

would have each confided to them the colonies in either hemisphere ; the board itself, after the manner of the India Board, (commonly called the “Board of Control,” or Commissioners for the Affairs of India,) would be divided into departments of revenue and finance, legislative and commercial. The revenue and finance departments would have the management of all the waste colonial lands, and the suggesting of measures connected with that important branch of the duties of the whole board.

Finally, the whole of the home affairs of the colonies, including every species of expense, from the secretary of state downwards, should be defrayed from the profits arising from the sale of colonial lands, &c. Twenty-four Directors at the East India House, Leadenhall Street, with its large and efficient establishment, together with the “Board of Control,” in Cannon Row, commissioners, secretaries, clerks, &c., is not one shilling charge to the English exchequer ; the whole, amounting to £140,000 per annum, is paid by the natives of India. Thus also should it be with the Colonial Board in Downing Street : the crown-lands in the colonies, under proper management, would yield an increased revenue ; but under the present defective state of things, no wonder we have useless expenditure, discontent abroad, and inefficacy at home.

These remarks are made without reference to any party in the state, or to any individual ; whether Whigs or Conservatives rule, a proper system of government must be immediately framed for the Colonies ; and to this end, under some form or other, our best energies shall be directed.

THE OPIUM TRADE, AND TRUE CAUSE OF THE STOPPAGE.

IN the history of commerce, there has, perhaps, never occurred a more singular branch of trade than that of opium, nor one which is more likely to lead to important results. The rise and progressive consumption of this destructive drug among the Chinese—its contraband traffic, the extent to which it has been carried, the means taken by the Chinese government to endeavour to stop the trade, the forcible seizure of Captain Elliott, her majesty’s superintendent at Canton, and the confiscation of nearly £3,000,000 worth of opium by the Chinese commissioner Lin—are facts well known, and require no recapitulation. The result of the whole is, that the British merchants who surrendered

the opium to Captain Elliott, in order to procure his release from durance, and probably to save his life and that of the other *detenus*, claim and expect compensation from the British government ; the general trade of Canton has been stopped, and war, it is said, is about to take place between England and China. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the public should understand the question in all its bearings. There can be no doubt that opium (the inspissated juice of the poppy) is a drug of the most pernicious quality when used to excess, or continued for any length of time. It affects principally the nervous system, and is not, like beer, wine, or spirits, received into the digestive system previous to its action on the nerves. As a medicine, it, like all other poisons, is of great value. It diminishes pain, soothes irritation, and procures repose for the sufferer when all other means have failed. In large doses it almost instantly destroys life by destruction of the nervous energy, which is indispensable to the circulation of the blood. Unless when taken for the relief of disease, and then even administered with the greatest caution, the continued action of opium, as a sensual stimulant, tends rapidly to the wasting of youth, health, strength, and beauty. Those who begin its use at twenty may expect to die at thirty years of age : the countenance becomes pallid ; the eyes assume a wild brightness, the memory fails, the gait totters, mental and moral courage sinks, and a frightful marasmus or atrophy reduces the victim to a ghastly spectacle, who has ceased to live before he has ceased to exist. There is no slavery so complete as that of the opium-taker ; once habituated to its dose as a factitious stimulant, every thing will be endured rather than the privation ; and the unhappy being endures all the mortification of a consciousness of his own degraded state, while ready to sell wife and children, body and soul, for the continuance of his wretched and transient delight ; transient indeed-for at length the utmost effect produced is a temporary suspension of agony, and, finally, no dose of the drug will remove or relieve a state of suffering, which it is utterly impossible to describe. The pleasurable sensations and imaginative ideas arising at first soon pass away ; they become fainter and fainter, and at last entirely give place to horrid dreams, appalling pictures of death: spectres of fearful visage haunt the mind- the light which once seemed to emanate from heaven is converted into the gloom of hell-sleep, balmy sleep, has fled for ever-night succeeds day only to be clothed with never-ending horrors-incessant sickness, vomiting, diarrhea, and total cessation of the digestive functions, ensue ; and death at length brings, with its annihilation of the corporeal structure, the sole relief to the victim of sensual and criminal indulgence. We shall not 'at present stop to

discuss the reason why a sensible people like the Chinese should addict themselves to this poison ; whether it be owing to the stagnant condition of their intellectual, political, and moral state, and by which they are led to seek relief in the dreadful sin of opium-smoking ; the fact is, however, worthy of investigation in the physiological history of the human race.

At what period the use of opium commenced in China, we know not : its growth and preparation appear to have been known to the Chinese themselves for ages. Up to the year 1780 the Portuguese supplied the Chinese with foreign opium, and after that period the English trade in the drug began by our establishing a depôt for the sale of the drug to the southward of Macao. Formerly opium was admitted as a foreign article on payment of a duty of 3 tæls 'per 100 catties, with a package charge of 2 tæls, 4 mace, and 5 candareens. But towards the end of the last century its importation was entirely prohibited; and in 1796, those found guilty of smoking opium were punished with the pillory and bamboo.

In spite, however, of **strong denunciations on paper, the clandestine** trade went on; the East India Company were **compelled to** take the preparation of the opium in the rich districts of **Bengal, Behar, and Benares**, into their own hands, farmed the whole of the produce, and sold it annually at Calcutta **by auction to the highest bidder**. The progress of these sales is thus shown for forty years : —

Statement of the Sales of Opium by the East India Company at Calcutta, from 1798-99 to 1837-38.

Seasons.	Total Chests.	Total annual sales in Sic. Rs.	Seasons.	Total Chests.	Total annual sales in Sic. Rs.
1798-99	4172	17,31,161	1818-19	3552	63,43,265
1799-1800	4054	31,42,591	1819-20	4006	82,55,603
1800-1	4570	31,43,035	1820-21	4244	1,05,63,891
1801-2	3947	37,19,748	1821-22	3293	1,31,76,313
1802-3	3292	45,55,728	1822-23	3918	1,08,29,496
1803-4	2840	39,44,595	1823-24	3360	65,08,610
18045	3159	62,03,805	1824-25	5690	74,01,553
1805-6	3836	58,94,919	1825-26	3810	88,80,225
1806-7	4126	40,77,948	1826-27	6570	83,30,025
1807-8	4538	68,54,157	1827-28	6650	1,12,28,416
1808-9	4208	51,05,760	1828-29	7709	1,06,35,134
1809-10	4561	80,70,955	1829-30	8778	1,12,55,767
1810-11	4968	80,88,330	1830-31	7548	1,18,07,008
1811-12	4891	79,96,870	1831-32	7938	1,17,70,875
1812-13	4966	62,76,705	1832-33	10638	1,24,59,572
1813-14	4769	88,71,475	1833-34	12223	1,16,31,830
1814-15	3672	89,14,290	1834-35	12977	1,32,15,464
1815-16	4230	90,93,980	1835-36	14745	1,87,95,355
1816-17	4618	90,79,972	1836-37	16916	2,53,95,300
1817-18	3692	80,43,197	1837-38	17244	2,27,89,865

This, however, is but a portion of the opium trade. Of late years it was found that the poppy grew abundantly in Malwa and Central India. The East India Company entered into negotiations with the chiefs of those districts, to prevent the manufacture of the drug, but were obliged finally to grant passes for permitting the transit of the Malwa opium through the Bombay territories for shipment to China. The extent of the trade from Malwa is thus shown since 1821 :—

Quantity of Malwa Opium exported from Bombay and Damaun to China, from 1821 to 1836.

Seasons.	Chests from Bombay.	Chests from Damaun.	Total amount of Chests.	Value per Chest.
1821	1600	678	2278	2,024
1822	1600	2255	3855	2,007
1823	1500	1535	5535	1,764
1824	1500	2063	6063	1,288
1. 825	2500	1563	5563	971
1826	2500	2605	5605	1,877
1827	2980	1524	4504	1,383
1828	2820	3889	7709	1,765
1829	3502	4597	8099	1,686
1830	3720	9136	12856	1,202
1831	4700	4633	9333	1,450
1832	11,000	3007	14007	1,250
1833			11715	—
1834	8985	2693	11678	—
1835	7337	5596	12933	1,093
1836	8224	3500	11724	958
1837	20,882	} No } return.		
1838	10,372			

The growth of the trade may be estimated from the above statements, and also from the annexed table ; but as the import at Canton is contraband, we have no means of giving the latter years accurately. At the moment the trade was stopped, the importations for the year would, it is said, have amounted to 40,000 chests ! †

* The value of these 20,882 chests was R. 2,40,33,171.

† It is estimated that this quantity would supply 1,000,000 smokers, A tael weight (=10 drachms) is a large allowance for even a regular smoker,

Quantity of Opium annually exported from India to China for
Fifteen Years.

Years.	No. of Chests Imported.		Average Price per Chest in Spanish Dol.		Sale Value of each Kind in Spanish Dollars.		Total Number of Chests Imported.	Total Value of Importation, — Spanish Dol.
	Patna & Benares.	Malwa	Patna & Benares.	Malwa	Patna & Benares.	Malwa.		
1816	2610	600	1200	875	3132000	525000	3210	3657000
1817	2530	1150	1265	612	3200450	703800	3680	3904250
1818	3050	1530	1000	725	3050000	1109250	4510	4159250
1819	2970	1630	1235	1175	3667950	1915250	4600	5583200
1820	3050	1720	1900	1515	5795000	2605800	4770	8400800
1821	2910	1718	2075	1325	6038250	2276350	4628	8314600
1822	1822	4000	1552	1290	2828930	5 160000	4822	7988930
1823	2910	4172	1600	925	4656000	3839100	7082	8515100
1824	2655	6000	1175	750	3119625	4500000	8655	7619625
1825	3442	6179	913	723	3141755	4464450	9621	7608205
1826	3661	6308	1002	942	3668565	5941520	9969	9610085
1827	5134	4401	998	1204	5125155	5299920	9535	10425075
1828	5965	7701	940	968	5604235	6928880	13132	12533115
1829	7843	6857	860	862	6149577	5907580	14000	12057157
1830	6660	12100	870	588	5790204	7114059	18760	12904263
1831	5950	8265	—	—	5682010	5818574.	14225	11500584
1832	8267	15403	—	—	6551059	8781700	23670	15332759
1833	9534	11715	—	—	6089634	7916971	21250	14006605
1834	10207	11678						
1835	12977	12933						
1836	14745	11724						
1837	169716							

In addition to this, there is a quantity of opium exported from Turkey, the extent of which is small. The Malwa is considered by the Chinese to have a higher touch, but it is not deemed so pleasant nor so mellow in flavour as the Patna. The smokeable extract which each contains is thus designated—Patna and Benares, 45 to 50 touch; Malwa, 70 to 75; Turkey, 53 to 57.

There is also a large quantity of opium made in China itself, as shown by the following extract from the Memorial of Choo Tsun, member of the council and of the board of rites, to the Emperor, in 1836 :-

“ From Fuhkëen, Kwangtung, Chekeang, Shantung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, memorials have been presented by the censors and other officers, requesting that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy, and against the preparation of opium ; but, while *nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not*

been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak ; but of that portion of the country I have it in my power to say, that the *poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign, and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests.*"

Thus it appears that in the six most fertile provinces of China, opium is freely cultivated, and that in one province alone (Yunnan) several thousand chests are annually produced. The trade in foreign opium is carried on by the Chinese themselves, who pay the price in dollars, or sycee silver, to the agents at Canton or Macao, and receive an order with which they proceed to the receiving ships at the mouth of the river, and carry off the drug in spite of the government cruisers. Under any well-regulated government, or under any system of intentional restriction, it would be quite impracticable to raise the trade in a bulky contraband article like opium to the extent and method with which it was conducted. It is true that many enactments have appeared since the first prohibition in 1796. The Pekin Gazette of August 22, 1823, contains a decree, which may serve as a specimen of the regulations promulgated respecting the prohibition of opium :-

" In the Eastern and Western E. districts (of Yunnan) they boil the poppy and make opium. The said Yu-She, imperial adviser, or informer, formerly reported **as follows** :—' In the public offices of the civil and military officers, their confidential secretaries, relations, petty officers, and soldiers, all smoke this opium.' It is ordered that the said governor and deputy-governor rigorously enjoin the said controlling officers, who are stationed at boundaries, ferries or fords, and narrow passes, to devote themselves to the performance of their duty. It is further ordered, that the district officers really exert themselves in investigating. And if in the said province the forbidden poppy is secretly grown and used for the preparation of opium, and smoking houses are opened, let the persons who act thus be immediately dragged forth, prosecuted and punished, and allow them not to borrow the help of government clerks and police runners, and so forth, and cause confusion, and string together annoyances.

" As to those who buy and smoke opium, ask not who they are, whether confidential secretaries, connexions of the officers, petty officers, or soldiers; but at once seize them, and according to the law prosecute and punish. As to those district officers who seize and apprehend (opium or persons), drum them up, and rouse to exertion by conferring rewards ; and let the conduct of those who neglect to search and seize be inquired into, and their remissness be punished.

" It is further ordered, that the Le * and Ping † boards seriously consult and **devise, manage, and** report (regulations to meet the foregoing cases.)

" The **provinces of Fuh-Këen**, Che-Keang, Keang-Nan, and **Kwang-Tung**, have entrances from the ocean ; and the examining cruisers monopolize the duties, &c.

* The board which presides over all appointments to official rank in the **state**.

† The military board.

It is ordered, that the governors and deputy governors of the said provinces act with **rigour** in examining and prohibiting, by which means the root of the evil will be destroyed. ”

Subsequent to this, other decrees were passed, of great severity, enacting even the penalty of death against those caught trading in the drug. It is important to notice, however, that these decrees were but little, if at all, attended to by the Chinese themselves, and neglected to be enforced by the very authorities themselves, because our present position and future conduct rests materially on this point.

We shall not here enter on a discussion as to the international relations between England and China ; it may be sufficient to observe, as a general rule, that if a government of any country deems it right to forbid the importation of any article, (the morality or immorality of such article is a totally-different question, and not relevant to the legal and national point at issue,) that government is bound to take effective steps for **carrying** into execution its own decrees, and is not authorized in resorting to extra-judicial measures for the seizure of the contraband article, particularly if that article be beyond the boundaries of its jurisdiction, and not within the limits of its physical power. This is the plain, common-sense view of the subject, which a Chinaman must understand as well as an Englishman.

That the Chinese government did little more than make decrees on paper against the importation and use of opium, is evident, not merely from the **growth** and progress of the trade, but also from the official statements made to the emperor during the last two years. Heu Naetse, vice-president of the sacrificial board, in his memorial to the emperor in 1836, says,

“ Is it said the daily increase of opium is owing to the negligence of officers in enforcing the interdicts ? The laws and enactments are the means which extortionate underlings and worthless vagrants employ to benefit themselves ; and the more complete the laws are, the greater and more numerous are the bribes paid to the extortionate underlings, and the more subtle are the schemes of such worthless vagrants. In the first year of Taoukwang, the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, Yuen Yuen proceeded with all the **rigour** of the law against Ye Hangshoo, head of the opium establishment then at Macao. The consequence was, that foreigners, having no one with whom to place their opium, proceeded to **Lintin** to sell it. This place is within the precincts of the provincial government, and has a free communication by water on all sides. Here are constantly anchored seven or eight large ships, in which the opium is kept, and which are therefore called **receiving ships**. At Canton there are brokers of the drug, who are called **melters**. These pay the **price** of the drug into the hands of the resident foreigners, who give them orders for the delivery of the opium from the receiving ships. There are carrying boats plying up and down the river, and these are vulgarly called **fast crabs** and **scrambling dragons**. They are well armed with guns

and other weapons, and are manned with some scores of desperadoes, who ply their oars as if they were wings to fly with. All the custom-houses and military posts which they pass are largely bribed."

Here we find that the emperor was informed by one of his ministers, that the "custom-houses and military posts were largely bribed." Surely it was the duty of the government to form an efficient custom-house establishment, above bribery and corruption, before it resorted to the recent measures respecting the detention of British subjects, and the compulsory seizure of their property, whether it were nutritious or poisonous. Another of the ministers of the crown, Choo Tsun, member of the council and of the board of rites, in a memorial to the emperor, declares, that

"It is apparent, that, if the great officers in charge of the provinces do in truth show an example to their civil and military subordinates, and if these do in sincerity search for the drug, and faithfully seize it when found, apprehending the most criminal, and inflicting upon them severe punishment, it is, in this case, not impossible to attain the desired end. And if the officers are indeed active and strenuous in their exertions, and make a point of inflicting punishment on offenders, will the people, however perverse and obstinate they may be, really continue fearless of the laws? No. The thing to be lamented is, instability in maintaining the laws—the vigorous execution thereof being often and suddenly exchanged for indolent laxity."

In another place, the same official writer states, that "the laws are not wanting in severity, but that there are those in office who, for want of energy, *fail to carry them into execution.*" And he proceeds to observe,

"Hence the people's minds gradually become callous; and base desires springing up among them, increase day by day, and month by month, till their rank luxuriance has spread over the whole empire. These noisome weeds having been long neglected, it has become impossible to eradicate; and those to whom this duty is entrusted are, as if hand-bound, wholly at a loss what to do.

"When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city, brokers named *melters*. These engage money-changers to arrange the price with the foreigners, and to obtain orders for them; with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable."

The same authority, conscious of the neglect of the government offices, declares to his sovereign, in 1836,

"I feel it my duty to request that your Majesty's commands may be proclaimed to the governors and lieutenant-governors of all the provinces, requiring them to direct the local officers to redouble their efforts for the enforcement of the existing prohibition (against opium); and to impress on every one, in the plainest and strictest manner, that all who are already contaminated by the vile habit must return and become new men;—that if any continue to walk in their former

courses, strangers to repentance and to reformation, they shall assuredly be subjected to the full penalty of the law, and shall not meet with the least **indulgence**,—and that on any found guilty of storing up or selling opium to the amount of 1,000 **catties** or upwards, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof spreading over the seas, (among foreigners,) may even there produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred majesty to cast a **glance** on this my respectful memorial.”

This language is but the re-echo of that which had been over and over again stated for many years. The *Pekin Gazette* announced, in 1823, the following decree :

“ On the 3d day of the 8th moon (7th September, 1823) the Privy Council received an edict, stating—

“ To-day, according to the representations of the *Le* and *Ping* tribunals, laws which relate to neglect in searching and examining for opium, are requested to be deliberated on and determined.

“ Opium is an article whose flowing poison spreads like flames : all this proceeds from the non-exertion of the district officers to search and seize.

“ Formerly the law only permitted the district officers to represent with several comments bribery and connivance ; there was no clause which directed an investigation, to ascertain if remissness in searching and inquiring had been permitted (or taken place,) still further, only foreign ships were examined and prohibited (from bringing opium,) but to prevent the preparation of opium by the people themselves, there is as yet no determined and fixed law : something still is wanting. For the future, if foreign vessels smuggle opium into the country, and if depraved natives secretly plant the poppy and prepare opium for smoking, and if smoking shops are opened; in these cases, if the civil and military officers, with their followers, are themselves able to seize, prosecute, and punish, an inquiry into their thus acting will not be insisted upon.

“ He who takes bribes to connive at the smuggling or preparation of opium, shall, according to former laws, be dismissed the service ; and if neglect is manifested in **searching** and inquiring, the fault shall be punished with reference to the quantity of opium discovered (but not by the proper officer.) If 100 **catties** and upwards, the officer whose peculiar duty it was to examine shall be mulcted of one year's pay ; if 1000 **catties** and upwards, he shall be degraded one step in rank+ but retained in his appointment ; if 5,000 **catties** and upwards, he shall be degraded one step in rank, and removed to another (lower) situation. The same scale of punishments shall be applicable to civil and military officers, **who** are found guilty of remissness ; the promotion of those civil and military officers who seize opium shall be determined agreeably to former usage.

“ Further, in the Western and Eastern E. districts of Yunnan Province, they prepare opium from a decoction of the poppy ; it is absolutely necessary that this practice be severely prohibited. The said Governors and Foo-Yuens are hereby ordered rigorously to enjoin on the district officers to issue perspicuous proclamations to the people, that one and all are forbidden secretly to plant (the poppy,) and by these means the evil will be uprooted.

“ Respect this,”

Heu Kew, sub-censor over the military department, also memorialized the emperor to the same effect as his colleagues : he says, “ that the opium trade has gone to this length, is altogether attributable to the conduct of the great officers ; to their sloth, and remissness ; their fearfulness and timidity ; by which they have been led to neglect obedience to the prohibitory enactments, and to fail in the strict enforcement of the precautionary regulations.”

This sub-censor of the military board reasons well on the neglect of the government authorities, and admits the fact, that it was by the Chinese themselves the opium was smuggled : he says,

“ Now between the inner land and the outer seas a wide separation exists. The traitorous natives who sell the opium cannot alone, in person, carry on the traffic with the foreign ships. To purchase wholesale, there are brokers. To arrange all transactions, there are the Hong merchants. To give orders to be carried to the receiving ships, that from them the drug may be obtained, there are resident barbarians. And to ply to and fro for its conveyance, there are boats called *fast-crabs*. From the great Ladrone island, at the entrance of the inner seas, to Kumsing Moon, there are all along various naval stations ; and to bring in foreign vessels, there are pilots appointed ; so that it cannot be a difficult thing to keep a constant watch upon the ships. And, even though from *Fuhkeën* and *Chekeäng*, from the ports of Shanghai and *Teëntsin*, vessels should repair directly to the receiving ships to trade with them ; yet, situated as their anchorage is, in the inner seas, what is there to prevent such vessels from being observed and seized ? And yet, of late years, there has been only a solitary instance, namely, during the late governor Loo's administration, when *Taën Poo*, magistrate of the district of *Heängshan*, in conjunction with the naval force, captured one single boat laden with opium. With this exception, we have but little of seizures. The reason is, that the men who' are appointed to observe and watch for offenders receive presents to pass over all things and observe nothing.

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

We have further confirmation of the neglect of the Chinese government to the enforcement of their own regulations in the proclamation of

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