per-

mitted 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 bands 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 "entrapping 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 the 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 enticement 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 re-

covery. 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 but of 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 embued with the rich dew of favours, 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 Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of all the Provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the enforcement 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 indul-

gence,—and that on any found guilty of storing up or selling opium to the amount of 1,000 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.

But Choo Tsun is not the only Chinese statesman who takes this view, and urges it at the present time.

Heu Kew, sub-censor over the Military Department, kneeling presents this memorial, *to point out the increasing craftiness of foreigners from beyond the seas, in their pursuit of gain,* and the daily diminution of the resources of the empire.

This memorial is inserted at full length, with only the omission of some names, in the Chinese Repository for January 1837, pp. 398-404. It will only be necessary to transcribe the following passages:

According to the information that I have obtained, the sale of opium is the chief medium through which money is drained off, and carried beyond the seas. *In the first year of Keäking (1796), the opium sold by*

foreigners in Kwangtung did not exceed a few hundred chests. The number has now increased to upwards of 20,000 chests. These include three distinct kinds, the "black-earth," the "white-skinned," and the "red-skinned." The price of each chest is from 800 to 900 dollars for the best, and from 500 to 600 for the inferior quality. This applies to what is sold in the province of Kwangtung. With regard to the other provinces, the vessels of which carry on illicit traffic with the receiving ships at Lintin, it is difficult to obtain any full and complete statement respecting them.

The amount annually lost to the country is about ten and some odd millions of money. The money thus lost was, at first, the foreign money wherewith foreigners had previously purchased goods : now it is entirely the fine silver of the inner land, cast into a different form at Macao. Formerly the foreigners imported money to purchase the merchandise of the country, but now it has all been carried back. In the first instance it was their practice to recast the foreign money, fearing lest any discovery should be made of their transactions, but now they *openly* carry away sycee silver. The *ships which*, as they bring commodities of all kinds, *anchor at Whampoa, used formerly to have opium concealed in their holds ;* but in the first year of Taoukwang (1821), owing to a petition from one Yě Hangshoo, investigation was made, and *the Hong merchants have always since then been required to sign bonds, that no foreign vessel*

which enters the port of Canton has any opium on board: and, from that period, the opium-receiving ships have all anchored at Lintin, only going in the 4th or 5th month of every year (May or June) to the anchorage of Kapshwuy Moon, and in the 9th month (October) returning to Lintin. In the 13th year (1833), the foreigners discovered that the anchorage of Kumsing Moon affords more perfect security; and since then they have removed their anchorage from Kapshwuy Moon to Kumsing Moon. The latter place is near to the villages Kepă and Tangkeă, pertaining to the district of Heăngshan; and the anchorage of the ships there, inexpedient as it is for the people resident in those villages, is not the less convenient *for such traitorous natives as are in combination with the Foreigners.* * * *

It is since the suppression of the pirates in the reign of Keăking, that opium has gradually blazed up into notice. At first the annual sale of it did not exceed in value a few millions, but of late it has risen to nearly twenty millions; and *the increase and accumulation of the amount, from day to day, and from month to month, is more than can be told.* How can it be otherwise, than that the silver of China is lessened, and rendered insufficient even daily? But that it has gone to this length is altogether attributable to the conduct of the great officers of the above-mentioned province in times past; to their sloth and remissness, their fearfulness and timidity, their anxiety

to show themselves liberal and indulgent,—by which they have been led to neglect obedience to the prohibitory enactments, and to fail in the strict enforcement of the precautionary regulations.

* * * * *

Moreover if the sale of the drug be not prohibited, neither can men be prevented from inhaling it. And if only the officers of Government and the military be prohibited, these being all taken from the scholars and common people, what ground will be found for any such *partial* prohibition to rest upon? Besides, *having a clear conviction that the thing is highly injurious to men, to permit it, notwithstanding, to pervade the Empire—nay, even to lay on it a duty—is conduct quite incompatible with the yet uninjured dignity of the great and illustrious Celestial Empire.* In my humble view of the case, the exportation of sycee silver to foreign regions and the importation of opium are both rightly interdicted. But local officers, having received the interdicts, have not strenuously enforced them, and hence the one coming in has produced the outgoing of the other. If, in place of reprehending their failure strenuously to enforce them, these prohibitions be even now repealed, this will be indeed to encourage the vicious among the people, and to remove all fault from the local officers. But how, when once this prohibition of opium is withdrawn, shall the interdict against the exportation of sycee silver be rendered strict? It

cannot be so; for we shall then ourselves have removed the barriers. It were better that, instead of altering and changing the laws and enactments, and utterly breaking down the barrier raised by them, the old established regulations should be diligently maintained, and correction be severely employed.

Now between the inner land and the outer seas a wide separation exists. *The traitorous natives who sell the opium cannot alone, in person, carry on the traffic with the foreign ships. To purchase wholesale, there are brokers. To arrange all transactions, there are the Hong merchants. To give orders to be carried to the receiving ships, that from them the drug may be obtained, there are resident barbarians. And to ply to and fro for its conveyance, there are boats called 'fast-crabs.'* From the great Ladrone island, at the entrance of the inner seas, to Kumsing Moon, there are all along various naval stations; and to bring in foreign vessels there are pilots appointed; so that it cannot be a difficult thing to keep a constant watch upon the ships. And, even though from Fuhkeën and Chěkeäng, from the ports of Shanghae and Teëntsin, vessels should repair directly to the receiving ships to trade with them; yet, situated as their anchorage is, in the inner seas, what is there to prevent such vessels from being observed and seized? And yet, of late years, there has been only a solitary instance, namely, during the late governor Loo's administration, when Taën Poo, magistrate of

the district of Heängshan, in conjunction with the naval force, captured one single boat laden with opium. With this exception, we have but little of seizures. The reason is, that *the men who are appointed to observe and watch for offenders receive presents to pass over all things and observe nothing.*

From times of old it has been a maxim, in reference to ruling barbarians, to deal closely with what is within, but to deal in generals with that which is without,—first to govern one's self, and *then* only to govern others. We must, then, in the first place, establish regulations for the punishment of offences; and afterwards we may turn to the traitorous natives who sell the drug, the Hong merchants who arrange the transactions, the brokers who purchase wholesale, the boat-people who convey the drug, and the naval officers who receive bribes; and having with the utmost strictness discovered and apprehended these offenders, we must inflict on them the severest punishments of the law. In this way the inhabitants of the inner land may be awed and purified.

The resident barbarians dwell separately in the foreign factories. In the * * * * *
* * * * * and besides these there are, I apprehend, many others. The treatment of those within having been rendered severe, we may next turn to these resident foreigners, examine and apprehend them, and keep them in arrest, then acquaint them with the established regulations and compel

them, within a limited period, to cause all the receiving ships anchored at Lintin to return to their country. *They should be required also to write a letter to the King of their country, telling him that opium is a poison which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people; that the Celestial Empire has inflicted on all the traitorous natives who sold it the severest penalties; that with regard to themselves, the resident foreigners, the Government, taking it into consideration that they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death upon them; but that, if the opium receiving ships will desist from coming to China, they shall be indulgently released, and permitted to continue their commercial intercourse as usual; whereas, if they will again build receiving vessels, and bring them hither to entice the natives, the commercial intercourse granted them in teas, silks, &c. shall assuredly be altogether interdicted, and on the resident foreigners of the said nation the laws shall be executed capitally.* If commands be issued of this plain and energetic character, in language strong, and in sense becoming, *though their nature be the most abject*—that of a dog or a sheep, yet having a care for their own lives, they will not fail to seek the gain, and to flee the danger.

Some think this mode of proceeding too severe, and fear lest it should give rise to a contest on our frontiers. Again and again I have revolved this subject in my mind, and reconsidered how that, *while*

in their own country no opium is smoked, THE BARBARIANS YET SEEK TO POISON THEREWITH THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL FLOWERY LAND ; and that while they bring to us no foreign silver, they yet would take away our native coin ; and I have, therefore, regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf. Of late, the foreign vessels have presumed to make their way into every place, and to cruise about in the inner seas. IS IT LIKELY THAT IN THIS THEY HAVE NO EVIL DESIGN OF SPYING OUT OUR REAL STRENGTH OR WEAKNESS ? If now they be left thus to go on from step to step, and their conduct be wholly passed over, the wealth of the land must daily waste away and be diminished. And if, when our people are worn out, and our wealth rendered insufficient, any difficulty should then, even by the slightest chance, as one in ten thousand, turn up, how, I would ask, shall it be warded off ? Rather than to be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought now, *while yet our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our Government ; nor (it may be hoped) have any longer the means of exercising their petty arts and devices.*"

The following remarks on the subject are taken from the "Imperial Edict, referring the

Memorials of Choo Tsun and Heu Kew to the chief provincial officers of Canton.”

Opium, coming from the distant regions of barbarians, has pervaded the country with its baneful influence, and has been made a subject of very severe prohibitory enactments. But, of late, there has been a diversity of opinion in regard to it, some requesting a change in the policy hitherto adopted, and others recommending the continuance of the severe prohibitions. It is highly important to consider the subject carefully in all its bearings, surveying at once the whole field of action, so that such measures may be adopted as shall continue for ever in force, free from all failure.

In addition to these memorials addressed to the supreme government and the edicts which refer to them, it is also desirable to call attention to the edicts of the provincial government of Canton, which have been issued on the subject, in pursuance of the directions received from the supreme government at Peking. Two of these I transcribe, as I find them in the Chinese Repository for February 1837, pp. 463-467. If such edicts should be carried into rigorous execution, it is easy to perceive, that not only the property, but the lives of our

fellow countrymen in Canton would be placed in most imminent peril. As it is, their situation cannot but be considered as highly uncomfortable and precarious.

No. 1.

Tǎng, Governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, Ke, Lieut.-Governor of Kwangtung, and Wǎn, Superintendent of maritime customs, issue these commands to the senior Hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance therewith.

We, the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, and Hoppo, have, with deep humility, received an imperial decree, commanding us,

“ In reference to the memorial of the sub-censor, Heu Kew, *respecting the traitorous natives who deal in opium, the Hong merchants who arrange the transactions, the brokers who purchase wholesale, the boat-people who carry the drug, and the marines, who, being bribed, connive at their doing so—to examine closely, and strictly apprehend offenders in all these points, to deliberate on the subject with full purpose of heart, to endeavour strenuously to dam up the source of the evil, and to report on the whole subject fully and faithfully. Respect this.*”

We also, at the same time, received a copy of the Sub-censor Heu Kew's memorial, in which we find the following passage :—

“The traitorous natives who sell the opium cannot altogether carry on the traffic with the foreign ships in their own persons. To purchase wholesale, there are brokers. To arrange the transactions, there are the Hong merchants. To take money and give orders to be carried to the receiving ships, that from them the drug may be obtained, there are resident barbarians. The resident barbarians dwell severally in the foreign factories. In the Creek factory is one named * * , and who is nick-named the iron-headed old rat, also one named * * ; in the Paoushun factory is one named * * , also one named * * , and one named * * * : in the Fungtae factory is one named * * * : in the American factory is one named * * : in the Imperial factory is one named * * * : in the Spanish factory is one named * * * : and besides these, I apprehend there are many others.”

Opium, we observe, is an article respecting which Imperial Decrees have been repeatedly received, *all commanding its prohibition, and directing that if any foreign trading ship presume to come hither with opium, such ship shall be immediately sent back, and not suffered to have any traffic with Canton.* And Yuen, formerly governor of these provinces, having taken up and investigated a case of four country ships, *Hat* and others, in which opium had been brought into the port, respectfully received the Imperial commands to inflict punishment. He also

presented a memorial, suggesting that, on occasion of any foreign ship entering the port, the senior merchants should be required to examine and enter into securities for her, each in succession; and that, in concert with the several other security merchants, they should be required to examine each vessel, and to sign a bond *purporting that the foreigners on board such vessel do not bring with them any opium*. These voluntary bonds, given by the security merchants, are, according to the constant practice of the said merchants continued for some time past, presented to the Hoppo, by whom they are transmitted for preservation (in the governor's office).

While, however, the foreigners are thus prevented from bringing opium into the port, *the receiving ships at Lintin bring the drug hither, and dispose of it only the more contumeliously*. But, were it not for the crafty and artful devices of the said merchants, the encouragements they hold out to bring it, their co-operation and connivance, together with the arrangements which they make in order that they may divide the spoil, how could the foreigners have it in their power to carry into execution their petty designs? It is surely our bounden duty to inquire into this matter.

Forthwith, therefore, we issue these commands; on their reaching the said merchants, let them immediately ascertain if the before-named foreigners, * * *, * * *, * *, * *, and * * , do or do

not severally reside in the Creek, Paushun, Fungtae, American, Imperial, and Spanish factories; of what foreign nations they are; in what manner they continue stationary in this place, *and store up and sell their opium*; from what year they date their stay at Canton; from what year they date *the commencement of their transactions in opium*; *what quantity of the drug they annually store up and dispose of*; and whether they ordinarily insist on payment of the price of it in sycee silver. Let them particularly inquire on each of these points, and faithfully report to us, that we may thoroughly investigate the subject. Should the Hong merchants think practically to set aside the laws, and afford aid and co-operation by disguising the subject under false colours, they will find, we apprehend, their criminality too heavy for them to bear. Let them one and all maturely consider and weigh this subject; and, with trembling and earnest diligence, let them obey these our special commands.

Taoukwang, 16th year, 9th month, 19th day
(28th Oct. 1836).

No. 2.

Tǎng, Governor of Kwangtung and Kwanse, Ke, Lieutenant-Governor of Kwangtung, and Wǎn, Superintendent of maritime customs, issue these commands to the Hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance therewith.

We have received from the said Hong merchants

a paper, purporting to be, ' a report made for our thorough investigation, in obedience to our commands, requiring them to ascertain the reasons why the foreign merchants, * * and others, remain so long in Canton, instead of returning home according to the regulations.'

Having received it, we have again taken this case under our consideration. It is a case brought to our attention by an Imperial Decree, which we have respectfully received. The subject has been well and accurately laid open, in the statement of the original memorial: and how, in any way, can the the fact of these foreign merchants, * * , and the others, having made their quarters in Canton for many years, be spoken of as without a cause?

In this report it is represented, that the receiving ships being anchored in the outer seas, *much of the smuggling carried on by traitorous dealers* is conducted by means of sea-going vessels, from various parts, approaching the receiving ships and purchasing from them. Truly, if, as here represented, all such illegalities are committed without the port, how comes it, then, that the instances that have formerly occurred of seizures have continually been within the precincts of the capital? And, even assuming the truth of their present assertion, that the seizures outside are numerous, those in the capital but few, this only shows the rareness, not the entire want of such seizures. There being then some

instances, consequently *there must be men by whom the transactions are arranged, and individuals by whom a mutual understanding is brought about.* We, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Hoppo, in our desire to preserve uninjured the property and lives of the said merchants, will not withhold maternal kindness, or spare any pains in advising and guiding them. If they acknowledge their offences themselves, their punishment shall be remitted. But, if they continue to report in this irrelevant manner, and turn thus away from the point, hereafter, when once discovery is made of an offence on their part, it will only remain for us to execute the laws and severely inflict the penalties thereof. And if they will not now care for the consequences, they will then be utterly without cause for murmuring against us.

As to the foreign merchants, * * * , and the others, it is wholly needless to question their bare, proofless assertions, or at all to doubt, whether their long residence in Canton does indeed arise from the multitude of ships, the business of which they have to transact, and from the circumstance that not a month elapses without a trading ship coming to Canton,—or whether it is not rather owing to their desire to wait and observe the prices in the market, in order to make their purchases.

For, granting the first assertion to be perfectly true, and that not a day passes in which trade is interrupted, does it, therefore, follow that these fo-

reigners are free to remain, and are never to return home? Or can such a principle as this be admitted? Hear what a memorial, formerly sanctioned, says upon this point:

“ If any foreigner, in consequence of its being impracticable for him at once to dispose of his merchandise, is unable to call in all his property, and has therefore no option but to remain in China, then he must, after the foreign ships have left the port, go and reside at Macao, and place his commodities in the hands of a Hong merchant to be sold for him: which being done, the Hong merchant is to pay him the whole price; and, in the following year, he must avail himself of one of the ships of his nation to return home. If the Hong merchants and linguists suffer foreign merchants by degrees to take up their residence in Canton, they shall be severally subjected to strict investigation.”

There is, then, not only no permission for these foreign merchants to reside in Canton, but not even any law to permit their long continuance at Macao. Do the Hong merchants represent, that the trade of the foreigners needs the parties' own particular attention? For what purpose, then, are the several Hongs for foreign trade established, and of what use are the Hong merchants? Are they, forsooth, established, in order that the laws may be twisted to serve their private interests? It is, indeed, most unreasonable, that these men should thus frame their

mouths to make pretexts and work out excuses for the foreigners.

The sum of the matter is this : These foreigners are richly imbued with the cherishing and protecting favours of the Celestial Empire ; they ought at once to pay implicit obedience to its laws and statutes, and in all their intercourse conform to its regulations : *thus only may they preserve to themselves the path of commercial intercourse with this country.*

At the present moment, the investigations ordered by the Court are exceedingly strict. If then these foreigners do not bestir themselves and quickly return home, even though it be admitted that they are not residing in the country to sell what is contraband, and though it be granted that the Hong merchants do not combine with them and arrange their transactions, yet how can these last reconcile it even to their own minds, that they should suffer the said foreigners to remain here, *daily exciting fresh suspicions.* Moreover, we the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Hoppo, hold the direction of this territory, and are bound to eradicate all that is evil, and to bring back to reason the depraved. In chastisements, we show no partiality or leniency ; and having received with reverence the Imperial Commands to investigate this matter, it the more behoves us to take anxious precautions on every side, equally towards those within and towards those from without the Empire. Though it be said, in regard to what

is past, indulgence should be shown, yet how can we neglect to pay prudent attention to the future consequences? We desire to impress it on the minds of all, early to look to themselves, and to consider these things long and seriously.

We now issue these commands. When they reach the said Hong merchants, let them immediately enjoin the same on the foreign merchants, * *, * *, * *, as also on those who have resided but for a few years, or who have gone away and returned again, namely, * *, * *, * *, and * *, desiring them, in obedience hereto, to settle with the utmost diligence their commercial affairs. They are indulgently allowed a period of half a month, in which to pack up their effects and remove out of the provincial city, and either avail themselves of some expected ships, or of some vessels about to sail, to return to their country. They cannot be allowed to remain any longer. Should any of them be really unable to conclude their business in half a month, then they must go within that time to Macao; but, even there, they may remain only for a season: and all their goods and accounts they must put into the hands of the Hong merchants, the one to be disposed of, the other to be settled, in order that they may speedily return home with all their effects. Nor must they be allowed, by remaining long at Macao, to disobey the fixed regulations. If they dare to continue their stay, *it will then be seen,*

that the said foreigners will not listen to kind language, that they are irreclaimably sunk in folly, and that they are truly such as the Celestial Empire will not tolerate. And when the effects of the law are visited on them, then, though they have a country to return to, yet they may find it impossible to escape thither. The factories in which they are suffered to remain shall also, in such case, be closed; and the parties concerned in them shall be brought to investigation. Be careful then, not to decide carelessly. Let the said merchants present to us, within three days, signed bonds, that the limited period will be carefully observed, in order that we may be enabled, after a thorough examination of the subject, to report to his Majesty. Let none oppose this, or delay obedience. A special order.

Taoukwang, 16th year, 10th Month, 15th day (23d
November 1836.)

It appears that on this occasion “the resident foreigners” so far prevailed, as to obtain permission to remain at Canton for the present. I need not transcribe the Edict to that effect. The above are sufficient to show that the Chinese governments, both supreme and provincial, are well acquainted with the facts;—that their suspicions are fully awakened;—and that, though means may be found of put-

ting off the evil day and patching up a hollow peace for a season, the position of our countrymen in Canton is very uncomfortable and precarious. This is abundantly confirmed by the following letter—which is the more important, because it brings down our information on the subject to a very recent date. Circumstances connected with the presentation of the memorial of Heu Naetse, and the promulgation of an Edict “for the purpose of strictly forbidding vagabonds, under a pretext of searching for and seizing opium,” from “plundering the people, and to tranquillize the fears of peaceful traders,” had led some to hope that the importation of opium would soon be legalized, under payment of a regular duty,—and others to imagine that an Edict to this effect had already been drawn up, and that all would henceforth be easy and peaceful. This letter, however, extracted from the Canton Register for Tuesday, August 21st, 1838, shows plainly the apprehensions, difficulties, and dangers of the foreign residents in that city.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CANTON REGISTER.

Dear Sir,—We have long and deeply felt, that *our interests as merchants, our liberty as residents, our sympathies as men, and our highest and purest hopes as Christian philanthropists, are crossed and violated and frustrated by the opium trade.*

Notwithstanding this conviction, we have been well content these many years, with simply abstaining from any participation in the traffic, and this negative position we should still prefer to preserve, did we not see reason to think with you, and with others around us, that the present is a favourable time to lay open the condition and lighten the evils of the trade.

In fact, the steadily increasing pressure of the official measures aimed at the traffic in the drug, but falling on the whole commerce of the port, must soon compel us all, whether opium men or not, to a common consultation, what part of our old ground we must endeavour to preserve, and what we must give up?

A short time ago, our ships, on their arrival in the waters of China, took their choice of the outside anchorages, but the *opium trade came to centre there, and they are now suspected places to the government, and communication with them forbidden, and sometimes almost cut off.*

On the arrival of ships at Whampo, we used to get permits to discharge immediately; *but the drug found its way there too, and regulations have been revived,*

which cost us in demurrage 500 Sp. dlrs. or more per ship.

We had, a while ago, a frequent and convenient intercourse with Macao, *but the packet-boats became opium-boats, and consequently fell under ban*, so that both the passage of the Bogue and the landing at Macao *have become difficult and unsafe*.

Through these and other lesser evils, *the vista opens before us, upon Imperial censures, restrictions on purchases and sales, stoppage of trade, capital punishments, &c.* Nor can any man among us say, *that the opium-trade may not cost him yet his liberty, his fortune, or his life.* The Imperial government, *an unlimited and despotic authority, is in open collision with the foreign residents*, and none can predict, with any claim to confidence, what the contest will yet involve, or where it will cease.

Without looking farther, therefore, to higher and stronger grounds of public policy and Christian morals, we see it to be extremely desirable that a period should be put *to this unhappy, expensive, and threatening warfare*, and on this account assent cordially to the suggestion, made in your last number, that the subject be *now* taken up.

As to the mode of approaching it, we like that which you propose: memorials to the Supreme Government. But as it is not to be expected that those *who are*, and those who *from principle are not* interested in the traffic, can agree on any one form of words

(and none can be excluded from a question, whose decision must seriously affect all), there must be two statements, and they separate and distinct. The advantages of this proceeding are further evident, because *the suggestions of the friends of the drug*, however wise, however well stated, must necessarily, when coming alone, *carry suspicion on their face*. "*Timeo Danaos*" is the reception which inevitably awaits them, on account of the interested quarter from which they emanate. But we may hope that a calmer, less prejudiced attention will be given to the accompanying statements of those, who can truly say, "We have not, never have had, and never will have, any participation in the growth, transportation, or sale of the drug." The clearer motives of the one party will reflect a disinterestedness on the measures they unite together to suggest.

It would be premature now, Mr. Editor, to mark out a course for the proposed explanations, as it would be improper for any one house to seek to impose a direction, in this matter, on the rest. As the things most needed by the Chinese are a distinct understanding, on the Western usage, sentiment, and mode of dealing with popular means of excess,—in short, the offices assigned among us to law, and private principle, and public opinion,—there is room to hope and reason to believe, that the whole subject can be placed in a clear, full, and satisfactory light.

Nothing, however, should be done hastily, much

less harshly ; and therefore we propose that the meeting for the persons unconnected with the drug be appointed for the first Wednesday of November next, leaving it to those who hold the opposite part, to name the day, or take the course, they deem best.

A later circular may fix the place and hour, and meantime we shall doubtless see more, and more influential names than ours, subjoined to the " OPIUM PLEDGE," proposed by a correspondent of the *Canton Press*.

We are, yours, &c.

OLIPHANT and Co.

There appears to have been such a measure of indecision and delay in carrying into effect the edicts of the Imperial government against the use and importation of opium, that some perhaps would be disposed to suspect that Government of insincerity in the whole matter. It is not for an inhabitant of this distant country, who never visited any part of Asia, to undertake to explain the difficulties, which the intrigues of " extortionate underlings," accessible to bribery on the one hand,—and (perhaps) the nice balancing of opposing parties and contending interests on the other,—have for so many years thrown in the way of the

efficient execution of the Imperial Decrees on this subject. But this is clear from the preceding letter,—and indeed from the whole tenour of the communications on this subject which I find in the Chinese Repository (edited and printed in Canton)—that residents in that city have no doubt as to the sincere desire of the Chinese government to prevent, if possible, the importation of the drug. *They* feel the inconveniences to which they are continually subject already, in consequence of the constant endeavours of the Chinese government to enforce its laws and regulations against opium, and the constant endeavours (hitherto but too successful) of the dealers in that drug to evade them. And they look forward with increasing apprehensions to the future: for the Chinese government, so long as our countrymen persist in this traffic, will feel justified in looking upon us as a nation of dealers in poison—who, for the sake of sordid gain, would readily poison, demoralize, and ruin their whole population. And must they not feel fully justified in treating us accordingly?

On this point also it should be observed, that it is not merely a matter of serious consideration, how the Chinese *government* regard us? but also, how the Chinese *people* regard us? It is no light matter to be looked upon *by the government* with mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt: but—when to this is added the hatred, suspicion, and contempt of *the whole people*, and more especially of *the intelligent and observing classes of the people*—how insecure and precarious—how undesirable and humiliating—must be the position which we hold!—how unfavourable to any prospect of free and comfortable intercourse, either commercial or political, with that government and people in future.

As I still prefer, in this part of my work, to make use, as far as possible, of what has been written in China, and by those who have had opportunities of personal observation, I shall add some extracts from different books, some of which have been already quoted, which serve to illustrate the views and feelings which the Chinese do, and needs must, entertain towards us, as the people who are specially

engaged in the opium trade. And, be it remembered, we have already seen it stated in a public and authentic document, that the places from which opium is brought to China “*all belong to England,*”—“**THE DEALERS IN OPIUM ARE THE ENGLISH ALONE.**”

And first, from a pamphlet entitled “*British Intercourse with Eastern Asia; By a Resident in China. London, Edward Suter, 19, Cheap-side, 1836.*” See pp. 30, 31.

As to this traffic it is not too much to say that *the Chinese Government derives stronger justification from it, in its exclusion of foreigners, than from any other source. It is this trade which throws such deep discredit on our character, and such suspicion on our intercourse. It is this lamentable traffic which gives a colour of benevolence to the Chinese edicts, which restrict and brand us.*

Is it, then, unreasonable to express a hope, that patriotism, benevolence, and desire of free communication, will put an end to a trade *so injurious to the character of the nation, so opposite to the spirit of doing good, and so fatal to every expectation of a better intercourse?* Whenever this sacrifice shall be made, these facilities furnished, and the great associations of this country for the diffusion of useful and Christian knowledge come forward in the cause of

Eastern Asia, then will the prospect of amelioration there be more cheering, than if Government had pledged itself to the same purposes, and commissioned a fleet and an army to redeem its word. May it not be expected that all this will be done without delay? The merchant calls on government to make expensive preparations, to expose valuable lives for the extension of trade. Will he, can he, then, refuse one sacrifice on his part, costly perhaps, *but paying back in honour all that it involves in point of cost?* Let him also say to himself, “the age of monopoly has passed away, shall the monopoly of Christian liberty and happiness be maintained?” Let the manufacturer, too, remember that the products of the mill and the workshop are scattered throughout the east; and say to *himself*, the diffusion of our peculiar blessings must not be any longer restrained.

The next extract which I will introduce is from the Chinese Repository for January 1837, pp. 407-410. It contains the substance of a reply to “A Reader,” who in the preceding number had attempted to defend the traffic in opium—partly on the plea of the small proportion of the Chinese that could be considered as “victimized smokers”—and partly on the ground that the Chinese *would have* opium, and therefore it was better that the trade should

be carried on by great capitalists than by common smugglers and pirates. The nature of the arguments used will, however, be sufficiently obvious from the refutation given by "Another Reader" in replying to them.

Were the traffickers in this poison,—for such no one in possession of his senses can deny it to be,—to state plainly that they deal in it merely as a matter of gain; and that, with them, this determination supersedes every consideration of right or wrong, then their premises could be at once seen, and opposition or reasoning would be vain, since all conviction would be fruitless: but when, as now, the practice, evil in itself, and necessarily felt to be so, is upheld by anxious sophistication, it is but right that it be exposed. I have looked in vain throughout the letter of your correspondent, "A Reader," for any more cogent argument than that of the hired bravo, "I do not see that I am doing any harm; if I did not take the profit, some one else, not so thin-skinned, would;" which may be broadly pronounced the most mischievous, false, and dangerous principle to morality that has ever been invented. What! because some poor reprobate or outcast may be found to embark in deeds of darkness, can that be quoted as an excuse, an argument, for men, for gentlemen, whose wealth, or means of obtaining it, remove them from at least vulgar temptation? Truly, a pretty

argument! The main danger, from your Correspondent's remarks, would appear to be, lest the supply of China with this drug "should be thrown into the hands of desperadoes, pirates, and marauders, instead of a body of capitalists:" a highly logical and conclusive argument no doubt, and one that should of course satisfy the Chinese government of the purity and kind care of the present purveyors; though how and why it could be worse were "the marauders," and so forth, to be the carriers, it would puzzle all the Chinese, and foreigners to boot, to determine. Were not great capital, skill, and enterprise embarked in this trade, it would never have arrived at its present magnitude; and this is, as far as I know, all the difference that the management of the trade by gentlemen has caused; and it may be questioned whether the Chinese could so accurately distinguish between these polite purveyors and the "desperadoes and marauders," as "A Reader" does. In what other light can they claim to appear? *Constantly, avowedly, notoriously, in the practice of a trade, directly opposed to the laws of the empire; not less opposed to morality and propriety; the purveyors of a most powerful incentive to vice; a fierce moral-destroying agent; on what has the opium merchant to plume himself, beyond his brother smuggler and law breaker, the contraband gin importer into Great Britain?* Nay, on some points, his unenlightened and despised collaborateur in the cause has the ad-

vantage, at any rate in the estimation of those engaged in these habits. The one risks his life—the other, shielding himself behind the corruption of the local officers, or the weakness of the marine, carries on deeds of unlawfulness without even the risk or excitement of personal danger; and coolly comments on the injustice of the Chinese government in refusing the practice of international law and reciprocity to countries, *whose subjects it knows only as engaged in constant and gross infractions of laws, the breaking of which affects the basis of all good government, the morals of the country!* How can foreigners presume to hope for a patient or fair hearing at Peking, so long as this charge can, with truth, be brought against them? Have they not themselves closed the doors; and yet now do they complain at the natural consequences of their own acts? It is well known to foreigners, that there are at Peking, in immediate communication with the Emperor, men of talent, to whom the miserable intrigues and falsehoods of the government at Canton can be as nothing—men who are patriots—Chinese patriots—that is, not men whose knowledge is comprised in the routine of war and a ready practice of its horrors, but men whose earnest wish is, to make their native country as peaceful and as happy as possible.

Contrast the opinion which such enlightened men must form of our genteel opium-smugglers, with the picture which would be drawn by themselves, and

let reason judge between the two. *The Chinese moralist or statesman, on one side, would look with correct and merited indignation on the "gain-seeking foreigner," resorting to his country with a deadly drug, to poison the health and subvert the morality of a nation, to which he arrogantly claimed superiority.* The foreigner, on the other side, would look down on the philosopher ; tell him that he was a Christian, and an educated gentleman ; and, if this failed to convince, he might probably bother him with a half-understood and ill-applied quotation from Paley, about tobacco and fish. For the time, he would forget the pure and perfect morality inculcated by the Teacher of his religion—"Thou shall not do evil that good may come;" and "Do unto others as you would wish that they should do unto you;"—and would, from time to time, indulge in tirades against the tyranny of the Chinese, and their aversion to allow the Europeans a residence amongst them ; call on his Government to interfere and subvert such a state of things ; *prudently shutting his eyes to the degraded state in which foreigners must appear to all sober-minded Chinese, as the panders to one of the most vitiated, depraved, and dangerous tastes in the world.*

Reverse the picture. Suppose, by any chance that Chinese junks were to import into England, as a foreign and fashionable luxury, so harmless a thing as arsenic or corrosive sublimate ; that, after a few

years, it became a rage; that thousands—that hundreds of thousands used it—and that its use was, in consequence of its bad effects, prohibited. Suppose that, in opposition to the prohibition, junks were stationed in St. George's Channel, with a constant supply, taking occasional trips to the Isle of Wight and the mouth of the Thames, when the governmental officers were sufficiently attentive to their duty, at the former station, to prevent its introduction there. Suppose the consumption to increase annually, and to arouse the attention of government, and of those sound-thinking men who foresaw misery and destruction from the rapid spread of an insidious, unprofitable, and dangerous habit. Suppose, in fact, that *mutato nomine*, all which has been "achieved here," had been practised there. Suppose some conservators of the public morals to be roused at last, and to remonstrate against its use and increase; and that among the nation sending forth this destroyer to prey on private happiness and public virtue, one or two pious and well-meaning *bonzes* were to remonstrate with their countrymen, "à la archdeacon Dealtry," on the enormity of their conduct; how wonderfully consolatory to one party, and unanswerable to the other, must be the remark of the well-dressed and well-educated Chinese merchant: "Hai ya, my friend, do not you see my silk dress and the crystal knob on my cap: do you not know that I have read, and can quote, Confucius, Mencius, and all

the Five Books ; do you not see that the barbarians are passionately fond of arsenic, and that they will have it ;—that they go so far as to pay for it : and can you, for one moment, doubt that it would not be much worse for them if, instead of my bringing it, it were left to the chance, needy, and uncertain supply, which low ‘ men of no capital’ could afford to bring ?” It is possible, that the Chinese literati might not have a translation of Paley ; but I will answer that he could find some work to extract from, quite as little to the purpose ; and, having thus bewildered his adversary by comparison and argument, fairly knock him down with a mass of figures, showing, that, by a calculation, made in happy and most utter ignorance of the premises, not more than one person in $279\frac{1}{6}$ could manage to get hold of the beneficial and delightful drug.

And a little further on, this writer very justly observes, after refuting the calculation which “ A Reader ” had made, with regard to the *proportion* of those who suffered from smoking opium in the vast population of China :

The morality or immorality of the practice is unaffected by the extent to which it is carried—it is just or indefensible, *per se*, whether it spreads over one village or ten ; and not, as an arithmetical question, as to the number within whose reach the drug is put.

Here also I beg to introduce a quotation from "The History of Java," by Sir Stamford Raffles, vol. i. pp. 102-105, though not *directly* bearing upon the question of the opium trade *with China*. It sets forth, however, in a striking manner, the fearful effects of opium, and the baneful consequences of the traffic in this poisonous drug, with as much clearness of argument as any passage I have met with. The quotation from the Report of the Dutch Commissioners on the subject is particularly deserving of attention.

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 sat at the Hague in 1803, and 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 here. The wish to do justice to authorities whose views were so creditable to their country and their own character, and the importance of their opinion to an extensive population will plead an apology for the length of the extract which I now present.

"The opium trade," observe the Commissioners, "requires likewise attention. *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, although the use thereof is confined to the lower classes. 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-creature. * * * * *

“*Opium,*” says Mr. Hogendorp, “*is a slow, though certain poison, which the Company, in order to gain money, sells to 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.*”

Large sums of money are every year carried out of the country in exchange for it, and enrich our competitors, the English. *Much of it is smuggled into the interior, which adds to the evil. In short, the trade in opium is one of the most injurious and most shameful things which disgrace the present government of India. It is therefore necessary at once,*

and entirely, to abolish the trade and importation of opium, and to prohibit the same, under the severest penalties that the law permits, since it is a poison. The smuggling of it will then become almost impracticable, and the health, and even the lives of thousands will be preserved. The money alone which will remain in the country in lieu of it, is more valuable as being in circulation, than the profit which the Company now derives from the sale of it.

This means will excite no discontent among the Javans, for the princes and regents, with very few exceptions, do not consume any opium, but, as well as the most respectable of their subjects, look upon it as disgraceful. The use of opium is even adduced as an accusation of bad conduct, and considered as sufficient cause for the removal or banishment of a petty chief."

With three extracts from Medhurst's "China," I will conclude this collection of facts, documents, and authorities, on the subject of the opium trade with China. The *first*, I introduce, as confirming, from an independent source, the statements I have already made upon the subject. The *second*, as showing in a clear and forcible manner, how our national and Christian character is degraded in the eyes of the people of China,—and (what is most im-

portant of all !) how the cause of the everlasting Gospel is compromised, by our perseverance in this baneful and abominable traffic. The *third* answers an objection which the enemies of the Gospel, and of all Missionary exertions, will ever be ready to bring forward, in order to screen their own selfish wickedness, by throwing the blame of the evil consequences of their own evil deeds, upon the disinterested endeavours of Christians to do good : and which, in consequence of an Edict that has recently been promulgated by the court of Peking, they might imagine they had a most favourable opportunity to make use of. It is very important, under such circumstances, to have a testimony so distinct and unequivocal, from one who, from long residence in the country, is so intimately acquainted with China.

The Emperors of China have wisely and patriotically determined, from the very moment they spied the onward march of the threatened evil, to denounce and resist it; and *instead of admitting it, on the payment of a duty, have, as rulers, resolutely refused to derive any profit from the vices of the people.* In

the first year of the late Emperor Keäking (1796), the introduction of opium was interdicted by law ; those who were found guilty of smoking it were pilloried and bamboosed ; and the venders and smugglers made liable to the severer penalties of banishment and death : so late as the year 1833, the amended law upon the subject was as follows :

“ Let the buyers and smokers of opium be punished with one hundred blows, and condemned to wear the wooden collar for two months. Then, let them declare the seller’s name, that he may be seized and punished ; and, in default of his discovering the vender, let the smoker be again punished with one hundred blows and three years’ banishment, as being an accomplice. Let mandarins and their dependants who buy and smoke opium be punished one degree more severely than others ; and let governors of provinces be required to give security that there are no opium-smokers under their jurisdiction ; and let a joint memorial be sent in, representing the conduct of those officers who have connived at the practice.”

Thus, as far as law goes, the government of China has, ostensibly, done everything in its power to check the growing evil ; and one would imagine that these regulations were sufficiently severe to ensure the entire exclusion of the article from the empire. Yet, in the year 1836, a Chinese officer, high in rank, presented a memorial to the emperor, in which he tells him :—

“ That, recently, the number of chests imported has exceeded twenty thousand, and that the sum paid, annually, exceeds eleven millions of dollars. Within the last few years,” he adds, “ foreign ships have visited all the ports along the coast, from Canton as far as Chinese Tartary, for the purpose of disposing of their opium ; and though the local authorities immediately expelled them, yet the quantity clandestinely sold is by no means small. The foreigners have, besides, a depôt for opium at Lintin, in the entrance of the Canton river, where they have seven or eight large vessels called receiving ships anchored all the year round. In Canton, the native brokers pay the price of the opium to the foreign merchants, when they obtain orders for the drug from the receiving ships. They have also convoys, plying up and down the river, which are called fast-crabs and scrambling-dragons. These are well armed with guns and pikes, and manned with desperate fellows, who go as if they had wings. All the custom houses and military stations which they pass are literally stopped with bribes ; and if they chance to meet any of the armed cruisers, *the smugglers do not scruple to come to an engagement, and bloodshed and slaughter ensue.* The governor of Canton lately sent a naval officer, with a sufficient force, and captured a boat laden with opium, seized one hundred and forty chests, and killed and took prisoners scores of smugglers ; yet the traffic was not at all checked.

Multitudes of the people have but little dread of the laws, while they use every device to escape punishment, and are eager after gain ; indeed the laws are, sometimes, utterly without effect."

Where a Chinese mandarin undertakes to make, and the emperor consents to receive, such a statement as the above, *we may conclude that this, and much more, is true.* In fact, opium is not only regularly introduced, but openly sold in all parts of China. Notwithstanding the prohibition, opium shops are as plentiful in some towns of China as gin-shops are in England. The sign of these receptacles is a bamboo screen, hanging before the door, which is as certain an intimation there, as the chequers are here, that the slave of intemperance may be gratified. Into these shops all classes of persons continually flock, from the pampered official to the abject menial. No one makes a secret of the business or the practice, and though the officers of government are loud in denouncing the indulgence in public, they privately wink at what is patronized by their own example, or subservient to their own interests. It is a well-known circumstance, that the government officers come regularly on board the receiving ships at Lintin, and demand so many dollars per chest for conniving at smuggling ; while it is currently reported, that even the viceroy of Canton receives a very respectable consideration for winking at these illicit transactions. The military and naval officers sometimes get up a

sham-fight, in order that they may have to report their vigilance and strictness to Peking; and when the smugglers are remiss in paying the accustomed bribes, they now and then seize a boat or two, to keep them regular and submissive. — *Medhurst's China*, pp. 85—88.

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*. Not only are the wretched victims of the indulgence themselves impervious to remonstrance, and callous to all feeling; not only must we despair of the conversion of an opium-smoker, almost as much as if his doom were already sealed; 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, “*Why do Christians bring us opium, and bring it directly in defiance of our own 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." Alas! they little know that the one is almost as impossible as the other; and that the work of persuading the growers and venders of opium to relinquish the source of their ill-gotten wealth, is as difficult as the task of curing a confirmed opium-smoker of his evil habits; and that both are to be effected, alone, by that Power which can cause the Ethiopian to change his skin, and the leopard his spots; and make those who have been accustomed to do evil, learn to do well. But, surely, when the evil is known and its effects seen, the rulers of an empire which professes to be governed by the principles of mildness and equity, will never lend themselves to the promotion of a measure *which demoralizes a population in such a wholesale manner; and, still less, condescend to derive a profit from that which ruins myriads.* The East-India Company might, if they would, greatly diminish the trade in opium. If they were to discontinue the growth of it in their own territories, and to bind down the native princes in alliance with them, to do the same; while they forbade the transport of it through their dominions, India would, then, be no longer what it now is,—the great source from whence the evil originates. Were the supplies from India cut off, the inconsiderable stock and inferior quality yielded by Turkey would be far from supplying and satisfying the market, and

the practice sink into desuetude, from the fewer facilities afforded for its gratification. *The lands now employed in the cultivation of the poppy being necessarily rich and fertile would, if laid out in the raising of other productions, be equally valuable to the possessors; and, while the revenue was not diminished, the happiness, health, and industry of the people, would be increased; in addition to which, the Divine blessing would, doubtless, be doubly bestowed on those who renounced an apparent benefit to themselves, in order to extend a real good to others.* * * * * *

The English have much to ask of the Chinese, and are anxious to place the trade on a secure, respectable, and advantageous footing; to have the rights of British subjects recognised, and the security of British property acknowledged. When, however, the representative of our government makes a demand from the Chinese of increased privileges and advantages, *the first requisition made by them will be, that we aid them in putting down the illicit traffic in opium carried on by our own countrymen, who, in defiance of Chinese laws, introduce an intoxicating medium into the country, and seduce their subjects into disobedience and voluptuousness. They will not believe that, with all the power of Britain, and while the drug is grown in our own territories, we are unable to suppress the trade; and nothing will dispossess them of the idea, that the British govern-*

ment is accessory to the production and introduction of the article. We must then tell them, that we will or will not strive to put down the traffic in question, before we can venture to make any demands from them in our own favour. If we refuse to curb the evil, we give a public and official sanction to what is, in their eyes, vexatious and abominable; and cannot, with any grace, ask them to assist us. If we consent, however, to do what we can to assist the Chinese in excluding opium, we are bound, in all honour and honesty, first, to discontinue the growth of opium in our own colonies; next, to prohibit the transport of it through the Company's territories; and then to restrict British vessels from trading with it along the coast of China. The mere issuing of a decree of the Governor in Council at Calcutta would effect the former, and a very small force stationed on the coast of China would accomplish the latter. In putting down the slave trade, it was not considered too much to maintain a naval force on the coast of Africa; and to abolish slavery in the British dominions the sum of *twenty millions* was willingly sacrificed; yet *slavery was not productive of more misery and death than the opium traffic, nor were Britons more implicated in the former than in the latter.* In the case before us, however, no compensation money could be demanded, and only a few light armed vessels would be required; while *the real compensation would be the turning of four*

millions annually into another channel, to the benefit of our manufactures and the mother country. BY PAYING FOUR MILLIONS FOR OPIUM, THE CHINESE SHEW THAT THEY HAVE MONEY TO SPEND, AND IF WE CAN BUT INDUCE THEM TO TAKE OUR COTTONS AND WOOLLENS INSTEAD OF OUR OPIUM, WE SHALL BE BLESSING THEM AND ENRICHING OURSELVES. The money paid for opium is equal to what we give for our teas; thus the Chinese are parting with their produce for what is worse than useless, while it impoverishes their country and diminishes their population.—Medhurst's Chinu, pp. 90-94.

Should the Chinese 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. Never was a weak and pusillanimous government more violently roused than the Chinese authorities appear to be, on the subject of the illicit traffic in opium. The native dealers in the drug are obliged to flee into holes and corners; the foreign opium-merchants have been required to leave Canton; the quiet anchorage of the receiving ships at Kap-sing-Moon has been broken up, and the smugglers obliged to retreat to Hong-Kong bay. In addition to all this, the admiral of the port has*

declared, that, if the opium-smugglers do not discontinue their illicit transactions, he will bring down thousands of war junks, which shall hem them in on every side, like the men on a chess-board, so that it will be impossible to escape. If the trade be stopped, therefore, it will be in consequence of the progress of evil, and not the efforts to do good, in China.—Medhurst's China, pp. 506-507.

I have now laid before my readers the whole of the evidence which has come before me upon this subject, and endeavoured to put it in the most intelligible form. It is not to my own opinions and remarks, but to this evidence, that I desire to call attention : and I put it to their judgement and conscience,—as if they were a jury appointed to try the question, and to give a true verdict according to the evidence laid before them,—whether the documents which I have produced do not distinctly prove the following points?

That opium, used as a stimulant or luxury, is a deleterious drug which ruins those who indulge in it, in mind, body, and estate—which depraves and enervates them, physically, intellectually, and morally, and finally brings them

to an untimely grave : that it is introduced into China in such immense quantities, as to effect the ruin of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the inhabitants : that thousands of acres of *the most rich and fertile land*, which might supply abundance of wholesome food for the support of many thousands of our fellow-creatures, in health and comfort, are *worse than wasted* in the production of this poison, of which the tendency and effect is to ruin and destroy : that this baneful drug is *smuggled* into China by our countrymen in the East-Indies, in direct and systematic violation and defiance of all laws both human and divine, and in a manner calculated to justify the Chinese government in excluding us from all the benefits of comfortable and unrestricted commercial intercourse with their immense population : and, finally, that the baneful effects of opium-smoking, and the whole system of iniquity by which so much opium is smuggled into the country, are perfectly laid open, and familiarly known to the Chinese authorities, both provincial and supreme ; and the inevitable con-

sequence is, that both the government and the people feel themselves justified in looking upon us with mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt,—in treating us with studied insolence and indignity,—and, therefore, in rejecting even our best endeavours to do them good—(for how should they be able to imagine that any real good or true kindness can come from a nation and people whom they look upon as smugglers and dealers in poison, for their ruin and destruction?)—That they also feel themselves justified in increasing, instead of removing, the hindrances and difficulties which deprive both nations of the benefits, commercial, intellectual, moral, and religious, that might be expected, in the course of time and under the blessing of the Almighty, from the reciprocations of free and friendly intercourse between the two mightiest empires in the world;—whereof one, professing and calling itself Christian, and enlightened with wisdom from on High, has benefits and blessings of incalculable value to bestow, and would itself be *doubly blest* in bestowing them; for with regard

to the honour and blessing which accompanies the communication of the knowledge of salvation, must not a Christian people, with humble thankfulness, “remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, it is more blessed to give than to receive?” (Acts, xx. 35.)

Thus far then, reader, my sole concern has been to lay before you FACTS. If now you choose to close the book, and make your own reflections, and form your own judgement, and decide for yourself, what common humanity, what real concern for the honour and welfare of your country, and what the fear of God and Christian principle demand of you, I am well content. To bring the facts of the case fairly before you, has been my main object in writing. But this I entreat you to remember, that (these facts being once laid before you) you are called upon both to think and to act. You may, perhaps, truly say that, thus far, you have been altogether innocent in this matter—that you have had no part in these iniquities: that you never knew—that you never suspected—that such a traffic was carried on by your

fellow-countrymen, and under the British flag. But this you can no longer say. The case is altered *now*. From this time forth, if you do not protest against these iniquities—if you do not endeavour, according to your ability, to put them down—you become, in your measure, a partaker of them, and (by your careless connivance) a tacit accomplice in the crimes of your fellow-countrymen. He who stands by unconcerned while murder is committed, and (still more) he who shelters the murderer and facilitates his escape, according to all law, divine and human, is justly deemed an accomplice in the crime. What, then, shall be said of you—what will you in your conscience judge concerning yourself—if you (now knowing the fact, that the opium trade is every year destroying thousands and tens of thousands of the people of China) shall go on unconcerned and reckless, without lifting up either your voice or your hand, to protest against or prevent such wholesale murder?

PART II.

REMARKABLE, and most deeply—most intensely interesting, is the present position of our country. Ruling an empire upon which the sun never sets — possessed of an extent of dominion, such as Rome in her greatest glory never saw—and containing a population, with which no empire upon earth but that of China can compare,—Great Britain, in regard to all the elements of earthly glory,—in regard to power, dominion, and wealth,—seems indeed to be lifted up as an object of admiration and envy to the whole world. And great in proportion to the glory and exaltation of our country, must be her responsibility in the sight of Him, before whom all nations are counted as the drop

on the bucket, and as the small dust of the balance. And the consideration of this responsibility becomes the more solemn, when we consider the vast multitudes of *Heathen* that are subject to the British sceptre. It has been calculated that the Heathen and Mohammedan subjects of Queen Victoria are not less in number than 130,000,000 ! and if to this number, directly under the dominion of Great Britain, should be added the population of the allied and tributary states of India, which are under British influence and protection, it seems probable that 230,000,000 would be much nearer the mark.

Then—as if the mere extent of earthly glory and dominion were not abundantly sufficient to provoke the envy, and, with the envy, the secret hatred of all other nations—how much has there been beside, arising out of various circumstances of our past history, to excite still deeper feelings of hostility ! Insomuch that, be the causes what they may, is it not the fact, that we have not *now* a true and trustworthy friend among all the nations of the

earth?—that there is not one people under heaven, that would not, openly or secretly, rejoice and triumph at the humiliation of Great Britain? Yet, if we compare the state of our defences with the vast extent of our possessions—the measureless line of coast and frontier which is obvious to attacks that would most seriously affect us—was ever a great nation in such a defenceless position? Or do we find, within our own narrow boundaries, that union which is strength?

But I will not pursue these enquiries. Let every one consider for himself the present position and circumstances of our country; and may I not fairly ask this solemn question:

What but the special help and blessing of Almighty God can possibly uphold and preserve us? and, under this, that moral strength which is founded on the deep respect, if not the affectionate gratitude, of those with whom we have to do; and, more especially, of the nations that are subjected to our sway, and dependent on our protection?

But has our conduct been in the generations

that are past, or is it *now*, such as is calculated to secure either the blessing of the Most High, or the deep respect and affectionate gratitude of the people under our dominion, or those with whom, in various ways, we are connected?

In answer to this question, many most affecting, and many most awful circumstances and considerations throng upon my mind. I will, however, pass them by to return to the question before us.

Let us look at the facts of the Opium Trade with China; and *then* let each put home to his own conscience the plain question, Is this traffic calculated to bring upon us, as a nation, the blessing of the Most High? or to gain for us the respect and affection of the inhabitants of Eastern Asia, to whom those facts are known?

We have been wondering, perhaps, at the hindrances which have so long impeded, and which still impede, our intercourse with China. Some, perhaps, even now more especially, marvel and are disappointed, that the abolition of the East-India Company's monopoly, and the

removal of all obstructions, on the part of our Government, to their trading with China, has done so little to remove those hindrances. Perhaps, indeed, not a few are indignant at the insolence and absurdity of the Court of Peking, which so long and so obstinately perseveres in closing the ports of the Celestial Empire against our free and unrestricted commerce, which brands us as barbarians, and treats us with wanton insult and indignity—as if we were utterly unworthy of an habitation within its boundaries. Nay—one writer* goes so far as to suggest, “a direct armed interference, to demand redress for past injuries, and security for the future.” *This is going very far indeed* : but it serves to show how irksome, how intolerable to the minds of many, is the position in which our merchants and residents are placed by the Chinese government.

* See a “Letter to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Palmerston, on British Relations with China. By H. Hamilton Lindsay (late of the Honourable East-India Company’s Service in China). London, 1836.”

But has not that government more reason and justice on its side, than we have heretofore been apt to imagine? If the facts regarding the opium trade with China be as I have stated; and if upon these facts, which they know, the Chinese government and people found their judgement of us as a nation, have they not much to plead in justification of all the restrictions they have imposed? Must we not conceive it a very possible thing, yea, highly probable, that Chinese statesmen and patriots will say respecting us—"Shall we open our ports *to wholesale smugglers*, and *to wholesale dealers in poison*? Shall we put these foreign smugglers and murderers upon an equal footing with our own peaceable and injured subjects? Shall we deal with them, or communicate with them, as if they were honest men, or worthy of any respect? Have they not reason to be well content, that we suffer them to live? and to marvel at our forbearance, that we have not long since expelled them from our boundaries, never to return, or put them to death without mercy?"

The very thought of their using such language respecting us may be very humiliating—very galling to our national pride: but is it not *natural* that *they* should use it? Let us put ourselves in their place, and think with ourselves, how *we* should judge concerning a people, whose very name we could not dissociate in our minds from the constant, determined practice of smuggling poison into our country, that was ruining and destroying thousands of our population every year?

I desire—I call for—calm consideration of the facts of the case. Nor do I wish any one to take these facts upon my word. I have never been in China, nor in the East-Indies; I therefore cannot speak as an eye and ear witness of these facts; but I have fairly and faithfully laid before you the whole of the evidence that has reached me. I have submitted the statement to those who have been in India and China, and they assure me that my statement is correct. But we cannot form any just notion of the importance of these facts,

while we look at them only through the medium of those palliations and excuses, which we shall ever be ready to offer on behalf of ourselves and our fellow-countrymen. We must endeavour to look at them, as the Judge of all the earth will judge them, or else as the natives of India and of China must and will look at them. And, if we will not, or dare not, consider them in the light of that Word, which shall judge us at the last day, let us consider them in reference to the various relations in which we stand towards Eastern Asia; and in reference to our national, our religious, and our commercial intercourse with its numberless inhabitants.

Is it self-evident, that we hold our Eastern Empire by *moral power*, and not by *physical strength*? And do we acknowledge the vast importance of that *moral power*, which is greater than fleets and armies?

Is it, indeed, one of the foremost elements of national strength and greatness, and one of the strongest bulwarks of national security? If so,

how stands our national character in the East, with reference hereunto? How *is* this affected?—How *must* this be affected—by the fact, that, while we profess and call ourselves Christians, in opposition to the poor idolatrous Heathen,—enlightened and civilized, in opposition to a dark and ignorant, and (at best) semi-barbarous people,—we are seen continually implicated in iniquities, which the natives of India and of China have discernment enough to look upon with detestation? The heathen government of China has long regarded opium smoking, and the opium trade, with such just and merited abhorrence, that it utterly refuses to grow rich, and to increase its resources, by the sanction of one or the other! Shall *we*, then, consent, as Christians and as Britons, to lend ourselves to this traffic? to amass wealth by dealing in poison? to be judged in the eyes of half the population of the world—to have our national character estimated among five hundred millions of our fellow-creatures, mainly by the obvious, well-known

fact, that *thus* it is that we grow rich? and that we have so little sense of the very first principles of right and justice, that we countenance and abet our countrymen in this daring, persevering, systematic violation of the laws and regulations of a country, with which we are at peace? For this we do,—so long as, unhindered and unrebuked, we permit them to go on (as they have done for more than forty years) in smuggling Opium into China. And (while we continue to set them such an example) with what show of reason can we expect the conquered nations of Hindostan, who have too much cause to look upon us as intruders and oppressors, to keep faith *with us*, or to observe *our* laws,—one moment longer than it suits with their own convenience so to do? for

In these cases

We still have judgement *here*: that we but teach
Treacherous instructions, which, being taught, return
To plague the inventor. This even-handed justice
Commends the ingredients of our poison'd chalice
To our own lips.

So that,—if we are only concerned for the preservation of our Indian Empire,—the sound, deep thinking, and clear-sighted politician will early discern, that our connivance at the iniquities of the Opium Trade with China materially affects the security of the tenure by which we hold it: for it tends to weaken and destroy that *moral power*, by which alone it is, that one hundred thousand of our countrymen in India, can think to hold in subjection more than one hundred and thirty millions of the natives.

But are we concerned for something more—for something better—than mere temporal dominion? Are any of my readers interested in the success of Christian Missions, and in the progress of the Gospel among the countless inhabitants of Eastern Asia? I do not question, for one moment, the absolute omnipotence of that influence from on high, which alone can give success to the preached Gospel; but I know that the Scriptures do not warrant us to expect the blessing, when our iniquities have separated

between us and our God, and our sins have hid His face from us, that He will not hear, (Is. lix. 2) : nor to think that the Word of God will have free course and be glorified, when the name of God and His Anointed is blasphemed among the heathen, on account of the open, notorious vices of those who profess and call themselves Christians. What kind of attention do we give ourselves to the man, who lifts up his voice like a trumpet to preach the Gospel, but contradicts every word that he utters by the more intelligible language of his life? *Deeds, not words*, is a principle, which the poorest slave in India, or in China, can readily comprehend : and, while we connive at gross, atrocious, systematic iniquity, can we, or dare we, expect, that the cause of the Gospel should prosper in our hands? If we should pray with all earnestness for a blessing, might not He, who hears and answers the prayer of the upright, be expected to meet us with this terrible rebuke, “ When ye make many prayers, I will not hear : your hands are full of blood. Wash

you, make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes ; cease to do evil ; learn to do well." (Is. i. 15—17.) And when we preach to the heathen, may *they* not fitly say, "Go, preach to your own countrymen. Persuade them to cease from that traffic in poison, by which they grow rich themselves, and murder us." But why should I enlarge upon this point ? Mr. Medhurst has told us, in the extract already inserted, p. 124, what they do say ; and has pointed out so plainly, what an effectual hindrance this traffic is, and must be, to the progress of the Gospel, that I need not multiply suppositions. It is only needful to add, that it is not in China alone, but throughout the length and breadth of Eastern Asia, where-soever the facts are known, that this traffic brings disgrace and scandal on the Christian name, and effectually hinders the progress of the Christian Missions.

What an awful and effectual hindrance there is, *somewhere or other*, is now at length beginning to be known. Entirely independent tes-

timonies are multiplying on every side, which serve to prove too clearly the painful and deplorable fact, that all the labours of Christian Missionaries in Hindostan have hitherto been but vain. Not only no tribe has been converted—no extensive impression on the mass of heathenism and idolatry has been made; but even single instances of real and decided conversion are scarcely to be met with. How is this? The fact calls for humble and careful investigation. What is the iniquity, which separates between us and our God?—which hides His face from us, that He will not hear our prayers, but still withholds the blessing? May it not be—is it not conceivable—that it is the foul iniquity of the Opium Trade, which—unrepented of—unforsaken—undeplored—is a continual provocation in the eyes of the Holy One of Israel? an iniquity so far connived at by Christians,* that the

* A brief allusion to this important subject is all that could be introduced in the text. This is not the place to discuss the question at large. But what hindrances an unknown, and even unsuspected, transgression may throw

Lord will not hear us? (Ps. lxvi. 18.) Must it not be, at least, *confessed and denounced*, before His blessing can be expected to descend on our Missionary labours in the East?

Yet I would not be supposed to think, that this is the *only* iniquity, which throws a stumbling-block in the way of the heathen population of Eastern Asia on the one hand, or that provokes the Lord to withhold His blessing on the other. I, for one, cannot believe that this iniquity stands alone. It is not in the nature of things that it should do so. On the contrary, the investigation of this subject should lead us to investigate the whole of our conduct towards the inhabitants of India and of China; and to denounce and renounce, not this alone, but every iniquity, of which we have so long been guilty among them, and whereby we have given them such just occa-

in the way of God's people, and what effectual barriers it may oppose to their progress and success, may be learned, in some measure, by a due consideration of Josh. vii., and 1 Sam. xiv. 36-46.

sion to look with suspicion and jealous fear upon every effort that we make, and every instruction that we offer. For what I fear is this—that, when the shrewd observation of the Chinese (and shrewd observers they are) is directed to the conduct and character of that portion of our countrymen, with whom, for between two and three centuries, they have had opportunities of becoming acquainted,—they find but too much reason to take the Opium Trade as a sample of our dealings, and to judge of what we are by that, which (though it be the worst part of our conduct) is still too much of a piece with all the rest.

This is what I strongly suspect. And, if it be so, does it not behove British merchants, throughout the length and breadth of the land, and all who are connected with British commerce, directly or indirectly, (even if they be unwilling to look at, and incapable of considering, the question, in its reference to national honour, and to the still more high and sacred cause of religion,) to consider it in its bearings

upon our commercial interests, and, as connected therewith, our national prosperity, and the sources of our wealth ?

China, though not the most extensive, appears to be, by far, the most populous empire in the world ; comprising under its dominion one-third of the human race—if not considerably more. Why is this immense market closed, to such a degree as it is, against the productions of British industry ? Is it because the inhabitants have no money to spend ? By no means. They could give us (as I find by reference to a “ Statement of Trade in British Vessels at Canton,” put forth by the “ General Chamber of Commerce,” and dated Canton, 25th September 1838), in one year (ending June 30th, 1838), *at Canton only*, nearly eleven millions of Spanish dollars in specie, for that which they purchase as a mere luxury ; and which is, in effect, a deadly poison. They have, therefore, money to spend in trading with us.

Is it, then, that they know nothing and care nothing about the products of British industry ?

This notion, if it should occur to any one, is also refuted by the same "Statement;" in which I find, that various articles (which are the objects of legitimate commerce) do, to a certain extent, find their way from this country into China; and therefore must, evidently, find a market in that empire. That there is a desire for British manufactures, is also plainly acknowledged by some of the Chinese documents which I have quoted. (See p. 70).

But—though the people have money to spend, and desire to obtain the products of our industry; and there is reason to believe, therefore, that an open trade with China would, in the course of a few years, afford an immense and most important market to the British merchant and to the British manufacturer; can this be hoped for, *while the Opium traffic continues? and while the Chinese government and people must judge of us thereby?* or, in other words, must feel themselves justified in considering us, and dealing with us, *as wholesale*

smugglers and wholesale dealers in poison? Do not the facts which I have detailed (especially viewed in the light *in which they must appear to the Chinese*), abundantly justify that Government in its system of exclusion? in treating us with watchful suspicion and constant jealousy? in cherishing feelings towards us of distance, reserve, and enmity?

While we systematically, pertinaciously, and "contumaciously," contravene their laws, corrupt their officers, and poison their people, can we (with any show of reason) expect them to enter, upon equal and friendly terms, into commercial treaties with us, or into the relations of national alliance?

While these things are so, must not our present commerce necessarily stand upon a most precarious and humiliating footing? and must not the door be effectually closed against more extended commercial intercourse? That is to say, the most extensive market in the world *must* be forbidden to open itself to the encou-

agement of our national industry!—for, so long as they judge of our character by the Opium Trade, they *ought* to be exceedingly jealous of any further intercourse, or closer connexion with us.

But here let me pause one moment, to meet an objection. It will probably be said, “that it is unfair and unreasonable, to ascribe *to the iniquities of the Opium Trade*, (however black they may be) that system of exclusion, which has characterized the policy of the Chinese Government towards foreigners, *even from the period of our first acquaintance with it*. It is hard to lay the blame of our exclusion from the benefits of a free trade with China upon the Opium merchants, whose traffic with China did not commence till about fifty years ago : while the same jealousy of all intercourse with foreigners has been manifested by the Court of Peking, for more than two hundred years.”

I grant, in reference to such objections, that a very great jealousy of intercourse with

foreign nations has been, all along, a marked characteristic of Chinese policy. All that we know of the history and government of that country concurs to shew, that such jealousy is in unison, both with the character of the people, and with the peculiar system of government adopted by its rulers, and very pertinaciously adhered to. But two things must be enquired into, before this characteristic policy of the Chinese Government, (which doubtless appears, to European judgement, very narrow-minded, illiberal, and absurd), can be pleaded, as of any force to set aside my argument, *in the way in which I have stated it, and with due reference to the documents I have produced.*

1. How is it that, in the space of two hundred and forty years, we have done so little to overcome this jealousy, and to establish our intercourse with China, upon a comfortable and honourable footing, if not upon a liberal basis? If the conduct of our fellow-countrymen, who traded with China—whose charac-

ter and proceedings were subjected to the observation of that Government and people, had been, all along, fair, open, honourable, and generous,—so that any thing contrary thereto must have been regarded as a mere occasional exception,—is it to be believed, that Chinese jealousy and exclusiveness, and Chinese prejudices, would not have been, in some considerable measure, softened down?—insomuch that (after so long an acquaintance) the Government and people must have been constrained to confess, that “this is a people, of whom we need not be so rigidly jealous—whom it is no longer necessary so entirely to exclude? We have found them, and shall find them, honourable men—incapable of abusing the friendship with which we embrace them, and the trust and confidence which we repose in them?”

But if, on the contrary, they have seen in us, *all along*, too much of that same disposition to sacrifice everything to the lust of gain, which is so awfully manifested in the iniquities of the Opium Trade: if they have found us sordid,

grasping, selfish—ready to violate their laws and regulations, wheresoever we could do it with impunity, and to bribe their officers upon every occasion;—ready, on the other hand, to cringe before them, with abject meanness, whenever they began to threaten, and exert themselves with vigour; and thus making it manifest, that we cared for nothing but our own base and selfish interests:—*then*, I say, my point is established; and the iniquities of the Opium Trade—considered as a sample of our conduct and character in dealing with the Chinese—do certainly afford an abundant, and too satisfactory, explanation of the difficulties and restrictions, under which our commercial intercourse with China has been placed. If *the Opium Trade itself* has not been, and could not be, all along, the main hindrance, yet (alas!) *the conduct and character therein exhibited* have been, and must have been!

2. But again: Is it not the fact, that the difficulties and restrictions which impede our intercourse with China, *instead of diminishing,*

as the Chinese have become better acquainted with us, *have increased, and still are increasing?* —Is it not the fact, that at one time (and not more than a century back) many ports along the coast of China, from Canton to Ning-Po, and even Tang-Chow, were open to our commerce, which are now entirely closed? So that *our restriction to the single port of Canton is, comparatively, a recent thing;* and may be considered as *the just and natural consequence of our own misdeeds!* And, if such be the facts, how necessary is it, that the whole of the conduct of our fellow-countrymen, in their intercourse with China, should be thoroughly investigated! and that we should, from this time forth, turn over a new leaf,—renouncing all the iniquities, not only of the Opium Trade, but of every other part of our conduct, which have so long and so justly debarred us from honourable and unrestricted trade with the various ports of China! It is plain, that we must no longer lay the blame on the jealousies and prejudices of the Chinese;

that we must not imagine their system of exclusion to be wanton or absurd: but, rather, that to which our conduct has, *in some measure, forced them*,—and which (at any rate) *it has altogether justified*.

Or will it be said, that the Chinese are themselves a very immoral people—insincere, deceitful, covetous, and corrupt,—accessible to bribery in every form? I confess that their own documents go far to prove, that this (to a vast extent at least) is but too true. But *then*, I say, the more need was there that we, who profess and call ourselves Christians, should have set these poor depraved, and ignorant heathens, a better and brighter example!

Say not (and, if the thought of such defence
Should spring within thy bosom, drive it thence)
What nation amongst all my foes is free
From crimes as base as any charg'd on me?
Their measure fill'd, they too shall pay the debt,
Which God, though long forborne, will not forget.
But know that Wrath divine, when most severe
Makes Justice still the guide of his career,
And will not punish, in one mingled crowd,
Them without light, and thee without a cloud.

Can anything be more unchristian than to plead the sins of others, and especially of blind idolaters, as any excuse for our own? "For unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required: and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more." (*Luke*, xii. 48). And therefore, though the sins of the Chinese were as foul and black as those of Sodom and Gomorrha, it will be more tolerable for them in the day of judgement, than for us: and *now*, in the day of grace, we ought to be ready to accuse and humble ourselves, instead of censuring and condemning them.

Suppose, then, (to return to our argument) that the case were changed. Suppose that the British Government,—and, therewith, the body of British merchants, who are, or might be, concerned in the trade with China,—should come forward in an honest, manly, friendly, Christian manner,—at whatever present sacrifice, to pledge themselves to the Chinese authorities, to work with them, hand and heart,

for the entire suppression of this baneful traffic ; and, therewith, of whatsoever else may give them just ground of complaint : should we not put ourselves in a position that would command respect and gratitude, both from the Government and the people of that empire ? a position, in which it would scarcely be possible for them much longer to refuse diplomatic relations and national treaties with us, upon fair and equal terms ? Might we not hereby reasonably hope to secure, in due time, any honourable and really desirable terms of commercial and political intercourse with them ?

O ! my countrymen, depend upon it, that, even in regard to worldly welfare and commercial prosperity, “ the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom ; and to depart from evil is understanding.” “ The blessing of the Lord, it maketh rich, and He addeth no sorrow with it.” (*Job* xxviii. 28. *Prov.* x. 22.)

And would it not be worthy of a great and mighty nation ; would it not be lovely and of good report among all the nations of the earth

beside—if (so soon as the facts of the case were fairly laid before us) we should come forward as one man, disregarding the lessons and calculations of a base and money-getting expediency, to renounce and put down the evil, which so long had been carried on unknown to us; and which had so deeply disgraced our Christian character, and compromised our national honour, in the eyes of the Eastern world?

But, alas! I have not yet done, even with the facts of the case. When the above was all written; and, indeed, already sent to the press, I received from a gentleman who has long resided in India, a communication to the following effect,—pointing out other evils connected with the production of Opium in our Indian possessions, and with the traffic in that drug. The facts here detailed cannot fail, (especially when taken in connexion with all that has been already adduced) to be deeply injurious to our national character, and decidedly detrimental to our permanent interests, and to

the security and stability of our dominion, throughout the whole extent of our Indian empire.

“The evils which the cultivation of Opium entails upon our fellow-subjects in India, arise partly from the ryots in the Opium districts of Patna and Benares being compelled to give up fixed portions of their lands for the production of the poppy. It is true, that the Honourable Company pay fairly for the lands and labour thus wrested from the ryot (farmer); and did the amount paid by the government find its way honestly into the possession of these people, there might not be so much cause of complaint in this matter; but the contrary is the case. These payments have to pass through the hands of numerous *employés* of the Government; and scarce twenty per cent. of it ever reaches the legitimate owner. The evils of the cultivation, however, do not end here. In consequence of being obliged *forcibly* to cultivate this highly-taxed drug, the peasant is constantly exposed to a suspi-

cion of retaining some part of the produce for private sale ; the surveillance of the police is, therefore, especially directed to these unhappy creatures ; and the oppressions which they are subjected to in this way surpass belief. They are exposed to every sort of annoyance, which the ingenuity of the authorized plunderers (the police and the Custom-house searchers) can devise, in order to extort bribes. The privacy of their miserable abodes—the sanctity of their females, is intruded upon by these harpies of Government ; and no redress can be given by the Government, unless they abolish the production of this accursed drug. Were the cultivation of it transferred to private individuals, the evil would (as far as the cultivation is concerned) be greatly mitigated ; inasmuch as the servants of private individuals would not have power to oppress the natives to the extent possessed by those of the Government, and there would be a *distant* hope of redress to an oppressed native in the Government courts. But where the Government itself is virtually

the defendant, an appeal to its justice is a mockery ; and thus arises a moral aggravation of the evil.

“ The evils, arising from the Government’s trade in Opium, to the people of Bengal, Bahia, and Benares, arise from the necessary protection against the smuggling of this article of monopoly, and the right of search given to the Custom-house officers, who are placed in search-houses, or chokees, at short distances, along the banks of that main artery of Indian trade—the Ganges, and allow no native boat to pass, without bringing it to for search. Before I proceed further in this branch of the subject, I had better give some insight into the character of the natives employed in these search-houses. They consist of peons (pay, ten shillings per month), ameens (twenty-four), and writers (fourteen). The writer is generally the more respectable personage of the three ; he has charge of the rest ; his pay is seven rupees per month ; his qualification is a knowledge of the Persian language. He finds his

2 own stationery, which costs him two rupees per month, leaving five rupees for himself. He has to give security for good behaviour, to the amount of five hundred rupees (£50). The five rupees, which remain of his salary, are not sufficient to provide him with food. Yet these men generally live expensively (that is to say, for natives), and save money. Were there nothing beyond the authorized emoluments of the situation abovementioned, it is obvious that it would be impossible to get any one to accept such places. Yet large sums are paid, as bribes, to those who are supposed to have power with the European collector, in order to procure them. The natural consequence is, that feelings of honesty and morality are thrown aside, as incompatible with employment in the Customs. In other departments, in judicial offices, in the revenue, and even in the police, *honest native officers have been found*, notwithstanding the British Indian system (which seems as if it were devised with the view of offering temptation to natives in

authority to be dishonest) ; but, *in the Customs*, I never met an honest native. Those who are employed enter it with the sole intention of doing the best they can for themselves. Therefore, the bribery and perjury, apparent and acknowledged in the system, is most lamentable.

“ I have already said, that the right of search is entrusted to characters such as I have described. Therefore all goods passing the main artery of India—the Ganges—are exposed to it. Now, this right is not in any way used to protect the Government ; it is held out by the Custom-house officers as a means of extorting bribes. This tax upon goods is made in every search-house established along the line they have to travel. Nor are merchant-boats alone subjected to these extortions. They fall heavily upon mere travellers—especially pilgrims, and those who travel with their families. The latter usually have a separate apartment for their wives, sisters, and other females, which the officers threaten to enter, under the pretext

of suspecting that Opium is concealed there ; and we know that a respectable Hindoo would sacrifice all he has in the world, rather than expose his wives to insult from these miscreant searchers.

“ The same system of extortion exists upon goods and persons conveyed by land, whenever they come within the limits of inland Custom-houses.

“ To sum up the curse consequent on *this right of search, which springs from the Government trade in Opium*, I may say they are as follows : The exactions and corruptions ; the grievous delay ; the insolent exercise of low, ill-paid authority ; the interruption of communication, by shutting up ferries, roads, and routes ; the distress and ruin resulting from false seizures and confiscations (got up by the Custom-house people to blind the Government) ; the diversion of trade into channels less impeded ; the advancement of price of all goods, by reason of these checks and annoyances ; and, worst of all, the demoralization of the habits of all par-

ties connected with, or exposed to the influence of, these oppressive and unjust measures. And we must either submit to all these evils and hindrances—the happiness and prospects, eternal as well as temporal, of the inhabitants of this large and wealthy tract of a country, teeming with industry and fruitfulness; or annihilate the right of search,—which, as it is exercised, is replete with every curse that can be inflicted on millions of our unoffending fellow-creatures, whom, by the laws of God and man, we are bound in every way to protect and comfort.”

Having then considered the evidence and documents produced in the former part of this volume, and the bearing of the facts which they establish on the security of our Eastern empire—on the progress of religion, and the success of Christian Missions among the countless multitudes of Eastern Asia, and even on the commercial interests of the mer-

chants and Manufacturers of Great Britain, may it not be safely affirmed, that regard to national honour and national prosperity,—as well as the word of God and Christian principle, and regard to the far more important and sacred interests of religion and humanity,—all combine to demand, on the part of the Legislature and people of this country, these two things:—

1. A thorough investigation before Parliament of all the Facts connected with the Opium Trade with China ?

2. A stedfast determination and the most vigorous exertions, if these things be so, to put down this abominable traffic ; and a most friendly, cordial co-operation with the Chinese Government and Local Authorities, in every measure which can be devised for delivering their country from this poisonous pest ?

The first of these is what I am mainly concerned with *now*. I call for public investigation. I have examined myself, and laid before my readers, the best evidence I could obtain ;

but what can be done by a private and obscure individual is not enough. It is for Parliament to investigate a question, in which the honour and welfare of Great Britain is concerned. I would therefore suggest, that Government be requested to lay before both Houses of Parliament, annual returns, for the last ten or fifteen years, upon the following points :

1. The quantity of Opium cleared at the Custom-houses of Calcutta, Bombay, and all other places in the East India Company's dominions, for China, or for Singapore, or any other port, for the purpose of being eventually conveyed to China.

2. The number of vessels under the British flag which have been moored at Lintin, or immediately in the vicinity of the ports of China, as depôts for Opium.

3. The number, tonnage, and particular character of the vessels which have been, and are employed, in carrying Opium, from our different presidencies in India, to China.

4. The treaty of commerce between the East India Company and the Chinese Government, or the Chinese Authorities at Canton.

5. The orders of the East India Company to their Commanders and Officers, prohibiting them

from conveying Opium in their ships,—when the East India Company had the monopoly of the trade between England and China.

6. Copies of the decrees and manifestoes issued by the Government of China, whether supreme or provincial, for the prohibition of Opium, and the suppression of the trade.

7. The quantity of land employed in the cultivation of the Poppy, within the territories of the East India Company; and the number of persons engaged in that cultivation, and in the preparation of Opium.

8. Copies of any other Chinese decrees or documents complaining of, or denouncing, any other circumstances of the conduct and transactions of British Merchants and Residents at Canton,—that all their grounds of complaint and reproach against us may be fully known and investigated.

These are the points which require investigation. And, when the facts have been duly ascertained, and established by public and authentic documents, it will then be for the British Government and people to consider, whether it be for the real welfare of this Nation, whether it be for the honour of our Country and

our Religion, that, while the heathen Government of China is fully awake to the evils and iniquities of this trade and practice, *we* should shew ourselves utterly careless and unconcerned on the subject? or that this heathen Government should shew forth to all the world a care and consideration for the welfare of its subjects, physical and moral, which the enlightened Government of this professedly Christian country is so far from imitating, or even estimating, that (with its eyes open, and with full information on the subject) it will stand by unconcerned, and countenance, in its enlightened and professedly Christian subjects, that system of smuggling, by which a poisonous drug is introduced into China to the ruin and destruction, moral and physical, of thousands and tens of thousands of its inhabitants?

“By their fruits ye shall know them,” is a plain scriptural rule; and by our fruits, which they have opportunity of beholding, will the countless millions of Eastern Asia judge us. Are we content that they should judge of our

Christian character and consistency, and of our national honour and benevolence, by the facts and circumstances of the Opium Trade with China? *As enlightened Britons*—not to say *as Christians*, with our eyes open, and the facts before us, do we consent to this?

In conclusion : I have called attention to facts and documents : and documents and facts are stubborn things. *If* these documents be authentic, and *if* those facts be proved, I ask of every considerate and reflecting man, Can it be doubted but that the name and profession of Christianity is grossly dishonoured by the fact (well known throughout Eastern Asia), that those who profess and call themselves Christians are systematically and perseveringly engaged in this iniquitous and poisonous traffic? that our national character is degraded, and covered with infamy too well deserved, among the nations of the East? that, in connexion herewith, and as an

inevitable consequence, the sinews of our strength are enervated, and the very foundations of our power in India perilled and endangered? that the greatest market in the world is comparatively closed—and that justly—against the productions of our national industry? that we are deservedly excluded from all honourable and comfortable intercourse—commercial or diplomatic—with the most populous Empire upon earth? that the cause of the glorious Gospel of Christ itself is compromised, and the progress of Christian missions among half the population of the globe is effectually impeded? and that among three hundred, or rather five hundred, millions of our fellow-men, we are justly branded as wholesale corrupters and murderers of an unoffending people? And all this for the sordid lust of gain!!

I call, observe, for solemn, public, thorough investigation, in the first instance: for such investigation as shall put the true state of the question and the facts of the case beyond all manner of doubt. In regard to details, and

especially such details as can be reduced to figures, I myself desire more full, more accurate, more duly authenticated information, than I have been able to obtain. Let no one, therefore, triumph, or think that he has even touched the grounds of my appeal, by detecting and exposing some inaccuracies in the details of my statement; for all I could do was, to examine the best evidence that came to hand, and to lay the result fairly and faithfully before my readers. Moreover, my concern with this question is, first and mainly, *as a matter of principle*; to which the precise amount of the mischief done is merely secondary and subordinate—even supposing that this amount could possibly be ascertained; which (with regard to some of the points of view in which I have considered the subject) is plainly out of the question: for honour, morality, and religion are all concerned; and who shall pretend to estimate their value? But, in a case in which all these are involved, I may and must call upon all classes of the community—upon all ranks

and orders of men, from the highest to the lowest—to interpose and exert themselves.

I call upon Statesmen and Legislators—upon the Members of both Houses of Parliament, as the proper and appointed guardians of both the honour and the welfare of their country, to consider how both are affected by the iniquities of this traffic, which brings upon us shame and reproach amongst one half of mankind, and provokes against us the righteous judgments of insulted Heaven.

I call upon the mercantile and manufacturing classes to consider how their own welfare and prosperity, and the comfort, if not (in some cases) almost the subsistence of the labouring classes of the community, are concerned in this question; and to ask themselves, whether this dishonourable traffic in a poisonous drug shall be permitted, any longer, to deprive every other class of merchants and manufacturers of those just gains of a lawful and laudable industry, which might be fairly expected

from an open, unrestricted, honourable trade with China?

Most of all, I call upon all British Christians to come forward as one man, in opposition to this nefarious traffic, which brings such deep disgrace upon the Christian name, and shuts out effectually one-third of the human race from even hearing the tidings of salvation.— If your zeal in the cause of Christian missions has been sincere; if your exertions in opposition to Slavery and the Slave Trade had their foundation in Christian principle and Christian philanthropy; if you would not have it imagined, that much of this has rather resulted from party spirit; then, I say, arouse and bestir yourselves at the call of Christian humanity, to labour still more earnestly, in opposition to a yet more foul abomination—more destructive in its immediate effects—and more pernicious in its remoter consequences. Let it be seen by all the world, that you are influenced by a truly Christian abhorrence of that which is evil, in

whatsoever shape it may prevail ; and that you can manifest Christian energy and perseverance, in earnest and self-denying endeavours to put down iniquity of whatever kind ; and wherever and whenever it lifts up its head, to brave the heavens, and bring down righteous vengeance upon earth.

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