THE

OPIUM TRADE

Cruel, Unjust, and Impolitic.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE substance of the following pages first appeared in the April and July numbers of the *London Quarterly Review* for the present year, and is now published in pamphlet form by request. The reason with which this request has been urged is, that the present apathy of Englishmen, in reference to the opium trade, arises altogether from non-acquaintance with the subject. Thoroughly believing this to be the true cause of the indifference in question, the writer complies with the request in the fervent hope that he may thereby hasten the time when one of the foulest wrongs ever inflicted by one people on another shall be brought to an end, and England shall cease compelling China to take her death-dealing and misery-generating opium.

HINCKLEY,

October 17th, 1876.

INTRODUCTION.

THE design of this pamphlet is to set before the reader certain facts and figures relative to the opium trade as now carried on between British India and the Empire of China, and to induce him, if possible, to use what influence Providence may have given him in order to bring to a speedy end one of the greatest iniquities of modern times. For the purpose of general information it may not be amiss at the outset, to say a few words about opium itself. Opium, then, is the milky juice of the white poppy, and is obtained by means of incisions in the rind of the seed-vessel. The seed is sown in November (in India) and the juice collected in February and March. The incisions are made in the evening, the juice exudes during the night, and is scraped off in the morning. The natural home of the poppy is probably Asia Minor or Persia, but it is now cultivated over a wide extent of territory. Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and India are its chief producing countries. It is the Indian product, its consumption by the Chinese, with the effects resulting therefrom, of which the following chapters will treat.

The facts to be submitted for consideration are vouched for by English Ambassadors, Ministers, and Consuls; by gentlemen who hold positions of eminence in the Indian, Chinese, and American Governments; by merchants, missionaries, travellers, and Select Committees of the House of Commons. Therefore, however startling, distressing, and humiliating these facts may be, such witnesses demand the most implicit credence.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT CULTIVATES AND MANUFACTURES OPIUM.

NEARLY all the opium consumed by the Chinese reaches that country from India. As an article of commerce it is highly beneficial, therefore, financially, to the Bengal Government, but at the same time deeply compromising to the honour and humanity of England, as the sequel will disclose. The opium leaving India for China is shipped at the two ports of Bombay and Calcutta. The former is grown in the states of the native princes, and the latter in British India. Our attention will be directed, in the first instance, to that produced in the soil subject to the rule of Queen Victoria. The manner in which a large revenue accrues from it to our Indian Government, and other matters connected with it, cannot be better set forth than in the evidence of Sir Cecil Beadon, K.C.I.S., who held successively the offices of Secretary to the Board of Revenue in India, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The evidence is contained in a Parliamentary Paper on East India Finance, and is as follows:—

"3195. *Chairman*—Has the existing mode of raising the revenue from opium been in force for a very long time in Bengal?—Yes; almost ever since the commencement of our rule in Bengal.

"3195. You know that the production of opium in Bengal has been gradually growing for a number of years?—Yes.

"3198. Will you state in the first instance, as the system has been the same, what is the system generally under which this revenue is collected, and the administration under which it is collected?—I will endeavour to be as brief as possible. The Government have established two agencies, one at Patna, and the other at Ghazeepore, which are usually called the Behar agency and the Benares agency; the head-quarters of the one being at Patna, and of the other at Ghazeepore. Each agency is divided into sub-agencies, which may be either co-

terminus with the ordinary administrative districts, or sometimes there are two, three, or four sub-agencies in one district. The Behar agency includes all the districts of the province of Behar, and also a portion of Chota Nagpore; and the Benares agency includes the districts of the Benares division, part of the Allahabad division, and Oude. Under the sub-agents are native establishments, whose business it is to look after the cultivation.

"3199. In what mode is the land then selected for cultivation?—When any ryot wishes to cultivate opium, he goes to the sub-agent, and asks to have his name registered, his land measured, and to get a cultivation license, and the usual advance. The sub-agent makes inquiries, ascertains that the man is really *bonâ fide* an owner of land which he proposes to cultivate with opium, has the land measured, and then makes the advance upon the security of the person himself to whom the advance is made and his fellow villagers.* The ryot then sows his land, and when the plant is above the ground, the land is then measured by one of the native establishments, and if the ryot has sown all that he engaged to sow, he gets a second advance; if he has not sown so much, he gets something less in proportion; or if more, he gets a little more. There is a sort of rough settlement at the second advance. Nothing further takes place until the crop is ripe for gathering, and when the ryot has gathered the crop he collects it in vessels and takes it to the sub-agent's office; there he delivers it to the sub-agent, *as the agent of the Government*, and receives the full price for it, subject to further adjustment when the opium has been weighed and tested and examined at the agent's factory. The opium is then collected at the sub-agency and forwarded to the factory; there it is exposed for a considerable time in large masonry tanks; it is reduced to a uniform consistency, and made fit for the market, some for home consumption, and some for sale in Calcutta—the greater quantity for exportation. It is then packed in cases and sent to Calcutta, and in Calcutta it is sold by auction at periodical sales, and exported by merchants for consumption abroad.

"3205. Is there any regulation by which the Government limit the extent of the land so cultivated, or do they always accede to every request?—It is limited according to the financial needs of the Government; it is limited entirely upon imperial considerations. The Government of India, theoretically at least, if not practically, decide how much opium they will bring to market; and, of course, upon that depends the quantity of land that they will put under cultivation and make advances for.

* The advance is made shortly before the sowing season.

"3243. Can you give the results of the operations for 1868-69?—Only in the price. In 1868-69, the total gross receipts for opium in Bengal were £6,622,225, and the total charges were £1,717,746, the net revenue being £4,904,500.

"3292. *Sir C. Wingfield*—Can you state what the total value of the opium sold in the districts, for what is called district consumption, is?—Yes, I can. I will take the year 1868-69; that is the latest I have. I cannot give you the number of chests, but I can tell you what the value of it is. The proceeds from the sale of Akbari opium in 1868-69 was 31 lacs 25,000 rupees, and the cost of the opium and contingencies, and all other charges upon it, were 10 lacs and 25,000 rupees; so that the Government made a profit upon the sale of that Akbari opium of 21 lacs of rupees.

"3293. But after all, 30 lacs, £300,000, represents the value of all that proportion of the opium which is consumed by the people of India?—Yes.

"3294. The rest all comes from a foreign people?—All the rest of the revenue comes entirely from the Chinese; it is paid by them.

"3329. *Mr. Fawcett*—I understand you to say that opium is grown in India simply for purposes of revenue; no moral considerations at all influence the Government?—The Government only regard opium as a means of obtaining revenue.

"3330. That if, for instance, they thought they could obtain more revenue by doubling the cultivation of opium in India, they would do so, and would not be deterred from adopting such a course by any considerations as to the deleterious effect which opium might produce on the people to whom it was sold?—Probably not.

"3331. I believe the opium revenue has realised, some years, as much as £9,000,000, has it not?—From the whole of India nearly £9,000,000, I think, in one year.

"3597. The sale of opium, I think, is conducted by private auctioneering firms in Calcutta?—For many years the Government employed an auctioneering firm in Calcutta to sell the opium, and they received a commission upon the sale of the opium.

"3598. Does not that prevail at present?—I think not. I think it has been changed, and it is now sold by a Government officer."

The points specially worthy of note in the above extracts, are the following:—The present mode of raising the revenue from opium has been in force almost ever since the commencement of English rule in Bengal, and that imperial considerations alone decide how much land shall be so cultivated; that the opium is produced for

consumption chiefly by a heathen people, and that the Exchequer of a Christian country is largely replenished from this source. In confirmation of the two facts, that the production of opium in Bengal has been gradually increasing of late years, and that the Government of India decide, not *theoretically*, but *practically*, how much opium they will bring to the market, we insert the following two lists of sales, for 1845 and 1875 respectively.

The sales for the year 1845 were announced thus:—

		Patna. Chests.	Benares. Chests.	Total. Chests.
1st Sale	Jan. 6	4,000	1,800	5,800
2nd ,,	Feb. 10	1,800	850	2,650
3rd ,,	April 21	3,600	1,500	5,100
4th ,,	May 26	1,800	850	2,650
5th ,,	June 29	3,685	1,641	5,326
				21,526

The sales for 1875 were advertised as follows:—

OPIUM SALES TO BE HELD IN 1875 AT CALCUTTA.

Sale on or about		Behar. Chests.	Benares. Chests.	Total. Chests.
1st Monday,	Jan. 4	2,150	1,600	3,750
2nd Thursday,	Feb. 4	2,150	1,600	3,750
3rd Thursday,	Mar. 4	2,150	1,600	3,750
4th Monday,	Apr. 5	2,150	1,600	3,750
5th Wednesday,	May 5	2,150	1,600	3,750
6th Friday,	June 4	2,150	1,600	3,750
7th Wednesday,	July 7	2,150	1,600	3,750
8th Thursday,	Aug. 5	2,150	1,600	3,750
9th Monday,	Sept. 6	2,150	1,600	3,750
10th Friday,	Oct. 1	2,150	1,600	3,750
11th Thursday,	Nov. 4	2,150	1,600	3,750
12th Friday,	Dec. 3	2,150	1,600	3,750
Total chests.....		25,800	19,200	45,000

Surely the British public must be ignorant about transactions of this kind being carried on by their representatives in India, or they would rise up as one man and demand their speedy discontinuance! Slave auctions were common enough in the olden times in our West Indian possessions; but it may be doubted whether they were the occasion of more misery than these opium sales. But we are anticipating.

The Government of India has nothing to do with the cultivation and manufacture of the opium exported from Bombay. This is grown in the free native states of Holkar, Scindia, Rewah, and more or less in every petty state. The pages of the Report on East India Finance, 1871, quoted from already, furnish a clear statement of the relation the British people sustain to the opium thus produced, and the mode in which they derive a revenue from it. The Report states that the opium intended for exportation is brought in chests about 112lbs. each to our Government scales at Indore, and pays the duty there. The duty levied by the British Government has varied in a very few years—from 200 rupees* per chest up to 500. I believe it now stands at 600.

Our relation, as a country, to the opium grown in the two great producing regions of India will now be manifest, and we might at once follow it to China, and watch its fortunes there; but there are several matters connected with its production, with which we shall do well, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves. These refer to the amount of land cultivated with the poppy in British India, and its gradually extending area; the effects on the cultivators themselves, and other of our Eastern fellow subjects; the question whether, while nominally at liberty to cultivate it or not, the ryots are not, in some cases at least, compelled to do so; and the disasters this opium business has wrought in times of famine. On each of these points we shall be as brief as possible.

In the year 1856-7 275,784 acres of land in Central India were devoted to the cultivation of opium; in the next year that amount had increased to 289,062 acres. In the year 1865-6 opium was cultivated over 700,000 acres in the Presidency of Bengal, and in the following year over 750,000 acres.

In the June number of *The Friend of China* (1875) a retired Indian civil servant points out that there has been a gradual increase in the number of chests of opium exported. He says:—

"The number of chests exported during the latest six years —1867-8 to 1872-3—of which we have official returns, exceeded

* A rupee is an East Indian silver coin, and is valued at 2*s.* sterling.

84,000 annually on an average. As we go farther back these figures retrograde gradually to 70,000, 60,000, and 50,000 chests, and in 1840-41 the total number of chests—Malwa from Bombay, and Patna and Benares from Calcutta—stood at 29,432, and in 1830-31 it stood at only 11,726 chests."

Now, had this advance, from 11,726 chests in 1830-41 to 84,000 chests in 1867-68, and 86,385 chests in 1872, been in an article of legitimate commerce, that is one in which the producer and consumer are mutually benefited, it would have been a matter for satisfaction. But when the benefit is all on one side, and that the Christian, and instead of benefit there is only loss and misery on the other side, and that the pagan, we perceive abundance of ground for lamentation and mourning; none whatever for exultation. It will be obvious to all that the increase above noted in the number of chests exported implies a corresponding extension of the area cultivated.

The following extracts will show that our Indian statesmen stimulate the production of opium to the fullest possible extent; and that questions affecting the revenue are paramount, and moral considerations have no weight. On the 22nd of April, 1869, the Hon. W. Grey, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writing from Barrackpore to Mr. C. H. Campbell, said: "I have a telegraphic message from Simla, urging that every possible expedient that you can approve should be used even now to extend the opium cultivation next season to the greatest possible extent." Sir Richard Temple, in a minute dated 27th April, 1869, wrote: "I am clear for extending the cultivation, and for insuring a plentiful supply. If we do not do this, the Chinese will do it for themselves. They had better have our good opium than their own indifferent opium. There is really no moral objection to the business." We shall see by-and-by what Sir Richard meant when he called Indian opium "good," if indeed he meant anything at all. Again, on the 29th of April, 1869, Mr. Grey urged increasing the cultivation, remarking, "This would just suffice, and no more, to put us on smooth ground again."

What a terrible week that must have been for the Indian Government! A week only to be paralleled by the pangs of the besotted Chinaman, when in his intense

craving he pleads for more opium. "Extend the opium cultivation," says a telegram from Simla. "I am clear for extending the cultivation," says Sir Richard Temple. "This would just suffice, and no more," writes the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. It seems lamentable that the "faculty of administration and indefatigable energy" with which the *Times*, in its annual summary, 1874, credits Sir Richard Temple, conjointly with Sir George Campbell, should have been brought to bear on the extension of the cultivation of opium, rather than on its repression, and that in mercy to the human race.

As to the dire effects this opium business has produced on the natives of India, the pages of the *Friend of China* afford abundant proof. Let us take Assam in the first instance. One retired Indian civil servant observes: "It is well known that the Government's most important enterprise, the tea plantations in Assam, was in imminent danger of failure, solely through the undue use of opium by the labourers brought to the plantations. It was seen that unless the Government interfered directly, their ruin could not be arrested. The Indian Government did not hesitate to call in its legislative power, and passed acts to repress and discourage the growth and sale of opium, as creating and upholding this iniquitous and immoral trade." The effects of this interference are thus described. "The habit of consuming opium is losing its hold upon the people: the good effects are already to be seen, and it is to be hoped that in the next generation they will be more marked." Previous to the passing of these acts, another authority tells us,—"the consumption was so universal, from the infant upwards, that the people would not work." Mr. C. A. Bruce, in a *Report on the Tea Plantations in Assam*, observes, when referring to the consumption of opium in that country, "it has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralised race in India." This was written thirty years ago. *The Indian Opium Revenue* has culled from the *East India Finance Report* the following evidence of Mr. G. Smith, LL.D., about opium in Burmah:—

"5097. Does the Excise Department promote the consumption of opium in India as zealously as that of alcohol?—In the

Indo-Chinese districts of British Burmah, the action of the departments in promoting the sale of opium has long been a public scandal... Prior to the introduction of British rule into Aracan, the punishment for using opium was death. The people were hard-working, sober, and simple-minded. Unfortunately, one of the first measures of our administration was the introduction of the Akbari rules by the Bengal Board of Revenue. Mr. Hind, who had passed the greater part of his long life amongst the people of Aracan, described the progress of demoralisation. Organised efforts were made by Bengal agents to introduce the use of the drug, and to create a taste for it amongst the rising generation. The general plan was to open a shop with a few cakes of opium, and to invite the young men and distribute it gratuitously. Then, when the taste was established, the opium was sold at a low rate. Finally, as it spread through the neighbourhood, the price was raised, and large profits ensued. Sir Arthur Phayre's account of the demoralisation of Aracan by the Bengal Akbari rules is very graphic; but Mr. Hind's statements were more striking, as he entered more into detail." (Mr. Hind was at the time assistant commissioner. He had a large local experience dating back to 1835.) "He saw a fine healthy generation of strong men succeeded by a rising generation of haggard opium smokers and eaters, who indulged to such an extent that their mental and physical powers were alike wasted. Then followed a fearful increase in gambling and dacoity."

So much for the ameliorating influences of British civilisation! The lesson to be learned from this extract is that the doings of Government agents abroad ought to be scrutinised carefully by an intelligent, God-fearing, patriotic, and philanthropic home population. Should this obvious duty be neglected, it is manifest that our Indian and Colonial Empire, which might be our glory, may prove our destruction. "It is impossible but that offences will come; but woe to that man [or nation] through whom they come."

Of its effects on the Rajpoot, Colonel James Todd, many years ago our political agent to the Rajpoot States, remarks: "This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajpoot of half of his virtues; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices; giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility." Afterwards the Colonel terms the poppy "an execrable and demoralising plant."

The next question claiming consideration is the following: Is the cultivation of the poppy perfectly voluntary on the part of the ryot? *The Chinese Repository*, vol. v. page 472, quoted in the *Middle Kingdom*, says: "The cultivation of the plant is compulsory, for if the ryot refuse the advance for the year's crop, the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the agents seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. There being *no* remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fulfilment of his contract." It is now many years since these words were first printed, and the question arises, if this statement was true at that time, would it apply to what obtains now? Let us see. Near the conclusion of his minute on the abolition of the Bengal monopoly, Sir W. Muir says: "A few years ago, when the Government of Bengal was *straining every nerve to extend the cultivation of the poppy*, I was witness to the discontent of the agricultural population in certain districts west of the Jumna, from which the crop was for the first time being raised. . . . The case to which I allude was that of new districts, where the poppy had not hitherto been grown, and into which the Bengal Board were endeavouring to extend the cultivation by the bait of large advances among an unwilling peasantry, and at the risk of inoculating them with a taste for a deleterious drug, and all this with the sole view of securing a wider area of poppy cultivation, and thus a firmer grasp on the Chinese market." The words "discontent of the agricultural population," and "an unwilling peasantry," are suggestive, if not of compulsion, of something very nearly allied to it.

And now what of the disastrous effects of opium production in famine times on the continent of India? We must have recourse again to the Report of East India Finance, 1871. The evidence is once more that of Mr. G. Smith.

"5103. [*Mr. R. Fowler.*] Does the poppy displace grain crops?—There have been two serious instances of that within the last few years. In Malwa, when the people of Northern Rajpootana streamed down to avoid the famine, they found no food, because Malwa is a food-importing district, being so

largely devoted to opium; and thousands perished from starvation along the high road on their return to their own districts. This has occurred in Western India in the case of every great famine. . . The extension of the cultivation in totally new districts in the North-west provinces and Oude has called forth serious complaints from some of the high officials there who have not been consulted, and who are opposed to the extension as *interfering with food crops and the contentment of the people.*"

In the same report the statement of the Rev. John Wilson, D.D, is as follows:—

"It is a fact that there was lately an inadequate supply of food for Rajpootana, so much so that, according to the Government accounts (if I have read them correctly) 1,200,000 *people died of famine and the diseases induced by it.* Now in ordinary circumstances the province of Malwa might have supplied the people of Rajpootana with cereals."

The only semblance of an apology that can be given in reply to these statements as to disasters in Western India is, that the opium in question is not grown in British territory, and that in fact we restrict its growth in Malwa by a heavy duty. Be it so, but if the British Government, by means of its military and naval power, had not compelled the Emperor of China to legalise the trade in opium, and did not our gun-boats even now continue the policy of compulsion, very little opium would be grown in the Native States of India, because there would be no market for it.

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CHAPTER II.

OPIUM SMOKING PRODUCES MUCH MISERY IN CHINA.

Now in case the evil of opium began and ended with India, we have seen enough to make every philanthropic mind amongst us desire, and that most ardently, that we could at once wash our hands of it. But we turn over a much darker page when we follow the drug to China, and trace its effects on the teeming multitudes of that Empire. For its ruinous properties change not while at

sea, nor does it become innocuous when its fumes are inhaled by the countrymen of Confucius.

The evidence we shall bring forward of the pernicious effects of opium on the Chinese constitution, and of other evils connected with it, may, for convenience sake, be divided into official, non-official, and Chinese.

By official witnesses we refer, of course, to gentlemen who at different times and in different positions have been entrusted with high diplomatic and consular dignity in India and China. Their testimony, however, may be preceded by a declaration placed on record sixty years ago by the Directors of the East India Company. "If it were possible," say they, "we would gladly prevent the use of the drug altogether, except strictly for the purposes of medicine, out of compassion to mankind."

The first of the official class whose testimony we shall lay under contribution is H. B. M.'s late Minister at Pekin, Sir Rutherford Alcock. Before a Select Committee of East India Finance, 1871, he was asked: "Can the evils, physical, moral, commercial, and political, as respects individuals, families, and the nation at large, of indulgence in this vice be exaggerated?" And his reply was as follows: "I have no doubt that when there is a great amount of evil there is always a certain danger of exaggeration; but looking to the universality of the belief among the Chinese, that whenever a man takes to smoking opium, it will be the impoverishment and ruin of the family—a popular feeling which is universal both amongst those who are addicted to it, who always consider themselves as moral criminals, and amongst those who abstain from it, and are merely endeavouring to prevent its consumption—it is difficult not to conclude that what we hear of it is essentially true, and that it is a source of impoverishment and ruin to families."

Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B.—resident in China for thirty years—now the English Minister to the Chinese Government, in a memorandum respecting the Revision of the Treaty of Tientsin, says:—

"I cannot endorse the opinion of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Co. [foremost among English mercantile firms in China], that 'the use of opium is not a curse but a comfort and a benefit to the hard-working Chinese.' . . . It is to me vain to

think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, naturally speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured, in every case within my knowledge, the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and it is, so far, a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effect, expose its victim to the loss of repute which is the penalty of the habitual drunkard."

Dr. S. W. Williams, author of the *Middle Kingdom*, and formerly agent of the American Board for Foreign Missions at Canton, but for many years subsequently Secretary to the United States Legation at Peking, says:—

"Mr. Wade's experience of about thirty years is like mine, of more than forty years' residence among the Chinese, during which time I have known only one case of thorough reformation from the habit, that of a native preacher attached to one of the Protestant missions, who brought to the aid of his determination to break off the habit the full persuasion that he was breaking the Sixth Commandment while he continued it, and would be accounted a murderer in the sight of God if he did not stop it. . . . His case is the only desperate one I know who succeeded in reforming himself. I have known one or two who stopped the use of the drug on finding how rapidly they were coming under its power; and I believe there may be many such. I hope, at least, that all the dreadful examples in the country, daily seen in the streets and shops, deter some from following their career."

Mr. Majoribanks, many years in the service of the East India Company, and President of their Select Committee in Canton said: "The misery and demoralisation occasioned by opium are almost beyond belief." Consul Lay said, "It is hamstringing the nation." Mr. R. M. Martin, than whom a nobler specimen of an English Christian gentleman never resided in the East, and who many years ago was Her Majesty's Treasurer for the Colonial, Consular, and Diplomatic Service in China, and a member of the Legislative Council at Hong Kong, and who in the latter capacity addressed, in 1844, an earnest protest (dissent, he called it) to the Governor of the Colony against the licensing of opium-smoking shops, says:—

"No language would convey a description of the sufferings of those to whom opium has become a necessary of existence." Again, "There is no slavery so complete as that of the opium taker; once habituated to his dose as a factitious stimulant, everything will be endured rather than the privation; and the unhappy being endures all the mortification of a consciousness of his own degraded state, while ready to sell wife and children, body and soul, for the continuation of his most wretched and transient delight. Transient indeed! for at length the utmost effect produced is a temporary suspension of agony; and, finally, no dose of the drug will remove or relieve a state of suffering which it is utterly impossible to describe." Again, "The slave trade ['execrable sum of all villanies,' John Wesley called it] was merciful compared with the opium trade. We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive—we did not *debase their natures, corrupt their minds, nor destroy their souls*." But as to opium, "Every hour is bringing fresh victims to a Moloch who knows no satiety, where the *English murderer* and the Chinese suicide vie with each other in offering at his shrine."

These are strong words, but the man who penned them deemed them simple fact, and his intense sincerity in the whole matter was seen in that he made a voluntary surrender of his office in order to place himself in a position to return to this country, and to press personally upon the home Government the adoption of a line of policy which he believed to be essential to the maintenance and extension of our commercial relations with the Chinese Empire.

Let but the reader remember that the statements of Messrs. Majoribanks and Martin were made thirty years ago, when the opium imported into China did not exceed 29,432 chests, and that in the years 1867-68 to 1872-73 it had swollen to the enormous average of 84,000 annually, and he will realise to some extent how it comes to pass that no Chinese patriot is in haste to fall in love with Western institutions, or to plead that Englishmen should be favoured with an extension of commercial privileges in the Middle Kingdom.

In the class termed non-official, whose testimony we now proceed to adduce, are included medical practitioners and travellers, missionaries and authors: these all unite, as we shall see, in asserting that beyond all

question the practice of opium smoking is a degrading and ruinous vice. In 1843—the year in which Lord Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) raised the question of our opium trade with China, in the House of Commons—Sir B. Brodie and twenty-five others of the most eminent medical men of the day, said, in a written opinion, that they could not but regard those who promoted the use of opium as an article of luxury *as inflicting the most serious injury on the human race.* In a collection of Medical Reports furnished by the doctors of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs' Service to their Inspector-General, Mr. Hart, Dr. A. G. Reid, who was in charge of a mission dispensary, Hankow, writes as follows:—

"My own opportunities (of observing opium smokers) have amounted to over five hundred cases, and the condition of the smokers may be learnt from the occupation of one hundred seen during last year. They were divided as follows:—Shopkeepers, forty; yamen attendants, eighteen; coolies, twelve; street stall keepers or pedlers, nine; farmers, six; soldiers, five; teachers, three; tradesmen, two. In every instance the applicants came to me because they had *lost their means of subsistence through the use of the drug*. . . . Their object in coming was merely to obtain a remedy to appease their present craving and restore their strength so as to enable them to resume their duties and earn wages to be again expended in opium. . . . Anæmia, emaciation, loss of appetite for good nourishment are sure to follow (the use of opium), and the accompanying loss of physical strength soon entails beggary for the labourer and his family. . . . *Opium differs from alcoholic indulgence by the absolute necessity of having a daily quantity.* A drunkard may abstain until means accumulate to enable him to purchase liquors, and may do his work efficiently in the intervals, but the opium smoker *must have* his daily stimulant, or he breaks down. To obtain it, there is no sacrifice he will not stoop to; even his wife is readily lent out for prostitution to provide means to buy the drug."—*Friend of China.*

The Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, originator and director of the China Inland Mission, in a letter read at the inaugural meeting of the "Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade," says:—

"As a medical missionary I am but too familiar with the moral and physical evils wrought, directly and indirectly, by

the use of opium. . . Some years ago I had charge of a hospital for a time, one wing of which was devoted to the cure of opium smokers. They paid for their food, and some of them came ten, twelve, and even fifteen days' journey to the hospital, remaining a month or more, and then having the long journey home again. The labour and expense to which these poor men went speaks volumes as to their sufferings and the weight of their bondage."

In the second volume of the *Chinese Recorder*, Dr. Kerr, medical missionary at Canton for upwards of twenty years, writes as follows:—

"The effects of opium smoking are physical and moral. Acting through the body, it reaches the soul. While the one wastes away, the other is corrupted and degraded. While the appetite for the fascinating poison grows stronger and stronger, the moral perception becomes blunted, the sensibilities hardened, and finally the gratification of the morbid appetite becomes the controlling motive of every purpose and act."

Reference must now be made to the *Indian Opium Revenue* for the testimony of a well-known traveller in the interior of China, Mr. T. T. Cooper. It is extracted from the Report of East India Finance, 1871, and is given below:—

"5522. Do you think, from your own experience in travelling over China, and investigating these matters, that the use of opium there causes as much public injury as the consumption of drink in England, as far as you can see?—Yes; I think that the effects of opium smoking in China are worse than the effects of drink in England, as far as my experience goes."

"5524. And, probably, a man accustomed to it all his life would die? [*i.e.* in case he was deprived of it]. *They do die in China from that cause.* In the more populous parts which I have gone through, generally after starting on my journey early in the morning through the suburbs of the town, before the watch have had time to go round, it is a very common thing to see half-naked men lying dead simply from want of opium.

"5525. I understand that you think the evils which arise from the consumption of opium arise from the poverty which it causes, and not from any crime: that it does not lead to crime?—It leads to crime in this way: that men will do anything—they will sell their children, their wives, their mothers, and their fathers to get opium."

Mons. Huc, the Catholic missionary and traveller,

gives the following account how opium operates on its victims. He says:—

"With the exception of some rare smokers, all others advance rapidly towards death, after having passed through successive stages of idleness, debauchery, poverty, the ruin of their physical strength, and the complete prostration of their intellectual and moral faculties. Nothing can stop a smoker who has made much progress in the habit."—*Friend of China.*

One more testimony may be quoted as to the misery resulting from smoking the "foreign poison." As this writer appears to have been exceedingly careful in forming his opinion, and in inspecting the sad cases of which he writes, his judgment and facts alike commend themselves to the reader's attention. In the April number of the *Friend of China*, the following extracts are copied from the *Illustrated Missionary News*, and are from the pen of the Rev. G. Smith, Church missionary:—

"During my stay at Amoy I made many inquiries respecting the prevalence and effects of opium smoking, and often visited, with a missionary friend, some of the shops in which the opium was sold. The first opium house which we entered was situated close to the entrance to the Taou-tai's palace. . . . . A little company of opium smokers, who had come thither to indulge in the expensive fumes. . . . soon gathered around us, and entered into conversation. . . . . They formed a motley group of sallow, sunken cheeks, and glassy, watery eyes, as, with idiotic look and vacant laugh, they readily volunteered items of information, and described the process of their own degradation. There was to be seen the youth, who, just emerging from boyhood, had only commenced the practice a little time before, and was now hastening to a premature old age. There was the man of middle age, who, for half his life a victim of this pernicious indulgence, was bearing with him to an early grave the wreck of his worn-out constitution. There was again the more elderly man, whose iron strength of frame could better ward off the slow but certain advances of decrepitude, but whose bloated cheek and vacant stare told of the struggle that was raging within. There was again the rarely seen spectacle of old age; and the man of sixty lived yet to tell of forty years consumed in the seductions of this vice. They all assented to the evils and sufferings of their course, and professed a desire to be freed from its power. They all complained of the loss of appetite, of the agonising cravings of the early morning, of prostration of strength, and of increasing

feebleness, but said they could not get firmness of resolution to overcome the habit. The oldest among their number, with a strange inconsistency and candour, expatiated on the misery of his course. . . . He enlarged on the evils of opium smoking, which he asserted to be six: 1. Loss of appetite; 2. Loss of strength; 3. Loss of money; 4. Loss of time; 5. Loss of longevity; 6. Loss of virtue, leading to profligacy and gambling. . . . *On hearing that I was an English missionary, they exposed the inconsistency of my rebuking their habit of opium smoking, while my countrymen brought them the means of indulging it. Most of them seemed to labour under the delusion that the missionaries were all Americans, and the opium smugglers were all Englishmen*—a mistake of which we of course took every means of disabusing their minds."

Further on in the same paper are given minute descriptions of ten cases of opium smokers, one of which must be laid before the reader. Mr. Smith says:—

"No. 3 was twenty-five years old, and had smoked opium for three years. He began the practice with two or three candareens* a day, but, having gradually increased the dose, now smoked a mace. He complained of loss of appetite and decay of strength. He was formerly much stronger. He was the head man of a company of coolies. Out of between 200 and 300 cash (value about 1s. 4d.) his daily wages, he spent 190 in opium. His idiotic look and sunken eye made him appear a wretched object, overtaken in early youth by the decrepitudes and infirmities of old age."

Dr. Williams, author of the *Middle Kingdom*, wrote, in 1853, after spending twenty years in China:—

"The thirst and burning sensation in the throat, which the wretched sufferer feels, only to be removed by a repetition of the dose, proves one of the strongest links in the chain which drags him to his ruin. At this stage of the habit, his case is almost hopeless; if the pipe be delayed too long, vertigo, complete prostration, and discharge of water from the eyes, ensue; if entirely withheld, coldness and aching pains are felt over the body, an obstinate diarrhœa supervenes, and death closes the scene. . . . . The evils suffered and crimes committed by the desperate victims of the opium pipe are dreadful and multiplied. Theft, arson, murder, and suicide, are perpetrated

* The Chinese weights *fan* or *candareen*, *tseen* or *mace*, *leung* or *tael*, run in a decimal scale. Ten fan = one tseen; ten tseen = one *leung*. The *leung* = $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. av., or $579\frac{84}{100}$ grs.

in order to obtain it or escape its effects. . . . . Opium imparts no benefit to the smoker, impairs his bodily vigour, beclouds his mind, and unfits him for his station in society; he is miserable without it, and at last dies by what he lives upon."

Mr. Lay writes:—

"This great metropolis (London ?) has a choice of wretched and degraded sights, but nothing that I ever see reminds me of an opium smoker. His lank and shrivelled limbs, tottering gait, sallow visage, feeble voice, and the death-boding glance of his eye, are so superlative in their degree, and so closely blended in their union, that they at once bespeak him to be the most forlorn creature that treads upon the ground. Such sights, however, are not very common, for the miserable beings generally hide themselves from public view, so that, amidst many thousands of healthy and happy faces, we only see here and there one of these prodigies of evil habit."—*The Chinese as they Are.*

Before passing on to consider what the Chinese themselves think and write about opium, reference may be made to two celebrated victims of it in this country—Thomas De Quincey and S. T. Coleridge. Near the conclusion of his book, *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, De Quincey writes:—

"I paused seasonably (in opium eating), but with a difficulty that is past all description. Either way it seemed as though death had, in military language, 'thrown himself astride my path.' Nothing short of mortal anguish, in a physical sense, it seemed, to wean myself from opium; yet, on the other hand, death through overwhelming nervous terrors—death by brain fever or by lunacy—seemed too certainly to be the alternative course. . . . I resolved to break off opium, and I triumphed. But infer not, reader, from this word 'triumphed' a condition of joy or exultation. Think of me as of one, even when four months had passed, still agitated, writhing, throbbing, palpitating, shattered. . . . If the opium eater is taught to fear and tremble enough has been effected."

Coleridge says:—

"The moment, the direful moment, arrived when my pulse began to fluctuate, my heart to palpitate, and such a dreadful falling abroad, as it were, of my whole frame, such intolerable restlessness and incipent bewilderment, that in the last of my several attempts to abandon the dire poison, I exclaimed in agony, which I now repeat in seriousness and solemnity, 'I

am too poor to hazard this.' Had I but a few hundred pounds, but £200, half to send to Mrs. Coleridge, and half to place myself in a private madhouse, where I could procure nothing but what a physician thought proper, and where a medical attendant could be constantly with me for two or three months (in less than that time life or death would be determined), then there might be hope. But now there is none! O God! how willingly would I place myself under Dr. Fox, in his establishment, for my case is a species of madness; only that it is a derangement, an utter impotence of the volition, and not of the intellectual faculties. You bid me rouse myself! Go, bid a man paralytic in both arms, to rub them briskly together, and that will cure him. 'Alas!' he would reply, 'that I cannot move my arms is my complaint and my misery.'"

These two cases may suffice to illustrate the firmness of the clasp with which the monster embraces all its victims.

When we turn to China, we find that men of all ranks, with talents of every kind, have been employed in depicting the horrors of opium smoking, in warning against its seductions, or in pleading for its discontinuance. Prose and poetry, argument and irony, illustrated handbill, pamphlet, and learned essay, have all been used to accomplish the end in view.

"A Chinese scholar," says Dr. Williams, "thus sums up the bad effects of opium, which he says is taken at first to raise the animal spirits and prevent lassitude. 'It exhausts the animal spirits, impedes the regular performance of business, wastes the flesh and blood, dissipates every kind of property, renders the person ill-favoured, promotes obscenity, discloses secrets, violates the laws, attacks the vitals, and destroys life.' Under each of these heads he lucidly shows the mode of the process, or gives examples to uphold his assertions. 'In comparison with arsenic, I pronounce it tenfold the greater poison; one swallows arsenic because he has lost his reputation, and is so involved that he cannot extricate himself. Thus driven to desperation, he takes the dose and is destroyed at once; but those who smoke the drug are injured in many ways. It may be compared to raising the wick of a lamp, which, while it increases the blaze, hastens the exhaustion of the oil and the extinction of the light. Hence the youth who smoke will shorten their own days, and cut off all hopes of posterity, leaving their parents and wives without any one on whom to depend. From the robust who smoke the flesh is gradually consumed, and the skin hangs like a bag. Their

faces become cadaverous and black, and their bones naked as billets of wood. The habitual smokers doze for days over their pipes, without appetite; when the desire for opium comes on they cannot resist its impulse. Mucus flows from their nostrils and tears from their eyes; their very bodies are rotten and putrid. From careless observers the sight of such objects is enough to excite loud peals of laughter. The poor smoker, who has pawned every article in his possession, still remains idle, and when the periodical thirst comes on will even pawn his wives and sell his daughters. In the province of Nganhwui I once saw a man named Chin, who, being childless, purchased a concubine, and afterwards, when his money was expended, and other means all failed him, being unable to resist the desire for the pipe, he sold her in her pregnancy for several tens of dollars. This money expended, he went and hung himself. Alas, how painful was his end!'"

On the 6th July, 1875, a Chinaman, resident in London, and member of Lincoln's Inn, wrote to the *Times* on the subject of opium. His letter took the form of question and answer. His questions were six, and were as follows:—

"1. Is the use of opium in China injurious or not, and should it be prohibited?

"2. Whether or not Great Britain is in any way to blame for the evils and miseries which opium has caused to China?

"3. What ought Great Britain to do in the matter?

"4. Will the Chinese Government be willing to prohibit the importation, cultivation, and use of opium?

"5. Supposing the Chinese Government be determined to put down the growth and consumption of opium in China, could their injunctions be carried into effect?

"6th, and lastly. If the cultivation of poppy should cease in India, by what means can the coffers of the Indian Government be supplied to the extent of six millions sterling, while no material benefit would thereby accrue to China, as the supply of opium may come from other nations?"

His reply to the first of these questions is as follows:—

"1. Is the use of opium in China injurious or not, and should it be prohibited? This question is a very important one, and upon it turn the other questions which follow. For if it should be proved that opium is, after all, a harmless drug, there will be an end to all the murmurings and outcries that have been raised against it. But is it harmless? I have not the least hesitation in at once recording my firm belief that, so far from being harmless, it is poisonous. This is not my

individual belief, for all my countrymen, whether opium smokers or not, believe it to be so, and call it by that name, and it appears to me that a similar opinion with regard to its quality is entertained by the English public, for I find that in an Imperial Act passed in the year 1868 for regulating the sale of poisons, opium is classed among them. No one, therefore, would for a moment think that opium used for any other purpose than as a medicine is harmless. As a Chinese, I can testify to the innumerable instances in which my poor countrymen have been entirely ruined through the use of the poisonous drug, and I fear I should weary your readers if I were to give a lengthy account of their misery. Suffice it to say, that opium undermines the health, saps the physical strength, and blights the moral sense of millions of my countrymen. For want of money to buy the drug—the price of which is very dear in my country—many of its victims have been led to commit thefts and other crimes. Its votaries are not the only sufferers, but their children, inheriting their blood, present the melancholy appearance of being pale and sickly, in great contrast with those healthy and robust youths whose parents are happily not its victims. . . . A beginner might commence with one pipe a day, but after one week or two you would find that he required two, and in about a month or six weeks he could not do, perhaps, without a daily allowance of five pipes. Thus it is difficult for an opium smoker to abide by his fixed allowance. I do not say that this is impossible, for there is a saying with us, 'Nothing is impossible in this world, only men's minds are not firm enough to achieve it.' This maxim applies exactly to the opium smoker. But show me one instance where a man had been adhering to a fixed allowance of opium with which he had commenced ten years ago, and I will show you a hundred cases where men began with a very moderate quantity, but within ten years they increased their allowance to such an extent that they were ruined. I hope I have said enough to show the evil effects of opium, which every sensible man deplores and should wish to see removed."

It is not an uncommon thing to meet with Chinese books containing sundry exhortations against the three vices most prevalent amongst the people, viz., fornication, opium smoking, and gambling. The juxtaposition of these vices will show to the reader the estimation in which the consumption of the great Indian product is held by the *literati* of the Middle Kingdom.

Reference has been made to the illustrated handbills, as one of the means employed to portray the evil of

opium. Many thousands of one of these have been given away, or posted on the walls, in the south of China. The illustrations are twelve in number, and they set forth the successive steps by which a man of affluence is reduced to want, and obliged to take up with the most menial employment, and all because he allowed himself to be victimised by the seductions of the opium pipe.

A more elaborate effort was made many years ago with the brush, in the same direction, and a series of six pictures, after the manner of Hogarth's "Rake's Progress," were painted by a Chinese artist.

The subject of these pictures is the son of a gentleman of fortune, whose father dying while he was yet but a youth, comes into possession of the whole family estate. The young man, however, having no inclination for business or books, gives himself to smoking opium and to profligacy. In a short time the whole patrimony is squandered, and he becomes entirely dependent upon the labour of his wife and child for his daily food. Their poverty and misery are extreme.

The first 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 him. On his right is a chest of treasure—gold and silver; on the left, close to 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, his countenance sallow and haggard, and 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.

No. 4. His lands and 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 forward, breathing with great

difficulty. His wife and child stand before him, poverty-stricken, suffering from hunger.

No. 5. His poverty and distress are now extreme, though his appetite for opium grows stronger than ever.

No. 6. Here is character is fixed—a sot. Seated on a bamboo chair he is continually swallowing the fæces 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 support, and dragging on from day to day a miserable existence.

Not another word will be needed surely either to prove or portray the unmitigated loss, ruin, and misery brought upon the Chinese by their indulgence in the vice of opium smoking. Men of every class are its victims, and the best men of every class are its sworn enemies; but that they lack the power which the motives and sanctions of our holy Christianity produce they must long ere this have been far on the road to ultimate triumph.

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CHAPTER III.

OPIUM FORCED UPON THE CHINESE BY THE ENGLISH.

In order to justify the heading of this chapter, it will be necessary to view the subject historically, and to divide the period to be passed under review into three parts, viz., from the beginning of the trade to the first Anglo-Chinese war in 1839 and 1842, thence to the second war in 1858, and so forward to the present time.

The English first obtained a footing in Canton in the year 1684; but it was not until 1773 that the East India Company made a small shipment of opium to that port. Six years previously the imports had reached 1,000 chests; but most of the trade was in the hands of the Portuguese. In 1800 the importation of opium was prohibited by the Emperor under heavy penalties, the ground of the prohibition being that it wasted the time

and destroyed the property of his subjects, who exchanged their silver and commodities for the "vile dirt of foreign countries." In 1809 the hong merchants* were required to give bonds that no ship which discharged her cargo at Whampoa (the port of Canton) had opium on board. In 1820 the Governor-General of the province of Canton and Collector of Customs issued an edict forbidding any vessel in which opium was stored to enter the port, and making the pilots and hong merchants responsible for its being on board. In September of the following year the senior hong merchant was disgraced because he had neglected to point out every foreign ship which contained opium. At the same time a paper combining exhortation and entreaty was addressed by the Governor to the foreigners, Portuguese, English, and American. "The gods," he said, "would conduct the fair dealers in safety across the ocean, but over the contraband smugglers of a pernicious poison the terrors of the royal law on earth and the wrath of the infernal gods in Hades were suspended." From this date the opium ships no longer anchored at Whampoa, but at an island named Lintin, situated between Macao and the entrance to the Canton river. Here they formed a floating depot, and here they remained year after year till 1839, except that during the typhoon weather they sought safer anchorage in other well-known spots. The opium from Lintin was introduced into the country in the following manner. Native brokers went to the foreign merchants in Canton and bought it at the market price, paying for it in specie, and receiving orders on the captains for the amount purchased. These orders were taken alongside the store ships in native wherries (smuggling boats) sixty or eighty feet long, well manned and well armed. Whenever the wherries were attacked by official boats the men belonging to them fought desperately, and with reason, for when taken they generally lost both property and life. The Government at Peking, and its leading representatives at Canton, tried to put the trade down, but their subordinates at the custom-houses and military posts con-

* A body of native merchants who, for the privilege of trading with foreigners, became, in 1720, security for their payment of duties and for their good behaviour.

nived at it for the purpose of gain, and so the smuggling was carried on, not at midnight, but in open day.

"Towards the close of the East India Company's Charter, in 1834," writes Dr. Williams, "the contraband trade in opium off the Bogue [the entrance to the Canton river] and along the coast eastward had assumed a regular character. The fees paid for connivance at Canton were understood, and the highest persons of the province were not ashamed to participate in the profits of the trade." In one voyage up the coast, in 1831, sales were effected to the amount of 330,000 dollars. The local authorities, coastwise as at Canton, finding their edicts quite powerless to keep off the fast-sailing opium vessels, soon followed the practice of their fellow officers at Canton, and winked at the trade for a consideration. Thus it came to pass that the name and character of foreigners were generally associated with the opium trade, and that this contraband traffic formed a strong argument with the better class of the Chinese against all foreign trade, which they urged would bring enormous evil with it, chiefly from the increased use of opium.

As the famous year 1839 drew on, memorials and counter memorials were presented to the Chinese Government, pleading for and against the legalisation of the opium trade. Among others the President of the Sacrificial Court proposed its legalisation. This unexpected movement at the capital created no small stir. The impression was general at Canton, both among the Chinese and English, that the point would be ceded. "*And increased preparations were accordingly made in India to extend the cultivation!*" The reason assigned by the President for proposing his measure is worth noting. He states it to be his "conviction that it is impossible to stop the traffic, or use of the drug; if the foreigners be driven from the coast they will go to some island near by, where the native craft will go off to them, and if the laws be made too severe upon those who smoke the drug, they will be disregarded." The Governor of Canton and his colleagues followed in the wake of this memorial, alleging that "the tens of millions of precious money which now annually ooze out of the Empire will be saved . . . the evil practice of transporting contraband

goods by deceit and violence suppressed, numerous quarrels and litigations arising therefrom, and the crimes of worthless vagrants diminished." Thereupon a Cabinet Minister took alarm, and presented a counter memorial. We regret very much that we cannot transfer to these pages the entire paper. It tears to shreds the special pleadings of the former one, and does honour alike to the intelligence and the moral feeling of the writer.

The discussion on this subject was not confined to the natives, as the pages of the *Chinese Repository* bear witness. One writer charges the sin of murder upon those who traffic in opium, and asserts "that the perpetuating and encouraging and engaging in a trade which promotes disease, poverty, misery, crime, madness, despair, and death, is to be an accomplice with the guilty principals in that tremendous pursuit." Of course this plain outspoken article was replied to by a person concerned in the traffic. This rejoinder was answered by two more foreign gentlemen, one of whom was especially successful in exposing its fallacies.

Subsequently to the presentation of the memorials now named, "commanders-in-chief, governors, and lieutenant-governors of provinces were required to express, in the form of regulations, their own several views on the subject, and to lay the same speedily before the Throne." The sense of the empire being now fully taken, the efforts of the Supreme Government to suppress the contraband trade were much greater in 1838 than ever before. By express command of the Emperor, a native was publicly strangled at Macao as a warning to others not to introduce opium. The execution of the sentence was conducted in the presence of a large crowd of natives and foreigners. The number of the foreign small craft under English and American flags plying up and down the Canton river at this time was over fifty, *most of them engaged in smuggling*. Sometimes the Government seemed determined to exert its power, and boats were consequently destroyed, smugglers seized and tortured, and the sales checked: then it went on again as briskly as ever. Then, again, the retailers at Canton were imprisoned, and others in the country were brought there in chains. In Hupeh, it was reported that the officials

had punished arrested smokers by cutting out a portion of the upper lip, to incapacitate them from using the pipe. The president of the Sacrificial Court was dismissed for proposing legalisation; three princes of the blood were degraded for smoking opium; and arrests, fines, tortures, imprisonments, and executions were frequent in the provinces on the same grounds. Besides all this, various other plans were suggested for checking the trade, "such as guarding the ports, stopping the entire foreign trade, arresting the smugglers, shutting up the shops, and encouraging the home growth." One writer recommends that all the blame should be laid upon the consumers, and advises death to be awarded to all who smoke after a year's warning has been given them. "Officers found guilty were not only to be executed, but their children to be deprived of the privilege of competing at the public examinations." These proposals bear on their very front the marks of sincerity; but, owing to the vice and greed of the natives and the shameless rapacity of the Christian foreigners, they were wholly ineffectual.

At length, on the 10th of March, 1839, Commissioner Lin, to whom had been entrusted unlimited powers to put an end to the opium traffic, reached Canton. In devolving upon him this difficult duty, it is said that the Emperor remarked to him, "It is our full hope that the long-indulged habit will be for ever laid aside, and every root and germ of it entirely eradicated," and, while recounting the evils which had long afflicted his people through opium, he was reported to have paused and wept; then, turning to Lin, to have said, "How, alas! can I die, and go to the shades of my imperial father and ancestors, until these direful evils are removed?" For a week after his arrival Lin took no public step in furtherance of his mission. He was busy, however, informing himself as to the true state of things; and having done this he issued two proclamations to the hong merchants and to the foreigners. That to the latter required them to deliver up every particle of opium in the store-ships, and to give bonds that they would bring no more, on penalty of death. Three days were allowed for the opium to be given up and the bonds made out. Orders had

been already issued to detain all foreigners in Canton, in fact making them prisoners in their own houses; communication with the shipping was suspended, troops were assembled about the factories, and armed cruisers stationed on the river. A few days more and further orders were given to command every servant to leave them, and station guards before the door of each dwelling, and on the roofs of the adjoining houses. By nine o'clock at night not a native was left, and the foreigners, about 275 in number, were their only inmates. From these particulars it will be evident that had the Commissioner desired it, the factories might have been easily pillaged and their inmates butchered: but no arm was lifted against them personally. Seven days had elapsed from the issue of the proclamation, and then most of the foreign merchants, of all nations, signed a paper pledging themselves not to deal in opium, nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese Empire. How many of these individuals subsequently broke this pledge on the ground that it was forced from them cannot be stated, but part of the firms which signed it were afterwards actively engaged in the trade. Finally the opium was given up under protest. In due time instructions, which had been applied for, reached Canton from Pekin, to destroy it. Hereby the expectations of Captain Elliot, Chief Superintendent of Trade in China for the English, were falsified. In a despatch to the Home Government he had expressed his belief that the Chinese intended to sell it at a high price, remunerating the owners and pocketing the difference. But the Emperor's orders were obeyed, and 20,291 chests of the "black commodity" were mixed with lime, oil, and rubbish of various kinds, and of course, effectually destroyed. While these proceedings were going forward at Canton other ships were bringing fresh opium from India, "*and the sales had begun again, even before the destruction of the drug at the Bogue, and rapidly increased when it was known that that immense quantity had really been destroyed.*"

Exception must be taken, of course, to the measures adopted by Lin to secure the opium. They were the mistakes of judgment, however—nothing more. A careful study of the subject must convince most men that both

Lin and his imperial master were sincerely desirous of putting an end to a monstrous and growing evil, and that the good of their country was anxiously sought, in this matter, by both.

In the following April the matter was discussed in the House of Commons. Some who took part in the debate seemed to think that hostilities might have been averted by a little more timely forethought and precaution on the part of her Majesty's ministers. One of the speakers said that the governors of Canton had sanctioned the trade; another that the connivance of the local officials acquitted the smugglers; a third thought that the Chinese Government was insincere in its efforts; while a fourth put it bluntly, that "the reason why the English Government have done nothing to stop the opium trade was that it was profitable." As the result of this discussion no formal declaration of war against China was made, but an Order in Council was issued to the Admiralty, to the effect that "satisfaction and reparation for the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the Emperor of China against certain of our officers and subjects shall be demanded from the Chinese Government."

As is well known, hostilities followed. On June 22, 1841, part of the English force, consisting of five ships, three steamers, and twenty-one transports, arrived off Macao, and in due time moved up the coast. City after city, and fort after fort, fell into their hands, and eventually peace was concluded by the signing of the celebrated Treaty of Nanking. By its provisions five ports, including Canton, were opened to foreign trade, the island of Hong Kong was ceded to the English, and the Chinese consented to pay 21,000,000 dollars for the expenses of the war, for the debts due to our merchants, and for the opium which they had destroyed. *The amount refunded for the opium was* 6,000,000 *dollars.* A more striking example of the triumph of might over right will hardly be found in the history of nations.

At the time the treaty was signed Sir Henry Pottinger proposed to say a few words to the Chinese Commissioners upon "the great cause that produced the disturbances which led to the war, viz. the trade in opium." When this communication was translated to them, they

unanimously declined entering upon the subject until they were assured that he had introduced it merely as a topic for private conversation. They then evinced much interest, and anxiously inquired, "Why will you not act fairly towards us by prohibiting the growth of the poppy?" They were then told that this could not be done consistently with our constitutional laws; that even were it done, it would not remedy the evil, for while the passion for opium remained with the Chinese, other nations would bring it them; and that, in short, as they could not stay the indulgence of the habit, they had much better legalise the importation of the drug. Thereupon they expressed to Sir Henry their firm persuasion that their Imperial master would never listen to a word upon the subject.* *Other nations would bring it* if we did not! This was the argument. We should like to know what iniquity under the sun might not be defended on the same principle?

Ten months after the signing of the Treaty the ratifications were exchanged at Hong Kong, and the island was taken possession of on behalf of the Queen, by Sir Henry Pottinger, who was appointed the first Governor of the Colony. It was of this place that he said, in 1842—we quote from Mr. Mark J. Steward in the debate on the Opium Trade, June, 1875:—"Its pure and noble institutions would stand one day as a model whereby to work the regeneration of the Chinese Empire." How far this hope has been already realised, or is likely to be, hereafter, we shall be able to judge when we have passed in brief review the opium transactions carried on there from the acquisition of the island to the present time. Under the circumstances, the only wise, just, humane, and Christian policy for the British Government to follow, would have been that of, to say the least, a gradual abandonment of the opium traffic. At any rate we were pledged to unite with the Chinese in putting

* When urged to derive a revenue from the importation of opium, the Emperor of China thus righteously recorded his sentiments in 1844, in an answer which would have been worthy of a Christian monarch:—"*It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison; gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people.*"

down smuggling. The pledge is contained in Article 12 of the Supplementary Treaty of Oct. 1842, and runs as follows:—"In any positive instance of smuggling transactions coming to the (British) Consul's knowledge, he will instantly apprise the Chinese authorities of the fact, and they will proceed to seize and confiscate all goods, whatever their value or nature, that may have been so smuggled; and will also be at liberty, if they see fit, to prohibit the ship from which the smuggled goods were landed from trading further, and to send her away as soon as her accounts are adjusted and paid." And now for the facts—facts which concern at once this country, and India, and Hong Kong. Between the first and second Chinese wars, vessels were built and sent out from England, equipped and armed with every implement of war, for the express purpose of carrying on, by violent resistance of the revenue officers of China, the smuggling trade in opium, the Government making not the slightest effort to intercept them. So much for Great Britain. Then as to India. When the opium was seized by Commissioner Lin, the net opium revenue had reached the sum of £1,586,445. In the year in which the second war was waged, 1857-8—that revenue had swollen to £5,918,375! And lastly, as to Hong Kong. In No. 1 of "The Friend of China" will be found "An Outline History of the Opium Farm of Hong Kong." From this "Outline" we learn, that though no part of the revenue of the colony was derived from opium during the governorship of Sir Henry Pottinger, yet in Nov. 1844 a Government ordinance was passed, entitled, "An Ordinance for Licensing the Sale of Salt, Opium, &c.;" and further regulations for the sale of opium by retail were issued the following February. Among these regulations were found the following:—"Without license none shall, within the limits of the island and its dependences, sell or retail opium for consumption [there is no restriction put upon the sale of opium for smuggling purposes to the main land of China] in smaller quantities than one chest, fines 100—500 dollars, these penalities to be recovered summarily, and if necessary by distress, which failing there shall be imprisonment." The revenue raised from this source down to the year 1858 inclusive—

now by farming out the monopoly to the highest bidder, and now by adopting the licensing system—amounted to £32,790. So much for our opium relations to China from the time of the cession of Hong Kong to the British Crown, on to the second war and the signing of the second treaty in June, 1858.

What Sir R. Peel could not accomplish by peaceful means in 1843, that is to say, "obtain from the Chinese assent to a treaty under which opium would have been admitted," was secured by Lord Elgin with the support of a powerful military and naval armament. Not, however, without a vigorous protest from the Chinese Government, whose eventual submission is spoken of as "the adoption of a wise policy"! Ordinary men would call it yielding to a coercion which they were utterly unable to resist. However, the point was gained, and the Chinese consented that the importation of opium should be legalised with a duty of 10 per cent. Space will not allow us to exhibit in full the proofs that as the traffic in opium was in the first instance forced upon China, so it has been submitted to down to the present time *wholly and solely* because the Chinese Government has not felt itself strong enough to struggle with the power that wrung from it the original concession. In evidence of this the following weighty sentences from the pen of the English Ambassador at the Chinese Court may be quoted. Writing to Lord Clarendon in May, 1869, Sir Thomas Wade (then Mr. Wade) speaks as follows:—

"We are generally prone to forget that the footing we have in China has been obtained by force alone, and that, unwarlike and unenergetic as we hold the Chinese to be, it is in reality to *the fear of force alone* that we are indebted for the safety we enjoy at certain points accessible to our force.... *Nothing that has been gained, it must be remembered, was received from the free will of the Chinese; more, the concessions made to us have been, from first to last, extorted against the conscience of the nation,*—in defiance, that is to say, of the moral convictions of its educated men, not merely of the office-holders, whom we call mandarins, and who are, numerically, but a small proportion of the educated class, but of the millions who are saturated with a knowledge of the history and philosophy of the country. To these, as a rule, the very extension of our trade must appear, politically, or

what is in China the same thing, morally wrong, *and the story of foreign intercourse during the last thirty years can have had no effect but to confirm them in their opinion.*"

The following official note, addressed to Sir Rutherford Alcock by the Chinese Foreign Office, in which it urges upon her Majesty's Government the policy of prohibiting the importation of opium, shows plainly enough what China would do with the clause in the Tien Tsin Treaty, legalising the opium trade, if it had the power:—

"From Tsunglee Yamen (Foreign Office) to Sir R. Alcock. July, 1869.—The writers have on several occasions, when conversing with his Excellency the British Minister, referred to the opium trade as being prejudicial to the general interests of commerce. The object of the treaties between our respective countries was to secure perpetual peace; but if effective steps cannot be taken to remove an accumulating sense of injury from the minds of men, it is to be feared that no policy can obviate sources of future trouble. Day and night the writers are considering the question, with a view to its solution, and the more they reflect upon it, the greater does their anxiety become, and hereupon they cannot avoid addressing his Excellency very earnestly on the subject. That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocation of ill-feeling, is, the writers think, perfectly well known to his Excellency, and it is, therefore, needless for them to enlarge further on these points. The Prince [the Prince of Kung is the President of the Foreign Board] and his colleagues are quite aware that the opium trade has long been condemned by England as a nation. And that the right-minded merchant scorns to have to do with it. But the officials and people of this empire, who cannot be so completely informed on the subject, all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin, for (say they) if the friendly feelings of England are genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everything else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through the empire? There are those who say, stop the trade by enforcing a vigorous prohibition against the use of the drug. China has the right to do so, doubtless, and might be able to effect it, but a strict enforcement of the prohibition would necessitate the taking of many lives. Now, although the criminals' punishment would be of their own seeking, bystanders would not fail to say that it was the foreign merchant seduced them to their ruin by bringing the drug, and it would be hard to prevent general and deep-seated indignation; such a course, indeed, would tend to arouse popular indignation against the foreigner. There are others, again, who suggest the removal of the prohibitions against the growth of the poppy. They argue that, as there is no means of stopping the foreign (opium) trade, there can be no harm, as a temporary measure, in withdrawing the prohibition on its growth. We should thus not only deprive the foreign merchant of a main source of his profits, but should increase our revenue to boot. The sovereign rights of China are, indeed, competent to this. Such a course would be practicable; and, indeed, the writers cannot say that, as a last resource, it will not come to this; *but they are most unwilling that such prohibition should be removed, holding as they do that a right system of government should appreciate the beneficence of Heaven, and (seek to) remove any grievance which afflicts its people; while to allow them to go on to destruction, though an increase of revenue may result, will provoke the judgment of Heaven and the condemnation of men.* Neither of the above plans, indeed, is satisfactory. If it be desired to remove the very root, and to stop the evil at its source, nothing will be effective but a prohibition to be enforced alike by both parties. Again, the Chinese merchant supplies your country with his goodly tea and silk, conferring thereby a benefit upon her; but the English merchant empoisons China with pestilent opium. *Such conduct is unrighteous. Who can justify it?* What wonder if officials and people say that *England is wilfully working out China's ruin,* and has no real friendly feeling for her? . . . Indeed, it cannot be that England still holds to this evil business, earning the hatred of the officials and people of China, and making herself a reproach among the nations, because she would lose a little revenue were she to forfeit the cultivation of the poppy! . . . If his Excellency the British Minister cannot, before it is too late, arrange a plan for a joint prohibition (of the traffic), then, no matter with what devotedness the writers may plead, *they may be unable to cause the people to put aside ill-feeling, and so strengthen friendly relations as to place them for ever beyond fear of disturbance.* Day and night, therefore, the writers give to this matter most earnest thought, and overpowering is the distress which it occasions them. Having thus presumed to unbosom themselves, they would be honoured by his Excellency's reply."*

In the Minutes of a Conference previously held between Sir R. Alcock and the Chinese Foreign Board, presided over by Wan Chang, we are told—

"They proceeded to describe the horror entertained by all good Chinese, and by all the influential classes, of the effects

* "East Indian Finance, 1871," quoted in *The Indian Opium Revenue.*

of opium upon the Chinese nation; and said that real friendship was impossible while England continued responsible for the drug to the Chinese people. Wan Chang repeated that the Chinese Government did certainly hope and desire that the British Government would agree to some arrangement for giving effect to the wish of China, for the discouragement of the consumption of opium by the Chinese people."

The only impressions one can receive from a perusal of the above extracts are, first, that the Chinese Government is sincerely anxious to be rid of the foreign opium, because until that is accomplished its hands are tied from putting effective measures into operation for restricting the home production; and, secondly, that as the English poured opium into China by fraud, until 1858, and then compelled its removal from the list of articles prohibited, so at the present time we continue its importation by force.

On another point these extracts are eloquent. Unless we take speedy steps to free the Chinese from the necessity of receiving our opium, they will remove all prohibitions from the native growth of it, in order to drive the Indian product out of the market. If the people *must* be poisoned, the rulers are beginning to think they might as well gain a little by the process, rather than let all the profits fall into our hands. They are evidently loth to adopt this course, and well they may be; for no one can contemplate the possibility of it without starting back in horror at the spectacle of moral and material wreck, which would certainly ensue. Should the Chinese ever take this step, it will be simply because Christian England left them no alternative.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE OPIUM TRADE CRIPPLES WESTERN COMMERCE.

It will be evident to all who have well considered the physical and material injury which the Chinese people have suffered from opium smoking, or who estimate aright the portentous moral deterioration and mischief of every

kind which follows in the train of smuggling, and which at this moment flourishes on the south-east and east coast of China, under the auspices of British cupidity and selfishness that disastrous commercial results must be mixed up with the trade. As to the fact and dimensions of the smuggling let our Consul at Canton testify.

"It is difficult to say what amount of opium is taken by this province, *for no article is so largely smuggled from the British colony of Hong Kong*. . . . Within the last few years stations have been established on the mainland [by the Chinese Government], in the neighbourhood of Hong Kong, and steam cruisers are employed in stopping and searching suspicious-looking junks leaving the colony; but their seizures are insignificant, and they are too few in number to effect much in checking the contraband trade, which flourishes to an extent scarcely credible. *Smuggling is rampant*, and the Provincial Government is satisfied in getting what it can in the shape of duties."*

From the "Returns of Trade at the Treaty Ports in China, for the Year 1872," we gain additional light on this subject. On page 13 is found a table of comparative statistics as to the importation of opium into Hong Kong, and the amount which reaches Chinese ports from that place in foreign vessels. The table is for eight years, 1865—1872; and we gather from it, that while during that period 671,179 peculs (1 pecul = 133 lbs.) reached Hong Kong, only 468,605 peculs passed through the foreign customs at the different ports; a fact, which proves that within the time specified upwards of 200,000 peculs of opium were smuggled into China from the British Colony of Hong Kong. The estimated value of the sum total imported from India was £108,545,557, and that of the opium introduced into China *without paying duty* £31,940,782. It is true that from the amount smuggled from the colony must be deducted whatever the Chinese residing there consumed, as also the quantity reshipped to Australia and California for the Chinese in those countries; but after this has been done the figures given above will not be materially altered. That this smuggling, which still goes on as briskly as ever, could

* "Commercial Reports from her Majesty's Consuls in China, 1873."

be stopped, if we chose to stop it, will be doubted by no one. But as it only concerns the Chinese Government, which hereby loses fully a quarter of its opium revenue, we allow things to go on as they are. Not only so, but when the Chinese Government proposed locating a custom's official or consul in Hong Kong, in order to check the contraband traffic, they were politely informed—we suppose it was done politely—"That it could not be allowed." This refusal on our part was followed by the establishment of the stations on the mainland, &c., referred to by Sir Brooke Robertson, her Majesty's Consul at Canton. Simplicity itself will not be simple enough to imagine that this state of things can continue without damage to the trade, reputation and influence of England.

Again, the commercial prosperity of England is mixed up with the extension, as soon as may be, of our facilities of trading with the interior of the Chinese Empire. But how can any of those millions of educated Chinamen, referred to by Sir Thomas Wade,—those amongst them especially who have escaped the seductions of the foreign poison—desire that a wider scope should be afforded to foreign commerce? No one of them can visit the capital of his province, or go through any of its walled cities, or sail along its rivers, or even walk the streets of his own village, without seeing alarming examples of the sad effects of English trade, and power, and avarice. Perhaps the victims of the curse are to be found among his own near relatives. This large class of the population, be it remembered, is that out of which the civil officers of the Chinese Government are elected, subsequent to competing at the annual and triennial literary examinations; and there can be but slight hope that what the manufacturing and mercantile classes of this country desire, viz. free access for their goods to the interior of the empire, will be granted, unless effective measures are adopted for lessening, at least, the egregious wrong which they suffer at our hands, and of which they so loudly and so justly complain. As things are, the products of our looms and anvils are kept out of China lest opium, in still larger quantities, should flow in upon the country. And who shall impugn the wisdom which is jealous of the advent of so dire a ruin? Dr. Dudgeon, of Pekin, in a speech

delivered at Glasgow (see *Friend of China* for January, 1876), says:—

"The high officials and people of the Flowery Land believe opium, and the wars with England resulting from it, to be the cause of all their troubles. Our wars have demoralised the people, disarranged their finances, given rise to official corruption, and in this way have stimulated the native growth of opium. Were this traffic abolished, there is almost nothing in the way of progress in the opening up of the country, and the facilitating of trade, that they are not, I believe, prepared to do; with its existence, what Christian and philanthropist can wish for more facilities for trade extended to the foreigner? Greater facilities for trade mean greater ruin and poverty to the country."

"The Chinese Government," says Dr. Williamson, Agent of the Scotch Bible Society in China, "have a most wholesome fear of any wider distribution of this drug; and that is one of their great covert objections to railways, or to admitting us freely into the interior in any manner whatever. . . . . For I believe that had it not been for the position we took up in regard to opium, the empire would, by this time, have been opened from end to end; so that the short-sighted greed of our pioneers, who made fortunes out of this drug, which few lived to enjoy, has left to their successors the heritage of a crippled commerce, and the malediction of a great nation."—*The Friend of China*, April, 1875.

On page 307, in the "Correspondence respecting the Revision of the Treaty of Tientsin," 1871, and in a letter addressed to Consul Medhurst, by James Barr Robertson, occur these words:—

"It is unfortunate that its whole history (the opium trade), as regards China, should be such as one cannot look back upon with any satisfaction; *and for an article which is having such a disastrous effect upon the natives, to constitute about one-half of the import trade*, by means of which we pretend to lead the Chinese to civilisation, is, to say the least, regretable."—*The Indian Opium Revenue*, p. 17.

Let commercial men and others who have any interest in the China trade ponder well the astounding fact noted in the words we have italicised, and then say whether the trade of the mother country is not fettered, in order that the coffers of the Indian Government may be replenished

by means of this death-dealing traffic; and whether the £6,000,000 of revenue accruing from opium is not, in a sense, a tax paid by England to India?

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CHAPTER V.

OPIUM A BARRIER TO CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

THE last topic for consideration is the hindrance which the traffic in opium offers to the spread of Christianity. The Chinese, being heathen, have no conception of genuine unselfish benevolence, and when they see men of the same nation coming amongst them with objects so utterly opposed as opium selling and preaching the Gospel, they set their wits to work to reconcile the two. The opium merchant, say they, comes among us to ruin us physically, and the English Missionary, as an agent of his Government, is sent out to wheedle and seduce the people, and "buy their hearts" away from the Emperor, and when the Church is sufficiently strong in numbers and the Chinese fighting men and others have been enervated by opium, then the Church and the British Government will coalesce, and the Flowery Land will become subject to the hateful rule of Western barbarians. This sort of reasoning prevents many from reading Christian books, from sending their children to Mission-schools, and from entering chapels and preaching rooms. It is notorious too that commonly the first word uttered by a Chinaman, when urged to believe in Christianity, is to the effect, "Why do Christians bring us opium, knowing as they do the misery resulting to us from it?" Should the man be of mature age he is not unlikely to proceed as follows: "That vile drug has poisoned my son, has ruined my brother, and has 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." Christianity is opposed likewise by the

press in China on the same ground. "It is monstrous in barbarians to attempt to improve the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire when they are so miserably deficient themselves. Thus, introducing among the Chinese a poisonous drug (opium) for their own benefit to the injury of others, they are deficient in benevolence." This passage is from a tract, written many years ago, against the Missionaries in the Straits of Malacca. The contraband introduction of the "black commodity" for many years, and afterwards the forced legalisation of the same, keeps alive the hatred of intelligent and reflecting Chinese against the English name. They may know very little of Western science, art, and philosophy; but they are familiar with the moral sayings of their own great sage, Confucius, and they often quote against us, as a nation, his celebrated golden rule, "Do not unto others what you do not wish done to yourself." Innumerable testimonies in corroboration of the statement that opium is the great barrier to the spread of Christianity are borne by Missionaries now on the ground. We have space only for two or three of these. At a late annual meeting of the Church Missionary Society, the Bishop of Victoria (Hong Kong) said: "I have been again and again stopped while preaching with the question, "Are you an Englishman? Is not that the country that opium comes from? Go back and stop it, and then we will talk about Christianity." —The April number of *The Friend of China* for 1875.

The same number quotes from *The Missionary Chronicle* the following account:—

"In the missionary chapel at Amoy, the Rev. John Macgowan got into discussion with one of his auditors. He challenged his visitor to produce one instance, either from the mandarin or the literati class, of a man who was honestly endeavouring to carry out the doctrines of the Chinese sages. The visitor somewhat hesitatingly agreed that the instances were certainly very rare. Whilst in the very act of admitting this, the easy manner hitherto assumed in his conversation with me seemed to glide from the man, and, like a flash of lightning, a look of suppressed hatred and bitterness spread instead, 'Oh, then,' he said, 'your object in coming here is to teach us charity and benevolence, and truth and uprightness, is it?' I said, 'Yes.' 'If this be your object, then, why is it that you yourselves act in a spirit so directly the

reverse of these, and force upon us instead your abominable opium? If your nation believes in these doctrines as Divine, why has it imported this poisonous stuff to bring poverty, distress, and ruin throughout our land?' And as he went on he became excited, and his eye flashed, and, as his eloquence grew, Chinaman-like he rolled his head from side to side, whilst the congregation, which in the meantime had grown largely, looked on with approving sympathy."

Mr. Macgowan admits that he could not answer the man—how could he?—and that he "never felt so uncomfortable in any meeting in his life before." The troublesome controversialist clenched his argument by saying:—

"There is no use in your trying to get out of the matter by saying that you have nothing to do with this opium system: your country has. It is your nation, England, that is responsible for all the ruin caused by opium. It was the English guns that compelled our Emperor to sanction the trade, and it is through England that it may be sold throughout the length and breadth of the land, without our Government being able to do anything effectual to prevent its spread throughout the kingdom.'"

Nor does the evil end with the difficulty thrown in the way of the acceptance of the Gospel by the Chinese heathen; for opium has often proved a serious hurt to Christian inquirers, catechumens, and candidates for baptism. Indeed, not a few recognised members of the Church of Christ in China have fallen under its power again, to the intense sorrow of their teachers and pastors. Again, the writer, when travelling in China with American missionaries, on hearing the natives asking about our nationality, has earnestly hoped that too close inquiries would not be pressed in his own case. Why? He blushed to own himself an Englishman because of this odious trade. Should not the supporters and directors of English Missionary Societies have somewhat to say on this subject?

And now what is the practical bearing of all these facts? For the sake of our prestige and honour, if for no higher reason, this country should make all haste to wash her hands from the nefarious traffic in opium. Such a step requires that the Bengal monopoly should be

abolished, and that China should be relieved from all treaty obligations to admit Indian opium within her borders. To this course, indeed, there are sundry weighty and, in the estimation of many Indian officials, insuperable obstacles. To abolish the monopoly, and thereby leave it open to all to cultivate the drug who wished to do so, would be, it is said, to demoralise India. But no one would suggest that all regulations with regard to the production of the drug should cease. Moreover, we are not at liberty to continue a course which threatens the ruin of a neighbouring kingdom. Others object to relieving China of the necessity of taking our opium on the ground that opium-smoking is not worse than dram-drinking. Perhaps it is not worse, though unquestionable authorities, as we have seen, affirm the contrary. But be it so. Even then we have a very strong argument for taking the course we desiderate. The objection that others would send opium to China, if we did not, we have already characterised. Few men would venture to arti-culate a principle which is at once so primeval and so shamelessly selfish. There is something to be said for the allegation that China is growing opium herself on a large scale, and that therefore to relieve her from the treaty obligation to admit the Indian drug, while it would not diminish the amount consumed, would only enrich China by impoverishing India. The fact here noted, however, is sincerely deplored by all philanthropic minds, both in and out of China. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the growth of opium in China is in direct opposition to Imperial edicts, and that as soon as England will deal fairly with China on this matter, there is every probability of their being put in force.

One other objection remains to be noticed—and one which is generally felt to involve the chief difficulty of the question. "The question," he said, "was purely one of *finance*, and he could not see the possibility of raising by other means the amount that was derived from the manufacture and export of opium." This statement by one of the speakers in the Opium Debate of June, 1875, put it plainly in few words. It is the old plea, first made use of, we believe, by the East India Company in 1817.

It was made to do duty again in 1843, when Lord Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) moved a resolution in the House of Commons to the effect that the trade with China "was damaging to our legitimate commerce, and utterly inconsistent with the honour and duty of a great Christian country." The revenue at that time was £2,181,000, and the only argument brought against the motion was a financial one. The same happened again in 1870, and yet again last year, and as often as attempts are made to rid the country of this particular sin and shame, so often will this plea be heard from Government officials and Indian financiers. Until the national conscience is thoroughly aroused upon the subject, or a majority of those in high places adopt the motto of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people," or some unforeseen catastrophe overtakes our Indian Empire or our relations with China, immediate and decisive measures will not be taken for carrying on the Bengal Government after a more Christian and honest fashion, and this ancient and scandalous objection will not fail to be urged in opposition to the change we advocate.

We do not ignore or underrate the revenue difficulty. For this aspect of the opium question we beg to refer the reader to *The Indian Opium Revenue, its nature and effects*, which contains Sir W. Muir's Minute, and a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Anglo-Oriental Anti-Opium Society by Sir A. Cotton; also to a paper by a retired Indian civil servant in the June number, 1875, of the *Friend of China*; and to the July number of the *Friend*, in which will be found the "Debate in the House of Commons, June, 1875, on the Opium Question." But be the financial difficulty what it may, we protest in the name of justice, mercy, and Christian faith, that Great Britain is bound to clear herself speedily from all national complicity with this hideous wickedness.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to mention one or two facts showing how certain *heathen* governments and peoples have regarded the traffic in opium. We have already seen on page 11, "that prior to the introduction of British rule into Aracan, the punishment for using

opium was death." The Chinese rebels, whom the English and French helped to drive from their strongholds, had no sympathy with the drug. Soldiers in their army were commanded to abstain from opium. To smoke it was deemed an infraction of the Seventh Commandment, and was punished with death. Gamblers, opium-smokers, and other impure persons were exterminated. On p. 13 of *The Indian Opium Revenue* we read: "The market for opium would cease if our gunboats in China ceased to enforce our treaty rights there; and it is certainly under our influence that its growth is maintained (in Malwa). If we left India, there certainly would not be so much cultivation of opium—*the native priests would very soon dispose of it.*" When Japan entered into treaty relations with America and England, the prohibition of opium, as an article of commerce, was distinctly recognised. Indeed, she had previously made up her mind that she would not admit it on any consideration, being fully aware of the disasters it had wrought in China. In the October number of the *Friend of China* it is stated that:—"In the summer of 1872 portions of the crop were deliberately destroyed in the Kirin province (for it is too true, alas! that the poppy is cultivated largely throughout the whole of Manchuria) in consequence of the representations made by a Mongol prince, who, on a journey through Mongolia and Manchuria, had been shocked to find how large an area was under poppy cultivation." Observe that this Mongul prince was a pagan and not a Christian. All honour to him!

Some time ago, conjointly with America, we believe, certain requests were made by our Government to the Portuguese that the Macao coolie trade should cease. It is not impossible that before long we may ourselves receive a deputation of the powers in treaty with China calling upon us to desist from any longer forcing our opium upon China. The Chinese Christians of Hong Kong, in a letter published in the *Friend of China*, not obscurely hint at some such eventuality. And dissatisfaction has been already expressed by certain Americans at the amount of opium exported from Hong Kong to California, where the use of it occasions much misery to

the Chinese immigrants, and to others of the population.

These are little clouds on the horizon, which may have a great significance, and England will do well to hide herself before the storm comes.

The principal authorities consulted in the preparation of these pages are the following:—

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* The reader is strongly recommended to acquaint himself with the proceedings of this society, and to support it by his contribution. Its aim is to wipe out one of the darkest blots that ever polluted the English name.

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