introduction into their country, and this notwithstanding the following decree, issued so late as the year 1833:

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

We might multiply evidence to prove that the Chinese are the chief sinners in the opium trade, and while not unmindful of the enormity of helping a whole nation on in their suicidal career, we should not cast the whole blame on our unfortunate countrymen in Canton.

We trust that on the meeting of parliament a select committee will be appointed to consider the whole subject; and with the view of aiding the investigation, we proceed to consider whether the recent proceedings at Canton on the part of commissioner Lin were prompted solely from virtuous considerations, and in respect to the demoralization of the people

In 1836, the vice-president of the sacrificial court at Pekin proposed to the emperor to legalize the importation of opium, and thus diminish the export of silver. After describing the different sorts of opium which comes from Bengal as the "black earth;" the "white skin" from Bombay; and the "red skin" from Madras,, his excellency says-

" In Keenlung's and the previous reigns, when opium passed through the custom-house and paid a duty, it was given into the hands of the Hong merchants, in exchange for tea and other goods. But at the present time, the prohibitions of government being most strict against it, none dare openly to exchange goods for it: all secretly purchase it with money. In the reign of Keaking (1796) there arrived, it may be, some hundred chests annually. The number has now increased to upwards of 20,00 chests, containing each a hundred catties. The 'black earth,' which is the best, sells for about 800 dollars, foreign money, per chest; the 'white-skin,' which is next in quality, for about 600 dollars; and the last, or 'redskin,' for about 400 dollars. The total quantity sold during the year amounts in value to ten and some odd millions of dollars; so that, in reckoning the dollar at seven mace standard weight of silver, the annual waste of money somewhat exceeds ten millions of taels. Formerly, the barbarian merchants brought foreign money to China, which, being paid in exchange for goods, was a source of pecuniary advantage to the people of all the sea-board provinces. But latterly, the barbarian merchants have clandestinely sold opium fcr money, which has rendered

- "We, the Governor, Lieut.-Governor, and Hoppo, have, with deep humility, received an imperial decree, commanding us,
- "' In reference to the memorial of the sub-censor, Hew Kew, respecting the traitorous natives who deal in opium, the Hong merchants who arrange the transactions, the brokers who purchase wholesale, the boat-people who carry the drug, and the marines, who, being bribed, connive at their doing so- to examine closely, and strictly apprehend offenders in all those points, to deliberate on the subject with full purpose of heart, to endeavour strenuously to dam up the source of the evil, and to report on the whole subject fully and faithfully. Respect this.'

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

These state papers place in a clear light the sense which the chief Chinese functionaries entertain of the conduct of their countrymen.

The Rev, Mr. Medhurst, an exemplary missionary, who has most justly and ably protested against the iniquitous trade in opium, quite confirms the opinion, that the chief blame as to the continued use of the poison rests with the Chinese themselves. **Mr.** Medhurst says, that,

"In fact, opium is not only regularly introduced, but openly sold in all parts Notwithstanding the prohibition, opium shops are as plentiful in some towns of China as gin-shops are in England. The sign of these receptacles is a bamboo screen, hanging before the door, which is as certain an intimation there, as the chequers are here, that the slave of intemperance may be gratified. these shops all classes of persons continually flock, from the pampered official to the abject menial. No one makes a secret of the business or the practice, and though the officers of government are loud in denouncing the indulgence in public, they privately wink at what is patronized by their own example, or subservient officers come regularly on board the receiving ships at Lintin, and demand so many dollars per chest for conniving at smuggling; while it is currently reported, that even the viceroy of Canton receives a very respectable consideration for winking at these illicit transactions. The military and naval officers sometimes get up a sham-fight, in order that they may have to report their vigilance and strictness to Peking; and when the smugglers are, remiss in paying the accustomed bribes, they now and then seize a boat or two, to keep them regular and submissive."

We do not attempt to extenuate the conduct of those who brought opium for sale to China, but we must not lose sight of those who grew, made, and used it themselves, and took bribes to permit its illegal it necessary for them to export foreign silver. Thus foreign money has been going out of the country, while none comes into it.

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

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

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

Here **we** see the true reason for the recent energetic conduct of government respecting the foreign opium, while no measures were adopted with reference to that grown and prepared in China itself. The reply of the emperor is in unison with the spirit of the **memorial**;†

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

[†] The memorial proposes to the emperor to legalize the importation of opium, and to impose a duty thereon. The minister observes, that the more severe the interdict, the more extensive has been the consumption of the drug; that the

not a word is said about the moral effects of the poison, (although it is said to have found its way into the imperial palace itself, and that recently the heir-apparent to the throne of China died from its excessive use,) the silver question is alone dwelt on, although the memorial dwells strongly on the destructive effects of opium on the health and happiness of the people. The decree of the court of Pekin is as follows:

"On the 29th day of the 4th moon of the year Taoukwang (12th June, 1836.) —In the memorial of Hew, minister of the imperial privy council, it is set forth, that opium, the more it has been prohibited, the more has the poison propagated. In these last few years, indeed, nobody has been bold enough to purchase it openly from the foreigners in exchange for goods, but privately it has been bought in large quantities with silver, occasioning an annual loss to the empire of more than ten millions of taels. The memorialist therefore prays that the article may be taken in exchange for all goods like other merchandise, &c. We, therefore, order that the viceroy of Canton do assemble his council to deliberate upon this subject, and to report to us the result."

The governor and lieutenant-governor of **Kwangtung**, (Canton,) to whom the memorial was referred, report, that they "regard the whole as true and accurate"-that opium was prohibited in the "fourth year of Reaking, (1799,) the then governor of the province Reiking, of the imperial kindred, regarding it as a subject of deep regret that the vile **dirt** of foreign countries should be received in **exchange for the commodities and money** Of **the empire.**"

"And fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time and the destruction of their property, presented a memorial requesting that the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment. This punishment has been gradually increased to transportation and death by strangling. The law is by no means deficient in severity; but the people are not so much 'influenced by the fear of the laws as by the desire of gain. Hence, from the time that the prohibition was passed, the crafty schemes and devices of evil men have daily multiplied. On the one hand, receiving ships are anchored in the entrances from

habit of using it having become inveterate, will be indulged in at all hazards; that even if the foreign trade were interdicted altogether, which would be a serious loss to China, the evil would not be extinguished, for "the barbarian ships on the high seas can make to any island or port they please, where the native craft can meet them;" and that the attempt to check the introduction of opium has led to systematic bribery and wholesale murder. He proposes, therefore, that opium should be allowed to be introduced, to pay duty as medicine, and after it has passed the custom-house, only to be bartered for other cargo, and not to be sold for money: "and when the barbarians find that the duties on it are less than what is expended in bribes, they must be delighted at it."

the outer seas. On the other hand, brokers, called *melters*, are everywhere established in the inner land. Then again, *fast crubs* and *scrambling dragons-as* the boats are called-are fitted out for clandestine commerce; and lastly, vagabonds, pretending authority to search, have, under this pretext, indulged their own unruly desires. Thus, what was at first a common article, of no esteem in the market, either for smoking or eating, and also of a moderate price, has, with the increase in the severity of the regulations, increased in demand, and been clandestinely and largely imported, and annually drawing away from the pecuniary resources of the inner land, while it has done nothing to enrich it."

By an edict of the 20th day of the 12th month, (26th of January, 1836,) the grand council of state received the following verbal command from his majesty the emperor:

"A report has this day arrived from Tang and his colleagues, presenting the results of their mutual deliberations to directly removing the baneful effects that arise from opium having pervaded the country. By the prevalence of opium throughout the empire, there has been occasioned a daily decrease of our fine silver: being now desirous to exert ourselves entirely to stop up the source \mathfrak{I} this evil, the only sure mode of proceeding is utterly to prohibit the exportation of sycee silver. If by diligent and vigorous watchfulness, in the places whence the silver is exported, and at the points by which it necessarily must pass, we can deprive both the traitorous natives and the barbarians of all opportunity of exercising their artful devices, it is clear that we may thus gradually close up the breach, and prevent further exportation. The said governor and his colleagues have been able to perceive this, and point it out in their memorial. join heart and hand to enforce vigilant and faithful observation, to punish all traitorous natives who combine with the foreigners in illegality,—and entirely to hinder foreign merchants from gratifying their avaricious greediness; and let it be their grand object wholly to prevent the exportation of our fine silver. labours must be productive of some fruit; they must not attempt to get off with mere empty words; but having the name of exerting themselves, they must prove the reality of their exertions. Communicate these commands to Tang and Ke, and let them enjoin them also on Wan. Respect this."

The proposition of the minister Heu to legalize the importation of opium in exchange only for tea or other commodities, and thus to prevent the drain of the precious metals from China, was combated by another of the ministers of the crown, (Choo' Tsun, member of the council and of the board of rites,) in a memorial dated in 1836, to which we have before adverted, and of which the following is an extract:

"As to the proposition to give tea in exchange for opium, and entirely to prohibit the exportation of even *foreign* silver, I apprehend that if the tea should not be found sufficient, money will still be given in exchange for the drug, Besides, if it is in our power to prevent the exportation of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And, if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offences will both at once be stopped. Moreover, is it not better, by continuing the old enactments, to find even a partial remedy for the evil, than by a change of the laws to increase

the importation still further? As to levying a duty on opium, the thing sounds so awkwardly, and reads so unbeseemingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

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

The **reasoning** of **Choo** Tsun is better than that of Hew Naetze; the former was the late political economist for China; he saw clearly that **to** legalize the importation of opium would but help to augment the exportation of silver, or of other valuable commodities. Choo also well understood the **feelings** which govern unchristianized men. This minister makes the important admission that-

"The great majority of those who at present smoke opium are the relatives and dependents of the officers of government, whose example has extended the practice to the mercantile classes, and has gradually contaminated the inferior officers, the military, and the scholars."

Heu Reu, the sub-censor over the military department, also reported to the sovereign his opinions respecting the vital point of the efflux of dollars **from** China. He says-

"The amount annually lost to the country is about ten and some odd millions of money. The money thus lost was, at fist, the foreign money wherewith foreigners had previously purchased goods: now it is entirely the fine silver of the inner land, cast into a different form at **Macao**. Formerly the foreigners imported money to purchase the merchandise of the country, but now it has all been carried back. In the **first** instance it was their practice to recast the foreign money, fearing lest any discovery should be made of their transactions, but now they openly carry away sycee silver.

" It is since the suppression of the pirates in the reign of Keaking, that opium has gradually blazed up into notice. At first the annual sale of it did not exceed

in value a few millions, but of late it has risen to nearly twenty millions; and the increase and accumulation of the amount, from day to day, and from month to month, is more than can be told. Mow can it be otherwise, than that the silver of China is lessened, and rendered insufficient even daily?

"In my humble view of the case, the exportation of sycee silver to foreign regions and the importation of opium are both rightly interdicted. But local officers, having received the interdicts, have not strenuously enforced them, and hence the one coming in has produced the outgoing of the other. If, in place of reprehending their failure strenuously to enforce them, these prohibitions be even now repealed, this will be indeed to encourage the vicious among the people, and to remove all fault from the local officers. But how, when once this prohibition of opium is withdrawn, shall the interdict against the exportation of sycee silver be rendered strict? It cannot be so; for we shall then ourselves have removed the barriers. It were better that, instead of altering and changing the laws and enactments, and utterly breaking down the barrier raised by them, the old established regulations should be diligently maintained, and correction be severely employed."

Whatever may be said as to the moral effects of the opium trade, and no Christian can contemplate them without abhorrence, we do not think that the iniquity of the trade was the leading principle of the Chinese government, after *forty years* prohibitory declarations against the importations of opium.

The money circulation of China is purely metallic-all paper as representative of property being prohibited: the only coin used is a base copper coin of inferior denomination, silver being negotiable by weight, in the form of horse-shoes, and termed sycee, (pure native.) Mr. King, an intelligent American merchant, residing at Canton, and who has written a well-intentioned pamphlet on the opium trade, in which he had always refused to engage, says, that

"The quantity of metal required for the exchanges must be greater, year by year, as the resources of the empire develop, and its transfers multiply, under the hand of peaceful industry. It is only on this admission, that an abstraction of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 dollars, caused by the sales of opium, within the last fifteen years, can have been felt as a great embarrassment, calling the imperial council together to consult on checking it.

"We learn from the opium memorialists, that the silver mines of China are not abundant, and that the laws in force respecting them are framed (not to check their produce, and so lessen the dangers of excessive wealth) but to protect them from exhaustion. It should not surprise us to find this motive working in China, since it has shown itself so often in western legislation, and was, a century ago, a main argument with the Japanese for restricting their trade with foreign countries. These fears of exhausting their mineral wealth unfortunately became connected, in the minds of Chinese statesmen, with vague apprehensions of a time to come, when, with weakened sinews, they should have to stand in collision with Western nations. There was enough, in actual experience, and historic knowledge of European doings in the East, to suggest the apprehension, Mad any

thing more been needed, to prompt the foresight, such sentiments as the following, from a Canton paper of April, 1833, would have been sufficient: 'Perhaps nothing could contribute more readily to the final reduction of the Chinese people to reasonable terms with foreigners, than this steady and never-ceasing impoverishment of the country, by the abstraction' of the circulating medium, [by the export of the returns of the opium trade.]'

"To keep to the financial subject--if the Chinese check the outgoings of silver where they now are, they will still remain large debtors, as to their currency, to foreign commerce.

"For instance, the trade of the United States has given them, since its rise in An equal sum has come in, through a channel **1784**, over 100,000,000 dollars. often left out of account, from Spanish America via Manilla. The best authorities state, that 400,000,000 dollars in specie, reached the Philippines, chiefly from Acapulco, in the 250 years of their intercourse. That one-fourth of this passed to China, is a moderate estimate. In the controversy between the rival merchants of Cadiz and Manilla, the former always traced the decline in the profit on Spanish fabrics, in the markets of New Spain, to the interference of those from China. The latter replied, 'not our supply of Chinese silks, &c., but the far greater one poured in by other flags, clandestinely, or via Spain, has cut down your per centages, and thrown the Spanish looms out of employment.' dence of this, they pointed to the 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 dollars, of Spanish American coinage, annually imported at Canton, under the colours of England, Holland, &c. To this statement (with due allowance for its partisan origin) we have to add the fact, that, out of the £30,000,000 or £60,000,000 sterling, variously estimated to have been drawn from Japan, during sixty years of free export, a considerable proportion came to China, via Macao, &c., for the purchase of raw silk, the staple of that commerce. It seems a low estimate to set down these sources as equivalent to the American, which gives an aggregate import of 400,000,000 Deducting from this vast sum the 50,000,000 dollars lately redrawn, and we still leave the Chinese debtors for 350,000,000 dollars. If to this we add the produce of their own mines, which, we are told, forms the whole currency of the middle and western provinces, it appears, they must be in possession of a cireulating medium of not less than 500,000,000 dollars. It is true, however, that the want of mutual confidence, banking knowledge, &c., leaves a large proportion of this in private hoards, unemployed and unavailable. Its weight, too, and the necessity of examination at every transfer, make it a most expensive, as well as an inconvenient medium."

But it is evident from Chinese state documents, that another question, not less urgent than the exportation of silver, has had great weight in actuating the recent proceeding. Heu Rew, the sub-censor over the military department, in his memorial (before quoted) to the emperor, after describing the English as barbarians who bring no foreign silver, and yet take away the native coin, and therefore deems them "undeserving of a single careful or anxious thought," proceeds to say, that

" Of late, the foreign vessels have presumed to make their way into every place, and to cruise about in the inner seas. Is it likely that in this they have no evil

design of spying out our real strength or weakness? If now they be left thus to go on from step to step, and their conduct be wholly passed over, the wealth of the land must daily waste away and be diminished. And if, when our people are worn out, and our wealth rendered insufficient, any difficulty should then, even by the slightest chance, as one in ten thousand, turn up, how, I would ask, shall it be warded off? Rather than to be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought now, while yet our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our government; nor (it may be hoped) have any longer the means of exercising their petty arts and devices."

Choo Tsun, in the memorial before adverted to, also dwells strongly on this point, in his address to the emperor. His excellency says-

" The repeated instances, within a few years, of the barbarians in question having assumed an attitude of outrageous disobedience; and the stealthy entrance of their ships into the provinces of Fuhkeën, Chekeang, Keangnan, and Shantung, and even to Teëntsin,—to what motives are these to be attributed? unable to answer the inquiry. But, reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent (Kanghe), I find the following remark by him, dated the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign (1717):—'There is cause for apprehension, lest, in centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the West, who come hither from beyond the seas.' I look upwards, and admiringly contemplate the gracious consideration of that all-wise progenitor, in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-pervading foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he Though it is not practicable to put a sudden and entire stop to apprehended. their commercial intercourse, yet the danger should be duly considered and provided against; the ports of the several provinces should be guarded with all strictness; and some chastisement should be administered, as a warning and foretaste of what may be anticipated.

"Under date of the 23rd year of Keäking (1818), your majesty's benevolent predecessor, surnamed the Profound, directing the governor of Canton to adopt measures to control and restrain the barbarians, addressed him in the following terms; -- The empire, in ruling and restraining the barbarians beyond its boundaries, gives to them always fixed rules and regulations. Upon those who are obedient, it lavishes its rich favours; but to the rebellious and disobedient, it dis-Respecting the English trade at Canton, and the anchorage grounds of their merchant ships and of their naval convoys, regulations have long If the people aforesaid will not obey these regulations, and will since been made. persist in opposition to the prohibitory enactments, the first step to be taken is, to impress earnestly upon them the plain commands of government, and to display before them alike both the favours and the terrors of the empire, in order to eradicate from their minds all their covetous and ambitious schemes. standing, they dare to continue in violent and outrageous opposition, and presume to pass over the allotted bounds, forbearance' must then cease, and a thundering fire from our cannon **must** be opened upon them, to make them quake before the

terror of our arms. In short, the principle on which the 'far-travelled strangers are to be cherished' is this-always, in the first instance, to employ reason as the weapon whereby to conquer them, and on no account to assume a violent and vehement deportment towards them: but when ultimately it becomes necessary to resort to military force, then, on the other hand, never to employ it in a weak and indecisive manner, lest those towards whom it is exercised should see no cause for fear or dread.' How clear and luminous are these admonitions, well fitted to become a rule to all generations!"

There is abundance of other evidence in proof that the Chinese, or rather we should say, the few Tartar chiefs, who rule a population amounting to nearly one-third of the whole human race, dread much the proximity of the English to the frontiers of China; and we hear from good authority, that there is much cause for apprehension among the Tartar rulers that the Chinese are in state of great commotion. Secret societies exist throughout the country, and a decree has recently been issued to "forbid Christianity with rigour, to seize foreign books, and to correct the human heart and maintain good order."

We shall have occasion in future numbers to enter at considerable length into an investigation of the whole state of China in its domestic we wish to confine our attention to the recent seizure of opium, and to urge the necessity of a committee of parliamentary inquiry as early as We do not wish to prejudge the important question as to whether those British merchants, who surrendered their opium at Mr. Elliott's requisition for "her majesty's service," are to be paid or not paid; and if the former, by whom? Whether from the English treasury, or from that of India, or by forcible restitution from the Chinese treasury. How far each and all of these parties are implicated in the opium trade, as well as the merchants who bought the opium at Calcutta and Bombay, it is not for us now to say; we shall have another opportunity for discussing this point of national morals. All that we desire is, that the merchants, whose property has been seized, (especially the native merchants of British India) may not have a " hue and cry" raised against them, and be condemned unheard. Whatever be the issue, we cannot but rejoice that a question of such vast moment to the interest of millions of the human race has been thus summarily mooted; we rejoice that our lot has been cast in an age when national morals and national consciences are deemed of vital importance, and that aggregate bodies of men feel that as deep (if not a deeper) responsibility rests on them, as if they were acting in their several individual capacities. It is thus only that great objects for the welfare