



Supp. 60151/e

DOCUMENTS
C

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO OPIUM, &c.;

COMPREHENDING

No. 1.	Memorial to legalize the importation of opium.....	1
No. 2.	The emperor's reply to the same.....	6
No. 3.	Report to government by the hong merchants.....	6
No. 4.	Report to the emperor, by the governor, &c.....	10
No. 5.	Memorial against opium from Choo Tsun.....	18
No. 6.	Memorial against opium from Heu Kew.....	26
No. 7.	Reply to the two preceding documents.....	33
No. 8.	Report of the circulation of dollars.....	34
No. 9.	Inquiries from the governor &c., respecting traders in opium....	37
No. 10.	The said traders are to leave Canton within half a month.....	39
No. 11.	The time for their departure extended.....	42
No. 12.	Cultivation of the poppy.....	45
No. 13.	the preparation of opium for the Chinese market.....	57
No. 14.	the traffic in opium carried on with China.....	63
No. 15.	testimony as to the effect of using opium.....	70
No. 16.	Premium for an essay on the opium trade.....	75
No. 17.	Revenue derived by the British government from opium.....	76
	(a) Statement of the sales of opium by the East India Company in Calcutta from 1798 to 1837.....	77
	(b) Statement of the opium exported from Calcutta to China, to the ports in the Indian Archipelago, and to Europe, from 1795 to 1835.....	78
	(c) Estimate of the quantity of Malwa exported from Bombay and Damaun to China, from 1821 to 1836.....	79
No. 18.	Chinese method of preparing opium for smoking.....	80
No. 19.	Memorial for limiting the number of hong merchants.....	85
No. 20.	Imperial edict, requiring certain foreigners to leave Canton.....	89
No. 21.	Estimate of the annual consumption of Indian opium in China....	92

Republished from the Chinese Repository.

1837.

DOCUMENTS
RELATING TO OPIUM, &c.;

COMPREHENDING

No. 1. Memorial to legalize the importation of opium..... 1

No. 2. The emperor's reply to the same..... 6

No. 3. Report to government by the hong merchants..... 6

No. 4. Report to the emperor, by the governor, &c..... 10

No. 5. Memorial against opium from Choo Tsun..... 18

No. 6. Memorial against opium from Heu Kew..... 26

No. 7. Reply to the two preceding documents..... 33

No. 8. Report on the circulation, of dollars..... 34

No. 9. Inquiries from the governor, &c., respecting traders in opium..... 37

No. 10. The said traders are to leave Canton within half a month..... 39

No. 11. The time for their departure extended..... 42

No. 12. Cultivation of the poppy..... 45

No. 13. On the preparation of opium for the Chinese market..... 51

No. 14. The traffic in opium carried on with China..... 63

No. 15. Testimony as to the effect of using opium..... 70

No. 16. Premium for an essay on the opium trade..... 75

No. 17. Revenue derived by the British government from opium..... 76

(a) Statement of the sales of opium by the East India Company

(b) Calcutta from 1798 to 1837..... 77

(c) Statement of the opium exported from Calcutta to China, to the ports in the Indian Archipelago, and to Europe, from 1795 to 1835..... 78

(d) Estimate of the quantity of Malwa exported from Bombay and Damaun to China, from 1821 to 1836..... 79

No. 18. Chinese method of preparing opium for smoking..... 80

No. 19. Memorial for limiting the number of hong merchants..... 85

No. 20. Imperial edict, requiring certain foreigners to leave Canton..... 89

No. 21. Estimate of the annual consumption of Indian opium in China... 92

Republished from the Chinese Repository.

1837.

100



DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO OPIUM, &c.

No. 1.

Memorial to the Emperor, proposing to legalize its importation.

HEU NAETSE, vice-president of the sacrificial court, presents the following memorial in regard to opium, to show that the more severe the interdicts against it are made, the more widely do the evils arising therefrom spread; and that it is right urgently to request, that a change be made in the arrangements respecting it; to which end he earnestly intreats his sacred majesty to cast a glance hereon, and to issue secret orders for a faithful investigation of the subject.

Preamble.

I would humbly represent that opium was originally ranked among medicines; its qualities are stimulant; it also checks excessive secretions; and prevents the evil effects of noxious vapors. In the *Materia Medica* of Le Shechin, of the Ming dynasty, it is called *Afoo-yung*. When any one is long habituated to inhaling it, it becomes necessary to resort to it at regular intervals, and the habit of using it, being inveterate, is destructive of time, injurious to property, and yet dear to one even as life. Of those who use it to great excess, the breath becomes feeble, the body wasted, the face sallow, the teeth black: the individuals themselves clearly see the evil effects of it, yet cannot refrain from it. It is indeed indispensably necessary to enact severe prohibitions in order to eradicate so vile a practice.

Qualities and effects of opium.

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

Different kinds of the drug.

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

Laws in relation to opium.

Nature of the
trade in opi-
um.

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

Arguments:
1. Effects of
the trade on
currency.

Always in times past, a tael of pure silver exchanged for nearly about 1000 coined cash, but of late years the same sum has borne the value only of 1200 or 1300 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 silver? If the easily exhaustible stores of the central spring go to fill up the wide and fathomless gulf 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.

2. To cut off
all the foreign
trade would
be wrong.

Is it proposed entirely to cut off the foreign trade, and thus to remove the root to dam up the source of the evil? The celestial dynasty would not, indeed hesitate to relinquish the few millions of duties arising therefrom. But all the nations of the West have had a general market open to their ships for upwards of a thousand years; while the dealers in opium are the English alone; it would be wrong, for the sake of cutting off the English trade, to cut off that of all the

other nations. Besides, the hundreds of thousands of people living on the sea-coast depend wholly on trade for their livelihood, and how are they to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepôt, and the native sea-going vessels can meet them there; it is then impossible to cut off the trade. Of late years, the foreign vessels have visited all the ports of Fuhkeën, Chêkeäng, Keängnan, Shantung, even to Teentsin and Mantchouria, for the purpose of selling opium. And although at once expelled by the local authorities, yet it is reported that the quantity sold by them was not small. Thus it appears that, though the commerce of Canton should be cut off, yet it will not be possible to prevent the clandestine introduction of merchandise.

It is 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 subtil are the schemes of such worthless vagrants. In the first year of Taoukwang, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, Yuen Yuen, proceeded with all the rigor of the law against Ye Hängshoo, 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 maned with some scores of desperadoes, who ply their oars as if they were wings to fly with. All the custom-houses and military posts which they pass are largely bribed. If they happen to encounter any of the armed cruising boats, they are so audacious as to resist, and slaughter and carnage ensue. The late governor Loo, on one occasion, having directed the commodore Tsin Yuchang to coöperate with Teën Poo, the district magistrate of Heängshan, they captured Leäng Heënné with a boat containing opium to the amount of 14,000 catties. The number of men killed and taken prisoners amounted to several scores. He likewise inflicted the penalty of the laws on the criminals Yaoukow and Owkwang (both of them being brokers), and confiscated their property. This shows that faithfulness in the enforcement of the laws is not wanting; and yet the practice cannot be checked. The dread of the laws is not so great on the part of the common people, as is the anxious desire of

and is, in fact, impracticable.

3. The illicit introduction of opium is not solely owing to negligence of officers, and cannot be prevented.

gain, which incites them to all manner of crafty devices; so that sometimes, indeed, the law is rendered wholly ineffective.

4. Evil consequences of this illicit introduction.

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

5. Worthless character of opium smokers.

It will be found on examination that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, and are unworthy of regard, or even of contempt. And though there are smokers to be found who have over-stepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire; and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while, on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great, or too early, precautions against the annual waste which is taking place in the resources, the very substance, of China.

Inference that the opium trade should be legalized.

Since then, it will not answer to close our ports against [all trade], and since the laws issued against opium are quite inoperative, the only method left is to revert to the former system, to permit the barbarian merchants to import opium paying duty thereon as a medicine, and to require that, after having passed the custom-house, it shall be delivered to the hong merchants only in exchange for merchandise, and that no money be paid for it. The barbarians finding that the amount of duties to be paid on it, is less than what is now spent in bribes, will also gladly comply therein. Foreign money should be placed on the same footing with sycee silver, and the exportation of it should be equally prohibited. Offenders when caught should be punished by the entire destruction of the opium they may have, and the confiscation of the money that may be found with them. With regard to officers, civil and military, and to the scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank and attend to the public good; the others, to cultivate their talents and become fit for public usefulness. None of these, therefore, must be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or to walk in a path which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property. If, however, the laws enacted against the practice be made too severe, the result will be mutual connivance. It becomes my duty, then, to request that it be enacted, that any officer, scholar, or soldier, found guilty of secretly smoking opium, shall be immediately dismissed from public employ, without being made liable to any other penalty. In this way, lenity will become in fact severity towards them. And further, that, if any superior or general officer be found guilty of knowingly and willfully conniving at the practice among his subor-

Officers, &c., not however to be allowed to smoker it.

dinates, such officer shall be subjected to a court of inquiry. Lastly, that no regard be paid to the purchase and use of opium on the part of the people generally.

Does any suggest a doubt, that to remove the existing prohibitions will derogate from the dignity of government? I would ask, if he is ignorant that the pleasures of the table and of the nuptial couch may also be indulged in to the injury of health? Nor are the invigorating drugs *footsze* and *wootow* devoid of poisonous qualities: yet it has never been heard that any one of these has been interdicted. Besides, the removal of the prohibitions refers only to the vulgar and common people, those who have no official duties to perform. So long as the officers of government, the scholars and the military are not included, I see no detriment to the dignity of government. And by allowing the proposed importation and exchange of the drug for other commodities, more than ten millions of money will annually be prevented from flowing out of the central land. On which side then is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance. But if we still idly look back and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when eventually it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are impoverished, and their wealth departed. Should we then begin to turn round, we shall find that reform comes too late.

Though but a servant of no value, I have by your majesty's condescending favor been raised from a subordinate censorship to various official stations, both at court and in the provinces; and filled on one occasion the chief judicial office in the region south of the great mountains (Kwangtung). Ten years spent in endeavors to make some return have produced no fruit; and I find myself overwhelmed with shame and remorse. But with regard to the great advantages, or great evils, of any place where I have been, I have never failed to make particular inquiries. Seeing that the prohibitions now in force against opium serve but to increase the prevalence of the evil, and that there is none found to represent the facts directly to your majesty, and feeling assured that I am myself thoroughly acquainted with the real state of things, I dare no longer forbear to let them reach your majesty's ear. Prostrate I beg my august sovereign to give secret directions to the governor and lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, together with the superintendent of maritime customs, that they faithfully investigate the character of the above statements, and that, if they find them really correct, they speedily prepare a list of regulations adapted to a change in the system, and present the same for your majesty's final decision. Perchance this may be found adequate to stop further oozing out of money, and to replenish the national resources. With inexpressible awe and trembling fear I reverently present this memorial and await your majesty's commands.

Objections answered: the dignity of government not injured by the proposed change.

Conclusion.

No. 2.

Imperial edict in reply to the foregoing memorial.

The provincial government is directed to deliberate and report on the subject.

HEU NAETSE, vice-president of the sacrificial court, has presented a memorial in regard to opium, representing that the more severe the interdicts against it are made, so much the more widely do the evils, arising from it spread; and that of late years, the foreigners, not daring openly to give it in barter for other commodities, have been in the habit of selling it clandestinely for money, thus occasioning an annual loss to the country, which he estimates at above ten millions of taels. He therefore requests that a change be made in regard to it, permitting it again to be introduced, and given in exchange for other commodities. Let T'ang Tingching and his colleagues deliberate on the subject, and then report to us. Let a copy of the original memorial be made for their perusal, and sent with this edict to T'ang Tingching and Ke Kung, who are to enjoin it also on Wan. Respect this.

No. 3.

Report made to government by the hong merchants.

Report made by the hong merchants, under four heads.

1. Exportation of sycee silver.

IN obedience to the commands of his excellency the hoppo to deliberate on certain particulars, we now present for perusal the result of our deliberations, arranged under [four] distinct heads.

First. We received directions "to examine in regard to the following statement—contained in a memorial presented to the emperor (whereof a copy was previously transmitted), namely, 'that foreign merchants dare not openly take goods in barter for opium, but always clandestinely sell it for sycee silver.' Now the exportation of sycee silver (it was remarked) has long been interdicted; and the said merchants surely do not presume to contravene the regulations in the least degree. Yet it may be difficult to aver, that not a single illegality is committed by them; and still more difficult would it be to stand answerable, that there are no traitorous natives who carry on a clandestine commerce."

It is not exported by the hong merchants, but by others, clandestinely.

In reply hereto, we the hong merchants would humbly represent, that it is really owing to the strictness of the governmental regulations that foreigners are prevented from openly taking goods in barter for opium. In regard to sycee silver, we, every year, severally and voluntarily enter into bonds, that we will on no account aid and abet the foreigners in exporting it, which bonds are presented to your excellencies. How can we possibly contravene the regulations, and so render ourselves criminal? Yet it is indeed, as his excellency the hoppo says, difficult to stand answerable that there are no traitorous natives who carry on a clandestine commerce. To watch against such an illicit commerce is, however, beyond *our* power; and it therefore behoves us to request that the rule, in regard to seizures of smuggled commodities, may be brought into operation, this rule, namely, that the capturers shall be liberally rewarded. In pursuance of this a certain proportion of all sycee silver, that may hereafter be captured,

How to prevent this.

should be given for an encouragement to the capturers, and thus those who receive such rewards will be induced to exert themselves in an extraordinary degree; and the smugglers, knowing that such rewards are held out, will at once become intimidated.

Secondly. We received the following inquiries to direct our deliberations: "The foreign merchants have need of teas, rhubarb, cassia, sugar, silk, &c., which articles must have been heretofore kept in store by the hong merchants, so as to be in readiness to be exchanged for imported goods. Should the amount of imported commodities become hereafter too great, how can ware-house room be afforded, in order to retain such commodities for gradual sale? And can it be so arranged, that, when it is impossible to effect an immediate sale, and the foreign merchant finds himself unable to wait longer, he may be allowed to return home leaving his goods with the hong merchant to sell for him as opportunities offer, and on his return receiving such an amount of merchandise as is due to him in exchange? Let these questions be well considered."

In answer hereto, we would humbly point out, what has been hitherto the practice: On foreign vessels coming to Canton to trade, their cargoes are sent up to our hong; and then a list is given by each foreign merchant of the native commodities required in return, which commodities we purchase for them from the various dealers therein. We never keep a stock of each article on hand. And of late years our means have been very much reduced, so that often we are unable to pay in due season the duties accruing: how then can we possibly lay in a store of ready purchased articles? If it happen that too great a quantity of any article is introduced, so that it cannot be sold off at once, and the vessel is to sail immediately, the security merchant in that case applies to the foreigner for the amount of duties due, that he may pay them for him. The unsold goods remain in our hong to be disposed of as opportunities offer; and when the foreign merchant returns to Canton, he then takes out the value thereof in native commodities. This is the way in which the trade has hitherto been conducted, and we would request that it may continue to be conducted in the usual manner.

Thirdly. We received directions to deliberate on the following questions: "Whether, if opium should be imported through the usual channel for other commodities (the hong), any hong merchant being at liberty to land and enter it at the custom-house, it will not be found difficult to guard against illegalities in the trade? Whether it will not rather be requisite to make one of the most opulent of the senior merchants responsible,—namely, one in whom entire confidence can be placed, and one in whom the foreigners habitually place implicit trust; and to require him *alone* to enter the cargoes of opium for examination at the custom-house, and to pay the duties; still, however, allowing the foreigner to sell it, at its market value, to whichever hong merchant he may choose, in order to prevent a monopoly? Also, whether the hong merchants should not still be required to give

2. Inquiries in regard to interchange of commodities.

Mode in which such interchange is now effected.

This mode should be still adhered to.

3. To prevent illegalities, should not one merchant be made alone answerable for all duties on opium?

Should not periodical statements be required from each merchant.

bonds as formerly, and to state the persons to whom they have sold opium, the places whither it has been transported, and what amount (if any) of silver, sycee or foreign, has been given for it,—each separate transaction to be reported at the time, and a monthly statement to be made out, and presented at the offices of the governor and hop-po, in order to enable them to make their reports to the Board of Revenue.”

In answer, it is shown that the exportation of silver must not be wholly forbidden.

That the foreigners may often avoid exporting bullion.

But that, as shown by themselves, they cannot always do so.

In reply to this, we would humbly notice some particulars of the mode in which we have heretofore conducted our traffic with the foreigners. We have indeed exchanged one commodity for another; but often, when the value of the imports and exports has been unequal, the balance has been paid, both by native and foreign merchants, to one another, in foreign money. And when, in consequence of the commodities of a country being saleable but to a very small extent, at Canton, large sums of foreign money have been imported for the purpose of purchasing a cargo, and no restriction has been placed on the reexportation of any remaining sum. Hence the “exportation of three tenths,”* has received the sanction of government. Again, there are cases in which full cargoes are imported, while—in consequence of the prices of native commodities being too high, or the commodities themselves not calculated for sale in the places from whence the vessels come—the exported cargoes are small. The surplus foreign money, then, being greater in amount than the “exportable three tenths,” whatever exceeds that amount is either left here for the purchase of other goods, or is lent to other foreigners. This is a thing of common occurrence. For instance, of the rice-laden ships which now enter the port, the largest bring cargoes of somewhat above 10,000 peculs, amounting in value to but twenty or thirty thousand dollars; and the smaller ones bring cargoes of, it may be, 5000 or 6000 peculs, the value of which is no more than ten thousand and odd dollars. Yet these same vessels return with export cargoes of the value of two or three hundred thousand dollars, or at least of from one to two hundred thousand dollars. The money required to purchase these cargoes is therefore frequently borrowed from foreigners, who have a balance in money, in excess of that portion of the price of their import cargoes for which they have taken goods. This then is a clear proof that, in the instance of rice-laden vessels, the unemployed balance possessed by other foreigners is borrowed, in order to purchase exports wherewith to send them back to their country.

Now, in reference to the question, at present under consideration, whether permission shall be given to import opium, paying a legal duty thereon, we have, as a provision in case that such permission should be given, inquired of the foreign merchants, if they can export goods to such an amount as to equal in value their importations of opium, so that they need not have any occasion for exporting money? Their answer was of the following tenor: “That it is right and proper that

* That is, 30 per cent of the excess of the value of the imports over that of the exports.

they should comply with the arrangement to take cargo in exchange for the proceeds of their opium; but that the ports to which they return are not all alike, and that our native commodities are not every where equally saleable; that were the merchants who bring opium to Canton to make their returns in merchandise purchased here, such merchandise would be unsaleable,—and therefore the arrangement that goods are to be taken in return for opium cannot be universally adopted; that, however, they can in such cases lend their money to other foreigners to purchase cargoes with, which will be the same thing as if the foreign merchants who import opium applied all the proceeds to the purchase of goods themselves; lastly, that, in case they should be unable to lend out the whole of the proceeds, they are willing to act in accordance with the regulation hitherto existing, by which they are allowed to export in foreign money three tenths of the excess of imports over exports; but that to require each several ship to take export cargo in exchange for imports will, they really apprehend, be found inapplicable, injurious, and impracticable; on which account they deem it their duty to request that the regulation heretofore existing, as above mentioned, may continue in full force.” We, the hong merchants, would here suggest, that, although there be no duty charged on exported silver, yet as it is required to report at the custom-house the sums shipped, it will be impossible that any very considerable amount should be clandestinely exported. Whether such an arrangement in regard to the importation of opium, the grand question now under consideration, shall be adopted or not, must depend on your excellencies’ decision.

The present regulations are sufficient.

It has been for a long time past the rule, when a vessel reaches Canton, to permit the foreigner himself to select the hong merchant who shall secure his vessel: this is left entirely to the will of the foreigner, and no compulsion may be exercised in the matter. All goods that are to be entered at the custom-house for examination and assessment are so entered by the security merchant, on application made by the foreigner; and the charges on the vessel, on entering the port and when discharging cargo, are also paid by the security merchant. But any of the hong merchants may have a portion of the cargo, and it is the rule, that the merchant who so receives cargo shall pay all the duties thereon into the treasury of the custom-house. In this way, there can be no monopolizing. Should opium be admitted for importation in the same manner as piece-goods, cotton, &c., the arrangements in regard to the sale of it by hong merchants to minor dealers, and the transport of it from Canton to other places, should also be the same as with regard to those commodities. Such as is transported to other provinces by an over-land route should be entered at the eastern and western custom-houses, where a pass should be obtainable on examination. And such as is transported by sea on board native trading vessels should be entered outwards, at the chief custom-house, through the medium of the merchants of Fuhkeñ and Chaouchow. The laws on these points being very precise, it seems needless to report each separate transaction of sale, or to present any monthly statements.

It is shown, also, that no one merchant need be made responsible.

And that no periodical statements are necessary to prevent illegalities.

4 Transit of opium, and coasting trade in it.

The regulations already existing in regard to cotton woollens, &c., imported should be enforced.

Fourthly. We received directions to deliberate carefully on this question: "When opium is transported to other provinces for sale, should not those precautionary regulations which have been enacted in regard to foreigners trading at Canton be put in practice, and communications be sent to the authorities in all the sea-board provinces, informing them, that whatever opium has not the stamp of the custom-house on it is to be regarded as smuggled, and both vessel and cargo therefore confiscated, and the parties subjected to legal investigation? And, if any vessels proceed to the receiving ships, which are anchored on the high seas, to trade with them, should not the hong merchants be required to take measures against their so doing?"

In reply, we would humbly point out, that in the regulations enacted last year for checking foreigners engaged here in trade, there occurs the following passage: "In respect to all native trading vessels, from whatever province they may be, any foreign goods that may be purchased for shipment on them shall be entered at the chief custom-house at Canton, and there, having been stamped, a pass for the same shall be granted, specifying in detail the amount of goods, in order that no clandestine transactions may be suffered to take place. And communications shall be sent to the authorities in all the provinces, that they may act in compliance with this regulation, and may give orders accordingly to the officers of the maritime custom-houses, to examine all trading vessels carrying cargoes of foreign merchandise, and, if they find any articles not marked with the stamp of the Canton custom-house, to regard such articles as smuggled, and to subject the parties to a legal investigation and confiscation of both vessel and cargo." These precautionary measures are sufficiently precise, and should undoubtedly be acted on. But should any vessel, in the course of her passage on the high seas, happen to traffic with the receiving ships, it is indeed beyond *our* power to prevent it. It behoves us therefore to request, that, as enacted in the above-named regulation, the officers of all cruising vessels along the coast be held responsible; that they be directed, to cruise about in constant succession; and, should any traders approach a foreign ship to purchase opium, immediately to apprehend such traders, and send them to meet their trial; and lastly, that both the vessel and cargo of such traders shall be confiscated, and the proceeds thereof given as a reward to the capturers. We would also humbly request that an edict be issued for the information of all native merchants, that they may know these things and be restrained by fear. At the same time we will continue earnestly to instruct and admonish the foreigners, and make them understand that they must indeed bring their goods into port, and pay duty thereon, and must not, as heretofore, clandestinely sell them on the high seas. Thus may the amount of duties be increased.

No. 4.

Report of the governor, and licut-governor. Sept. 7th, 1836.

Preamble.

WE have, in obedience to the imperial will, jointly deliberated on the

subject of repealing the regulation now in force in regard to the importation of opium, and of permitting it to be sold in barter for other commodities; and we herein present a draft of regulations, that we have sketched, comprising nine sections, on which we humbly solicit your sacred majesty to cast a glance.

On the 19th day of the 5th month (2d July), we received a letter from the grand council of ministers, enclosing an imperial edict dated the 29th day of the 4th month. (12th of June.)

Beholding our august sovereign's tender solicitude for the livelihood of the people on this remote frontier, and the anxious desire manifested to remove all evils, we, as on bended knee we perused the edict, were deeply affected, and bowed in profound reverence. We immediately transmitted the edict to the superintendent of maritime customs, your majesty's minister Wän, and also read in council the copy forwarded to us of the original memorial. While we ourselves gave the subject our joint and careful consideration, we at the same time directed the two commissioners (of finance and justice) to discuss it thoroughly and faithfully. These officers, the financial commissioner, Altsingah, and the judicial commissioner, Wang Tsingleën, have now laid before us the result of their joint deliberations, and we have considered their suggestions.

We are humbly of opinion, that in framing regulations it is of the first importance to suit them to the circumstances of the times; and that to govern well, it is essential in the first place to remove existing evils. But if in removing one evil, an evil of greater extent is produced, it then becomes the more imperative to make a speedy change suited to the circumstances of the occasion.

Now in regard to opium, it is an article brought into the central empire from the lands of the far-distant barbarians, and has been imported during a long course of years. In the reigns of Yungching and Keënlung, it was included in the tariff of maritime duties, under the head of medicinal drugs, and there was then no regulation against purchasing it, or inhaling it. But in the 4th year of Këaking (1799), the then governor of this province, Keihking, of the imperial kindred, regarding it as a subject of deep regret, that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and the money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among all the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time and the destruction of their property, presented a memorial, requesting that the sale of the drug should be prohibited, and that offenders should be made amenable to punishment. This punishment has been gradually increased to transportation, and death by strangling. The law is by no means deficient in severity. But the people are not so much influenced by the fear of the laws as by the desire of gain. Hence, from the time that the prohibition was passed, the crafty schemes and devices of evil men have daily multiplied. On the one hand, receiving ships are anchored in the entrances from the outer seas. On the other hand,

Principle laid down.

Arguments: Evils arising out of the prohibition of opium.

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

The prohibition should therefore be removed.

We your majesty's ministers, having examined the original memorial, and considered the details therein contained respecting the evils to be removed, regard the whole as true and accurate. The request for a repeal of the prohibitions and change in the system, and a return to the former plan of laying a duty on opium, is also such as the circumstances of the times render necessary; and it is our duty to solicit your majesty's sanction thereof. In case of such sanction, any foreigner, who in the course of trade may bring opium, must be permitted to import and pass it at the custom-house, paying the duty on it as fixed by the maritime tariff of Keenlung, and must deliver it to the hong merchants, in the same manner as long-ells, camlets, and other goods, bartered for native commodities, but on no account may he sell it clandestinely for money.

Effects to be expected from such a change.

If this plan be faithfully and vigorously carried into effect, the tens of millions of precious money which now annually go out of the empire will be saved, the source of the stream will be purified, and the stream itself may be eventually stayed. The amount of duties being less onerous than what is now paid in bribes, transgressions of the revenue laws will cease of themselves; the present evil practices of transporting contraband goods by deceit and violence will be suppressed without effort; the numberless quarrels and litigations now arising therefrom at Canton, together with the crimes of worthless vagrants, will be diminished. Moreover, if the governmental officers, the literati, and the military, be still restrained by regulations, and not suffered to inhale the drug; and if offenders among these classes be immediately dismissed from the public service; while those of the people who purchase the drug and smoke it, are not at all interfered with, all will plainly see that those who indulge their depraved appetites are the victims of their own self-sacrificing folly, persons who are incapable of ranking among the capped and belted men of distinction and learning. And if in this way shame be once aroused, strenuous exertion and self-improvement will be the result,—for the principles of reform are founded in shame and remorse. Nor, as it is truly said in the original memorial, will the dignity of government be at all lowered by the proposed measure. Should your majesty sanction the repeal, it will in truth be attended with advantage both to the arrangements of the governments and the wellbeing of the people.

But in passing regulations on the subject, it is of great importance that every thing should be maturely considered, and that the law should be rendered perfect and complete; and it is of the very first consequence that effectual measures should be taken to prevent the exportation of sycee silver. If the regulations be in any way incomplete, the consequence will be that in a few years fresh evils will spring up and spread abroad: such is not the right way to accomplish the purpose in view. We have, therefore, fully discussed the subject together, and have also in concert with the financial and judicial commissioners examined and considered it in all its bearings, and after oft-repeated deliberations, have determined upon nine regulations which we have drawn up, and of which we present a fair copy for your majesty's perusal. The result of our deliberations, made in obedience to the imperial mandate, we now jointly lay before the throne, humbly imploring our august sovereign to instruct us if our representations be correct or not, and also to direct the appropriate Board to revise them.

Nine regulations proposed.

The following are the regulations which we have drawn up in reference to the change of system called for in regard to the importation of opium, and which we reverently present for your majesty's perusal.

1. The whole amount of opium imported should be paid for it merchandise: in this there must be no deception. The object in repealing the interdict on opium, is to prevent the loss of specie occasioned by the sale of the drug for money. When opium is brought in foreign vessels, therefore, the security and senior merchants should be held responsible for the following arrangements being carried into effect: the value of the opium to be correctly fixed; an amount of native commodities of equal value to be apportioned; and the two amounts to be exchanged in full: no purchase to be made for money-payments. The productions of the celestial empire are rich, abundant, and in universal demand; its commodities, are many-fold more than those of foreign barbarians, so that in an exchange of commodities the gain and not the loss must be on its side. But should it at any time perchance occur, that the quantities imported being somewhat greater than the amount of native commodities required, an exact balance cannot be struck, while it is necessary for the foreign ships immediately to return; in such case, the whole amount of duties having been paid through the security merchant, and the barter of commodities having been made, the surplus opium not yet bartered may be laid up in the merchants' warehouses, and an account of it, taken under the inspection both of the security and foreign merchant, may be registered in the office of the superintendent of customs. Then the opium may be sold as opportunities occur; and when the whole has been disposed of, the hong merchant and the consignee of the opium may jointly report that it is so, and have the register canceled. When the foreign merchant returns to Canton, he may receive payment for the opium thus sold, in some merchantable commodity; but may not be

1. Opium to be sold only in barter for merchandise.

allowed to give the value a pecuniary designation, and under cover of this receive payment in money. Some substantial and opulent senior merchant should be strictly required to watch over the enforcement of these regulations. And when a foreign ship is about leaving, the security and senior merchants should sign a bond that she carries away no sycee silver on board of her, this bond to be delivered into the hands of government. If they know of any clandestine purchases being made on condition of money-payments, or of any money being paid, they should be required immediately to report the facts, and the parties should be severely punished, and the opium confiscated and sold for government; or, if it have been already delivered to the purchaser, the price should be recovered from the latter and forfeited to government. If the senior and security merchants be found guilty of any connivance at such offenses, they also should be severely punished.

2. Naval officers to be restricted.

2. The naval cruising vessels, and all the officers and men of the custom-house stations, should be required diligently to watch the entrances and passages of rivers; but at the same time, to confine their search to such entrances and passages; they should not be allowed to go out to sea-ward, and under cover thereof to cause annoyance. Even though the interdict on opium be repealed, there is yet cause to fear that the mercantile people, who in their mad search for gain are, as it were, bewitched, will still resort to foreign merchants (out of the port) to purchase it, so that sycee silver will continue secretly to ooze out. The naval-cruising vessels, therefore, and all those who are attached to the custom-house stations, should be required to search diligently and faithfully. And whenever any discovery shall be made of silver being smuggled out, and the same shall be seized, and the offending parties apprehended,—then the whole amount of money in such case taken, with the value of the smuggling boat, should be given as a reward to the captors, in order to encourage their exertions, and thus to destroy smuggling. But if sycee silver be exported, there is necessarily a place where, and a way by which, it is carried out: that place must be near the foreign factories; the way must be through the important passages and entrances of rivers. It is only needful then to watch faithfully at such places; for by so doing, the export of silver may be stopped without any trouble. But if the smugglers once get out into the open roads, they soon spread themselves abroad in various directions, and leave no trace by which to find them. If the soldiers, or vagabonds feigning to be soldiers, frame pretexts for cruising about in search of them, not only can they effect no good, but they may also give occasion to disturbances, attended with evil consequences of no trivial character. They should, therefore, be strictly prohibited so doing.

3. Amount of specie that may be exported.

3. In regard to foreign money, the old regulation, allowing three tenths to be exported, should be continued; and to prevent any fraud, a true account of the money imported should be given (by each ship) on arrival. Formerly, much foreign money was brought to Canton in

the foreign ships, in order to purchase commodities in excess of those obtained by barter, and to pay the necessary expenses of the vessel on her return. Whenever the imported goods were in larger quantity than those exported, there was then a surplus of foreign money, of which it would not have been reasonable, under such circumstances, to prohibit the reëxportation. In the 23d year of Keïking, (1818,) the then superintendent of maritime customs, Ah, finding that the barbarians took away foreign money without any limit or restriction, addressed a communication to the then governor of this province, Yuen, in consequence of which it was decided to limit the exportation by each vessel to three tenths (of the surplus of import), allowing the remainder to be lent to any other foreigner to enable him to purchase goods, to pay the duties, &c. This has continued to be the rule down to the present time. Now it is probable, that sometimes, when opium is imported in not very large quantities, money will also be imported with it, for the purpose of paying the price of goods in excess of what may be purchased by barter. It will be right in such cases to conform to the existing regulation. But the amount of foreign money so imported in foreign ships, may vary considerably. If the balance be 100,000 dollars or upwards, it will then be very well to permit the exportation of 30,000 dollars; but if the balance should exceed 200,000 dollars, a further limit to the permission to reëxport becomes necessary. We deem it our duty, therefore, to request, that hereafter when the surplus of silver imported, does not considerably exceed 100,000, permission be still given to reëxport three tenths of that surplus; but if it amounts to 200,000 dollars, whether the merchandise brought with it consist of opium, or of any other goods, that the permission to reëxport in that case be limited to 50,000 on each ship. This amount should not be exceeded. With respect to the examination and report made by the security merchant, on a ship's arrival, of the total amount of silver imported by her, this examination and report should still be required, in order that, the expenditure of the vessel having been deducted therefrom, the proportion to be reëxported may be accurately calculated. A senior merchant also should be required faithfully to join the security merchant in the investigation. If the officers of the customs make feigned examinations and false reports, they should be subjected to severe punishment; and if the senior and other merchants connive at any illegality, they also should be punished.

4. The traffic in opium must be conducted on the same principle as the traffic in foreign commodities; it is unnecessary to place it under a separate department. The first principle of commerce is, to adopt those measures which will yield the greatest possible amount of gain. Each one has his own method of doing this, and what one rejects another may seek for; nor is it possible to bring all to one opinion. Now if the importation of opium be permitted, as formerly, and it becomes an article of commerce, as a medicinal drug, the traffic in it will in no wise differ from the traffic in other articles of commerce;

4. Sale of opium how to be regulated.

and if a special department be created for it, there is reason to fear that monopolizing and underhand practices will gradually result therefrom. It is right therefore to let the foreign merchants make their own election, and engage what hong merchants they will to pass their cargoes at the custom-house and pay their duties for them. To establish one general department for the purpose is unnecessary. By this arrangement crafty individuals may be prevented from taking advantage and extorting exorbitant profits, and benefit may accrue to both the foreign and the hong merchants.

5. Duties to be levied.

5. This amount of duties should be continued the same as formerly; no increase is called for; and all extortionate demands, and illegal fees should be interdicted. In the tariff of maritime customs for Canton, opium is rated at a duty of three taels per hundred catties; to which we must add ten per cent. or three mace, for loss in melting; and as peculage fee, and fee per package, according to the report formerly made of public and legal fees, eight candareens and six cash. Although there are three kinds of opium, the 'black earth,' the 'white skinned,' and the 'red skinned,' differing in value, yet the duty per catty may be the same on all. These arrangements are made on the principle that if the duty be heavy it will be evaded, and smuggling will ensue; whereas if it be light, all will prefer security to smuggling; and that if a fixed charge be imposed, the officers of the customs will be unable to intermeddle. The same clear views were entertained by our predecessors, when they established these regulations; and it will be well to conform to the amount of duty fixed by them, without any addition. But there is reason to fear that when the prohibitions are first taken off, the servants of the custom-house, hunting for petty gains, may under various prettexts lay on illegal fees, making heavy by their exactions what as a legal duty is light; and thereby losing sight of the principle that they are to show kindness to men from afar. If this take place, the natural result too will be, that the means of legal importation will be avoided, and contrivances to import clandestinely will be resorted to. Perspicuous and strict proclamations should therefore be issued, making it generally known, that, beyond the real duty, not the smallest fraction is to be exacted; and that offenders shall be answerable to the law against extortionate underlings receiving money under false prettexts.

6. A price not to be fixed.

6. No price should be fixed on the drug. It is a settled principle of commerce, that when prices are very low, there is a tendency to rise; and when high, a tendency to fall. Prices then depend on the supply that is procurable of any article, and the demand that exists for it in the market: they cannot be limited by enactments to any fixed rate. Now, though the prohibition of opium be repealed, it will not be a possible thing to force men who buy at a high price, to sell at a cheap one. Besides, it is common to men to prize things of high value, and to underrate those of less worth. When therefore opium was severely interdicted, and classed among rarities, every one had

an opportunity to indulge in over-reaching desires of gain; but when once the interdicts are withdrawn, and opium universally admitted, it will become a common medicinal drug, easily to be obtained.

‘The gem, when in the casket, prized,
‘When common, is despised!’”

So the price of opium, if left to itself, will fall from day to day; whereas if rated at a fixed value, great difficulty will be found in procuring it at the price at which it is rated. It is reasonable and right, therefore, to leave the price to fluctuate, according to the circumstances of the times, and not to fix any rate.

7. All coasting vessels of every province, when carrying opium, should be required to have sealed manifests from the custom-house of Canton. By the existing regulations of commerce, all commanders of coasting vessels, without exception, are required, whenever they have purchased any foreign goods, to apply at the chief custom-house at Canton and obtain a sealed manifest, stating the amount of each kind of goods, so as to prevent any clandestine purchases. They are also to be provided from thence with a communication addressed to the authorities in every province and at all sea-ports, calling on them to search closely; and if they find any foreign goods, not having the stamp of the Canton custom-house on them, to regard such goods as smuggled, to try the offenders according to law, and to confiscate both vessel and cargo. The law on this point is most precise. Now when the interdict on opium is repealed, it will become an article of ordinary traffic, like any other foreign commodity, and subject therefore to the same regulations. All commanders of coasting vessels, wishing to purchase opium, should therefore be required to report their wishes to the hong merchants, bringing goods to barter for it, and should then apply at the custom-house for a manifest and for a communication from the superintendent of customs to the authorities in all the provinces aforesaid. Thus there being documents for reference, both in this and the sea-board provinces, the native coasting vessels may be prevented from having any clandestine dealings with the foreign ships at sea, and from smuggling away silver.

7. Regula-
tions of the
coasting
trade.

8. The strict prohibitions existing against the cultivation of the poppy, among the people, may be in some measure relaxed. Opium possesses soothing properties, but is powerful in its effects. Its soothing properties render it a luxury, greatly esteemed; but its powerful effects are such as readily to induce disease. The accounts given of the manner in which it is prepared among the foreigners are various; but in all probability it is not unmixed with things of poisonous quality. It is said that of late years, it has been clandestinely prepared by natives, by boiling down the juicy matter from the poppy; and that thus prepared, possesses milder properties, and is less injurious, without losing its soothing influence. To shut out the importation of it by foreigners, there is no better plan than to sanction the cultivation and preparation of it in the empire. It would seem

8. The pop-
py may be
cultivated.

right therefore to relax, in some means, the existing severe prohibitions, and to dispense with the close scrutiny now called for to hinder its cultivation. If it be apprehended, that the simple people may leave the stem and stay of life to amuse themselves with the twigs and branches, thereby injuring the interests of agriculture, it is only necessary to issue perspicuous orders, requiring them to confine the cultivation of the poppy to the tops of hills and mounds, and other unoccupied spots of ground, and on no account to introduce it into their grain-fields, to the injury of that on which their subsistence depends.

9. Officers
not to smoke
opium.

9. All officers, scholars, and soldiers should be strictly prohibited and disallowed the smoking of opium. We find in the original memorial of Heu Naetse, the vice-president of the sacrificial court, the following observations: "It will be found on examination that the smokers of opium are idle, lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them. And though some smokers are 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 daily increase the population of the empire, and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein. With regard to officers, civil and military, and to the scholars and common soldiers, the first are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank and attend to the public good; the other, to cultivate their talents and become fit for public usefulness. None of them, therefore, should be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or to walk in a path which will only lead to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property." If the laws be rendered over-strict, then offenders, in order to escape the penalty, will be tempted to screen one another. This, assuredly, is not then so good a plan as to relax the prohibitions, and act upon men's feeling of shame and self-condemnation. In the latter case, gradual reformation may be excepted as the result of conviction. Hence the original memorial also alludes to a reformation noiselessly effected. The suggestions therein contained, are worthy of regard and of adoption. Hereafter no attention should be paid to the purchase and use of opium among the people. But if officers, civil or military, scholars, or common soldiers, secretly purchase and smoke the drug, they should be immediately degraded and dismissed, as standing warnings to all who will not arouse and renovate themselves. Orders to this effect should be promulgated in all the provinces, and strictly enjoined in every civil and military office, by the superiors on their subordinates, to be faithfully obeyed by every one. And all who, paying apparent obedience, secretly transgress this interdict, should be delivered over by the high provincial authorities to the Civil or Military Board, to be subjected to severe investigation.

No. 5.

Memorial from the councillor Choo Tsun, against the admission of opium. Oct. 1836.

Preamble.

CHOO TSUN, member of the council and of the Board of Rites, kneels

ing, presents the following memorial, wherein he suggests the propriety of increasing the severity of certain prohibitory enactments, with a view to maintain the dignity of the laws, and to remove a great evil from among the people: to this end he respectfully states his views on the subject, and earnestly intreats his sacred majesty to cast a glance thereon.

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

When the foreign ships convey opium to the coast, it is impossible for them to sell it by retail. Hence there are at Canton, in the provincial city, brokers, named 'melters.' These engage money-changers to arrange the price with the foreigners, and to obtain orders for them; with which orders they proceed to the receiving ships, and there the vile drug is delivered to them. This part of the transaction is notorious, and the actors in it are easily discoverable. The boats which carry the drug, and which are called 'fast-crabs' and 'scrambling-dragons,' are all well furnished with guns and other weapons, and ply their oars as swiftly as though they were wings. Their crews have all the overbearing assumption and audacity of pirates. Shall such men be suffered to navigate the surrounding seas according to their own will? And shall such conduct be passed over without investigation?

The late governor Loo having, on one occasion, sent the commodore Tsin Yuchang to cooperate with Teën Poo, the magistrate of Heängshan, those officers seized a vessel belonging to Leäng Heëneë, which was carrying opium, and out of her they took 14,000 catties of the drug. Punishment also was inflicted on the criminals Yaoukew and Owkwan, both of them opium-brokers. Hence it is apparent, that, if the great officers in charge of the provinces do in truth show an example to their civil and military subordinates, and if these do in sincerity search for the drug, and faithfully seize it when

Progress of
the trade in
opium.

Mode of car-
rying it on.

Possibility of
preventing
it.

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.

Occasional
abuse of the
laws no ar-
gument a-
gainst them.

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

Impropriety
of sanction-
ing the trade
by levying a
duty.

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

exportation of dollars, why not also to prevent the importation of opium? And if we can but prevent the importation of opium, the exportation of dollars will then cease of itself, and the two offenses 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 unbeseeingly, that such a duty ought surely not to be levied.

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

From Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, Chêkeäng, Shantung, Yunnan, and Kweichow, memorials have been presented by the censors and other officers, requesting that prohibitions should be enacted against the cultivation of the poppy, and against the preparation of opium; but while nominally prohibited, the cultivation of it has not been really stopped in those places. Of any of those provinces, except Yunnan, I do not presume to speak; but of that portion of the country I have it in my power to say, that the poppy is cultivated all over the hills and the open campaign, and that the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests. And yet we do not see any diminution in the quantity of silver exported as compared with any previous period; while, on the other hand, the lack of the metal in Yunnan is double in degree what it formerly was. To what cause is this to be ascribed? To what but that the consumers of the drug are very many, and that those who are choice and dainty, with regard to its quality, prefer always the foreign article?

Impolicy of sanctioning the growth of the poppy. The importation of opium not stopped by it.

The outgoing of money not hindered thereby.

And the cultivation of grain, &c., will be injured by it.

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

The corruption and enervation of the people are the chief objections against opium.

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

And this is the object of its importers.

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, Chêkeäng, Keängnan, and Shantung, and even to Teëntsin,—to what motive are these to be attributed? I am truly unable to answer the inquiry. But, reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor, surnamed the Benevolent [Kanghe], I

find the following remark by him, dated the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign (1717):—"There is cause for apprehension, lest, in centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas." I look upwards and admiringly contemplate the gracious consideration of that all-wise progenitor, in taking thought for the concerns of barbarians beyond the empire, and giving the distant future a place in his divine and all-pervading foresight. And now, within a period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger which he apprehended. Though it is not practicable to put a sudden and entire stop to their commercial intercourse; yet the danger should be duly considered and provided against; the ports of the several provinces should be guarded with all strictness; and some chastisement should be administered, as a warning and foretaste of what may be anticipated.

Under date of the 23d year of Ke'aking (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 favors; but to the rebellious and disobedient it displays its terrors. Respecting the English trade at Canton, and the anchorage grounds of their merchant-ships and of their naval convoys, regulations have long since been made. If the people, aforesaid, will not obey these regulations, and will persist in opposition to the prohibitory enactments, the first step to be taken is, to impress earnestly upon them the plain commands of government, and to display before them alike both the favors and the terrors of the empire, in order to eradicate from their minds all their covetous and ambitious schemes. If, notwithstanding, they dare to continue in violent and outrageous opposition, and presume to pass over the allotted bounds, forbearance must then cease, and a thundering fire from our cannon must be opened upon them, to make them quake before the terror of our arms. In short, the principle on which the 'far-traveled 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 therein no cause for fear or dread." How clear and luminous are these admonitions, well fitted to become a rule to all generations!

Since your majesty's accession to the throne, the maxim of your illustrious house, that 'horsemanship and archery are the foundations of its existence,' has ever been carefully remembered. And hence the governors, the Lt.-governors, the commanders of the forces, and their subordinates have again and again been directed to pay the strictest

Policy to be adopted towards them.

Ruin caused in the army by opium.

attention to the discipline and exercise of the troops, and of the naval forces; and have been urged and required to create by their exertions strong and powerful legions. With admiration I contemplate my sacred sovereign's anxious care for imparting a military as well as a civil education, prompted as this anxiety is by the desire to establish on a firm basis the foundations of the empire, and to hold in awe the barbarians on every side. But while the stream of importation of opium is not turned aside, it is impossible to attain any certainty that none within the camp do ever secretly inhale the drug. And if the camp be once contaminated by it, the baneful influence will work its way, and the habit will be contracted beyond the power of reform. When the periodical times of desire for it come round, how can the victims—their legs tottering, their hands trembling, their eyes flowing with child-like tears—be able in any way to attend to their proper exercises? Or how can such men form strong and powerful legions? Under these circumstances, the military will become alike unfit to advance to the fight, or in a retreat to defend their posts. Of this there is clear proof in the instance of the campaign against the Yaou rebels, in the 12th year of our sovereign's reign (1832). In the army sent to Leénchow, on that occasion, great numbers of the soldiers were opium-smokers; so that although their numerical force was large, there was hardly any strength to be found among them.

Impossibility
of stopping
this, except
by utter pro-
hibition.

It is said, indeed, that when repealing the prohibitions, the people only are to be allowed to deal in and smoke the drug; and that none of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are to be allowed this liberty. But this is bad casuistry. It is equal to the popular proverb, "shut a woman's ears, before you steal her ear-rings"—an absurdity. The officers, with all the scholars and the military, do not amount in number to more than one tenth of the whole population of the empire; and the other nine tenths are all the common people. The great majority of those who at present smoke opium are the relatives and dependents of the officers of government, whose example has extended the practice to the mercantile classes, and has gradually contaminated the inferior officers, the military, and the scholars. Those who do not smoke are the common people of the villages and hamlets. If then the officers, the scholars, and the military, alone, be prohibited smoking opium, while all the people are permitted to deal in and smoke it, this will be to give a full license to those of the people who already indulge in it, and to *induce* those who have never yet indulged in the habit to do so. And if it is even now to be feared that some will continue smokers in spite of all prohibitions, is it to be hoped that any will refrain when they are actually induced by the government to indulge in it?

Besides, if the people be at liberty to smoke opium, how shall the officers, the scholars, and the military be prevented? What! of the officers, the scholars, and the military, are there any that are born in civil or military situations, or that are born scholars, or soldiers? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people. To

take an instance : let a vacancy occur in a body of soldiers ; it must necessarily be filled up by recruits from among the people. But the great majority of recruits are men of no character or respectability, and, if while they were among the common people they were smokers of opium, by what bands of law shall they be restrained when they become soldiers, after the habit has been already contracted, and has so taken hold of them that it is beyond their power to break it off? Such a policy was that referred to by Mencius, when he spoke of "entrapping the people." And if the officers, the scholars, and the military smoke the drug in the quiet of their own families, by what means is this to be discovered or prevented? Should an officer be unable to restrain himself, shall then his clerks, his followers, his domestic servants, have it in their power to make his failing their play-thing, and by the knowledge of his secret to hold his situation at their disposal? We dread falsehood and bribery, and yet we would thus widen the door to admit them. We are anxious to prevent the amassing of wealth by unlawful means, and yet by this policy we would ourselves increase opportunities for doing so. A father, in such a case, would no longer be able to reprove his son, an elder brother to restrain his junior, nor a master to rule his own household. Will not this policy, then, be every way calculated to stir up strife? Or if happily the thing should not run to this extreme, the consequences will yet be equally bad: secret enticement and mutual connivance will ensue, until the very commonness of the practice shall render it no longer a subject of surprise. From this I conclude, that to permit the *people* to deal in the drug and smoke it, at the same time that the officers, the scholars, and the military are to be prohibited the use of it, will be found to be fraught with difficulties.

At the present moment, throughout the empire, the minds of men are in imminent danger; the more foolish, being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions and cannot be aroused; and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond recovery. Most thoughtfully have I sought for some plan by which to arouse and awaken all, but in vain. While, however, the empire preserves and maintains its laws, the plain and honest rustic will see what he has to fear, and will be deterred from evil; and the man of intelligence and cultivated habits will learn what is wrong in himself, and will refrain from it. And thus, though the laws be declared by some to be but waste paper, yet these their unseen effects will be of no trifling nature. If, on the other hand, the prohibitions be suddenly repealed, and the action which was a crime be no longer counted such by the government, how shall the dull clown and the mean among the people know that the action is still in itself wrong? In open day and with unblushing front, they will continue to use opium till they shall become so accustomed to it, that eventually they will find it as indispensable as their daily meat and drink, and will inhale the noxious drug with perfect indifference. When shame shall thus be entirely

Present state of morals among the people at the lowest ebb.

destroyed, and fear removed wholly out of the way, the evil consequences that will result to morality and to the minds of men will assuredly be neither few nor unimportant. As your majesty's minister, I know that the laws of the empire, being in their existing state well fitted to effect their end, will not for any slight cause be changed. But the proposal to alter the law on this subject having been made and discussed in the provinces, the instant effect has been, that crafty thieves and villains have on all hands begun to raise their heads and open their eyes, gazing about, and pointing the finger, under the notion that, when once these prohibitions are repealed, thenceforth and for ever they may regard themselves free from every restraint and from every cause of fear.

Conclusion.
Measures recommended.

Though possessing very poor abilities I have nevertheless had the happiness to enjoy the favor of your sacred majesty, and have, within a space of but few years, been raised through the several grades of the censorate, and the presidency of various courts in the metropolis, to the high elevation of a seat in the Inner Council. I have been copiously imbued with the rich dew of favors; yet have been unable to offer the feeblest token of gratitude; but if there is aught within the compass of my knowledge, I dare not to pass it by unnoticed. I feel it my duty to request that your majesty's commands may be proclaimed to the governors and lieut.-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 1000 catties or upwards, the most severe punishment shall be inflicted. Thus happily the minds of men may be impressed with fear, and the report thereof, spreading over the seas (among foreigners) may even there produce reformation. Submitting to my sovereign my feeble and obscure views, I prostrate implore your sacred majesty to cast a glance on this my respectful memorial.

No. 6.

Memorial from the sub-censor Heu Kew, against the admission of opium. Oct. 1836.

Preamble.

HEU KEW, sub-censor over the military department, kneeling, presents this memorial, to point out the increasing craftiness exercised by foreigners from beyond the seas, in their pursuit of gain, and the daily diminution of the resources of the empire; on which subjects he respectfully offers his views, and requests that the imperial pleasure may be declared to the ministers of the court, commanding them maturely to consider what means shall be adopted to stay the gradual efflux of money, and to enrich the national resources.

Our dynasty has cherished and nurtured the people in peace and prosperity for two centuries. Within the four seas, wealth and opulence have reigned; and the central empire has been enabled from her own resources to supply her own necessities. Westward, to the new territory of Turkestan, and southward, to Yunnan and Kwangtung, there is not a place whither her merchants may not go; nor a spot where her treasures of silver do not circulate. In the reign of Keenlung the treasury was full and abounding, and even the cottage of the peasant enjoyed plenty. But, whereas a tael of pure silver then always passed for 1000 of the standard coin, an equal amount of fine silver now costs from 1400 to 1500 of the same coin. And this fine silver is daily lessening in quantity, and the price still rising from day to day, so that for want of it the officers of government and the people are both alike crippled. Some, in discussing this subject, represent that the change arises from the daily multiplication of births, in consequence of which money is daily more distributed, so that every day renders it in a greater degree inadequate. They forget that, if distributed over China alone, it may after distribution be regathered. But the true cause why silver has of late daily diminished in quantity is, that, having been clandestinely carried out beyond the seas, it has been impossible to gather it in again from the places of its distribution.

According to the information that I have obtained, the sale of opium is the chief medium through which money is drained off, and carried beyond the seas. In the first year of Keäking, the opium sold by foreigners in Kwangtung did not exceed a few hundred chests. The number has now increased to upwards of 20,000 chests. These include three distinct kinds, the 'black-earth,' the 'white-skinned,' and the 'red-skinned.' The price of each chest is from 800 to 900 dollars for the best, and from 500 to 600 for the inferior quality. This applies to what is sold in the province of Kwangtung. With regard to the other provinces, the vessels of which carry on illicit traffic with the receiving ships at Lintin, it is difficult to obtain any full and complete statement respecting them.

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

Present scarcity and increased value of silver.

True cause of this — its exportation.

Which is occasioned chiefly by the opium trade.

Annual loss to the country.

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

Ways in which silver is exported.

One method employed to take away money from the country is this: to make out false names of ships that have been to China some years before, ships of which the captains do not exist, and the parties concerned in which are dead; and then to represent, that, at a time stated, *such-an-one* had deposited such an amount of money in the hands of *so-and-so*, and that the applicant now wishes to carry it away, on behalf of the party named. The hong merchants make artful petitions of this kind for the foreigners, and thus obtain permission for them to carry away money. Another method is, to have money put in the same packages with merchandise.

The officers guilty of remissness.

It is since the suppression of the pirates in the reign of Keäking that opium has gradually blazed up into notice. At first the annual sale of it did not exceed in value a few millions; but of late it has risen to nearly twenty millions; and the increase and accumulation of the amount, from day to day and from month to month, is more than can be told. How can it be otherwise than that the silver of China is lessened, and rendered insufficient, even daily! But that it has gone to this length is altogether attributable to the conduct of the great officers of the above-named province, in times past—to their sloth and remissness, their fearfulness and timidity, their anxiety to show themselves liberal and indulgent,—by which they have been led to neglect obedience to the prohibitory enactments, and to fail in the strict enforcement of the precautionary regulations.

How shall the exportation of silver be stayed?

Our empire is wise and good in all its laws and statutes. Regulations have been enacted, in regard to the opening and working of mines, with a view to their entire preservation, because this silver, possessed in China, is not to be found native elsewhere. If then the exhaustible stores of this empire be taken, to fill up an abyss of barbarian nations that never can be filled, unless measures be speedily adopted to prevent it, our loss will, within ten years, amount to thousands of millions, and where will be the end of this continual out-pouring? Some reasoners on the subject say, 'Cut off entirely commercial intercourse, and sacrifice one million of duties to retain in the country twenty millions of money: the loss will be small, the gain great.' They forget that the various countries of the west have had commercial intercourse here for many years; and that in one day to put an entire

Not by stoppage to trade.

stop to it would not only be derogatory to the high dignity of the celestial empire; but would also, we may fear, be productive of any but good results. Others say, 'Repeal the prohibitions against opium, let it be given in exchange for merchandise, and let a duty be levied upon it. Thus our money will be saved from waste, and the customs duties will be rendered more abundant, so that a double advantage will be gained.' These forget, that, since—even while the law tends to prohibit the drug, the fine silver is nevertheless drawn off, and opium abundantly imported—there is room to doubt whether merchandise will always be taken in exchange for the drug, when the sale of it shall be made public, and may be carried on with open eyes and unblushing boldness, and when the importation of it will consequently be greatly increased. A case in point is that of the ships bringing foreign rice to Canton: in consequence of a representation to the throne, these ships are freed from the tax called 'measurement charge,' only being required to take return cargoes of *merchandise*; and now the Spanish and other rice-laden ships have made it a practice to take their returns in *specie*. From this we may see, that, whenever the prohibition of opium shall be repealed, an increase in the clandestine drawing off of silver will be an inevitable consequence.

Moreover if the sale of the drug be not prohibited, neither can men be prevented from inhaling it. And if only the officers of government and the military be prohibited, these being all taken from the scholars and common people, what ground will be found for any such *partial* prohibition to rest upon? Besides, having a clear conviction that the thing is highly injurious to men, to permit it, notwithstanding, to pervade the empire—nay, even to lay on it a duty—is conduct quite incompatible with the yet uninjured dignity of the great and illustrious celestial empire. In my humble view of the case, the exportation of sycee silver to foreign regions, and the importation of opium, are both rightly interdicted. But local officers, having received the interdicts, have not strenuously enforced them, and hence the one coming in has produced the out-going of the other. If, in place of reprehending their failure strenuously to enforce them, these prohibitions be even now repealed, this will be indeed to encourage the vicious among the people, and to remove all fault from the local officers. But how, when once this prohibition of opium is withdrawn, shall the interdict against the exportation of sycee silver be rendered strict? It cannot be so; for we shall then ourselves have removed the barriers. It were better that, instead of altering and changing the laws and enactments, and utterly breaking down the barrier raised by them, the old established regulations should be diligently maintained, and correction be severely employed.

Now between the inner land and the outer seas, a wide separation exists. The traitorous natives who sell the opium cannot alone, in person, carry on the traffic with the foreign ships. To purchase wholesale, there are brokers. To arrange all transactions, there are the hong merchants. To give orders to be carried to the receiving

Nor by admission of opium.

Arguments against opium on ground of morality and policy.

It is practicable to prevent the importation of opium.

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 Fuhkeên and Chêkeâng, from the ports of Shanghae and Teentsin, 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 Teen Poo, magistrate of the district of Heângshan, in conjunction with the naval force, captured one single boat laden with opium. With this exception, we have seen 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.

By first punishing the natives;

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 strict regulations for the punishment of offenses; 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.

And then bringing the foreigners to account.

The resident barbarians dwell separately in the foreign factories. In the Eho (Creek) factory is one named Jardine, and who is nicknamed the iron-headed old rat; also one named Innes: in the Paou-shun factory, is one named Dent; also one named Framjee, and one named Merwanjee: in the Fungtae factory is one named Dadabhoj: in the Kwangyuen (American) factory is one named Gordon: in the Maying (Imperial) factory is one named Whiteman: in the Spanish factory is one named Turner: and besides these there are, I apprehend, many others. The treatment of those within having been rendered severe, we may next turn to these resident foreigners, examine and apprehend them, and keep them in arrest; then acquaint them with the established regulations, and compel them, within a limited period, to cause all the receiving ships anchored at Lintin to return to their country:—they should be required also to write a letter to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people; that the celestial empire has inflicted on all the traitorous natives who sold it the severest penalties; that with regard to themselves, the resident foreigners, the government taking into consideration that

they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death on them; but that if the opium-receiving ships will desist from coming to China, they shall be indulgently released and permitted to continue their commercial intercourse as usual; whereas, if they will again build receiving vessels and bring them hither to entice the natives, the commercial intercourse granted them in teas, silks, &c., shall assuredly be altogether interdicted, and on the resident foreigners of the said nation the laws shall be executed capitally. If commands be issued of this plain and energetic character, in language strong, and in sense becoming, though their nature be the most abject—that of a dog or a sheep, yet, having a care for their own lives, they will not fail to seek the gain, and to flee the danger.

Some think this mode of proceeding too severe, and fear lest it should give rise to a contest on our frontiers. Again and again I have revolved this subject in my mind, and reconsidered how that, while in their own country no opium is smoked, the barbarians yet seek to poison therewith the people of the central flowery land; and that while they bring to us no foreign silver, they yet would take away our native coin; and I have therefore regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf. Of late, the foreign vessels have presumed to make their way into every place, and to cruise about in the inner seas. Is it likely that in this they have no evil design of spying out our real strength, or weakness? If now they be left thus to go on from step to step, and their conduct be wholly passed over, the wealth of the land must daily waste away and be diminished. And if when our people are worn out, and our wealth rendered insufficient, any difficulty should then, even by the slightest chance, as one in ten thousand, turn up, how, I would ask, shall it be warded off? Rather than to be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought now, while yet our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our government; nor (it may be hoped) have any longer the means of exercising their petty arts and devices.

Regarding this as a subject of importance, I have given it the most attentive investigation: and having formed my own views thereon, it is befitting that I should delineate and clearly state them. To determine as to their correctness, or otherwise, it is my duty to request that your majesty's pleasure may be declared to the ministers of the court, requiring them with full purpose of heart to take into consideration these views. Laying them before your sacred majesty, I prostrate implore my sovereign to cast a glance upon them. A respectful memorial.

On the latter point, there need be no scruple.

Conclusion.

Supplementary Statement.

Furthermore, in regard to the residence of the foreign barbarians at Macao, the prohibitory enactments are very full and clear. But I

Illegalities of foreigners.

have heard that it has of late been usual for the barbarians to sit in large native sedans, and to hire natives to carry them: also to hire native females for purposes of prostitution, who are called 'ta-fan.' Moreover, their merchant ships are not allowed by the regulations to discharge their cargoes clandestinely at Macao; but of late it has become customary for only those ships to make their anchorage at Whampoa which have return cargoes of merchandise to take away, while the others never enter the port, nor announce their arrival. These last send their finer and lighter goods, on board the boats called 'fast-crabs,' from Kumsing Moon and other places, for sale. The coarser and heavier goods, they unlawfully send in cargo boats direct to the Stadt-house (in Chinese *Stä*) at Macao; after which they call upon the hong merchants to hire chop-boats to convey them to the provincial city, and exchange them for other goods,—thus not only evading the measurement charge and duties, but also avoiding examination on the part of the native authorities.

Their violence.

But the extreme case is this:—at Macao, on the outside of the gate called the Ditch-gate, are very numerous graves of the natives. In the second month of the present year the foreigners made a wide road there, levelling entirely the graves. The sub-prefect stationed at the place reported this to his superiors; and, at his request, a deputy was sent to visit the spot in concert with him, and to reprehend the foreigners. These, however, would not make acknowledgment of their offense; and when the officers sent men to repair the tombs, they even led on their barbarian slaves, and beat the native police and people. Afterwards a linguist was sent to admonish them authoritatively; and then only they sent an address to the officer, seeking to conciliate him. Such outrageous, overbearing, and lawless conduct arises wholly from this, that the local officers thinking forbearance to be the most quiet policy, seek only to obtain present freedom from disturbance, and hence give occasion for being treated with slight and contempt.

Practicability of checking these illegalities and this violence.

Macao is within the jurisdiction of the district Heängshan, and on all sides of it there are naval stations. For all its daily necessaries, it is compelled to look up to us. The compradors employed by the foreigners there, are natives to whom permits are granted by the government. Should, therefore, the least insubordination be shown by the foreigners, there would be no difficulty in immediately having their lives in our hands. I have been told that a former magistrate of that district, named Pang Choo, on account of the pride and profligacy of these barbarians, removed from among them all the native dealers and merchants, and allowed no commercial intercourse on the part of natives with them; till the barbarians, trembling with fear, were at once brought to order. This is yet in the recollection of the gentry of Heängshan. Since a district magistrate could effect thus much, would the barbarians dare even to move, if the great officers of the country would make a display of their power? Another instance occurs to me. The barbarians at Canton, built a quay, out-

side the city, a work which went on for months without any hindrance being made to it. But when your majesty's minister Choo Kweiching was sent thither as lieut.-governor, he went to the spot, set down his sedan there, and commanded the instant destruction of the work; and the barbarians, subdued by his unostentatious firmness, dared not even to utter a word. Again, the year before last, when Lord Napier brought ships of war up to Whampoa, your majesty's minister Loo Kwän, the governor, stationed the naval forces so as to present a close unbroken line of defense; and the barbarians were at once filled with dismay, repented their error, and requested a permit to leave the port. We see from these instances that the barbarians have never yet failed to succumb.

Now, to make ostentatious show of terrors is, it is true, calculated to ruin affairs: but to pass faults over in silence is, on the other hand, calculated to nourish depravity. If the old regulations be not rendered conspicuous, and the prohibitions be not strictly enforced, these barbarians will end with doing whatever they please, imagining that there is no limit to forbearance. The barbarians, pluming themselves on their great wealth, extensively practice bribery and corruption, and have many traitorous natives for their agents, and many of the police in combination with them. Hence, if a talented, intelligent, and determined officer were, in the first place, to punish severely the Chinese traitors, we may hope that he would thus be able at once to overwhelm the spirit of the barbarians.

This further exposition of my feeble and obscure views, it behoves me to add to my previous representation, and, prostrate, lay it before your sacred majesty, hoping that my sovereign will cast a glance thereon. A respectful memorial.

No. 7.

Imperial edict in reply to the two preceding documents.

THE councillor Choo Tsun has presented a memorial, requesting that the severity of the prohibitory enactments against opium may be increased. The sub-censor Heu Kew also has laid before Us a respectful representation of his views: and, in a supplementary statement, a recommendation to punish severely Chinese traitors.

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

Let Tang and his colleagues anxiously and carefully consult together upon the recommendation to search for, and with utmost strictness apprehend, all those traitorous natives who sell the drug, the hong mer-

Importance
of doing so.

Careful con-
sideration re-
quisite.

Strict inves-
tigation to
be made.

chants who arrange the transactions in it, the brokers who purchase it by wholesale, the boat-men who are engaged in transporting it, and the naval militia who receive bribes; and having determined on the steps to be taken in order to stop up the source of the evil, let them present a true and faithful report. Let them also carefully ascertain and report, whether the circumstances stated by Heu Kew in his supplementary document, in reference to the foreigners from beyond the seas, be true or not, whether such things as are mentioned therein have or have not taken place. Copies of the several documents are to be herewith sent to those officers for perusal; and this edict is to be made known to T'ang and Ke, who are to enjoin it also on Wan, the superintendent of maritime customs. Respect this.

No. 8.

Report in reference to the circulation of dollars in China.

August, 1836.

Preamble.

REPORT, made by the commissioners of finance and of justice in the province Kwangtung, to the heads of the provincial government, requesting that their excellencies, when replying to his majesty, will recommend that the use of foreign money be still sanctioned, as being suitable to the position of foreign affairs here: but that all exchanges for, or clandestine exportations of, sycee silver be disallowed.

Necessity of retaining the foreign money in the eastern and southern provinces.

Foreign money is brought from the lands of the distant barbarians; and is essentially necessary to the mercantile classes trading in all the provinces along the coast, who, for their daily supplies of food and other necessaries, are dependent on the facility of exchanging this money, and on its general circulation. It is not, therefore, to be dispensed with for a single moment. Its circulation, however, is confined to the provinces Keängnan, Chëkeäng, Fuhkeën, and Kwangtung, or, if it do occasionally extend, in the course of trade, to adjoining districts (for this is a circumstance not wholly to be avoided), yet it cannot circulate much farther inland than a few hundred miles. As to the provinces lying northwards, the two provinces of 'the Lakes' (Hoonan and Hoopih), Szechuen, Yunnan, and Kweichow, this money does not at present circulate in any of them: and if perchance a few specimens reach those places, they are prized merely as curiosities; or, if it be attempted to force them on the market, they can be exchanged only at a discount, and even then with difficulty. How can it be supposed, therefore, that this money will immediately spread itself into universal circulation?

Doubts expressed by Shin Yung are to be met.

Having taken this general view of the subject, we will turn to the representation made by the Censor Shin Yung. In this representation, he expresses his apprehension that the low standard of foreign money must render it difficult to be exchanged for sycee silver at a fair and regular rate; and on that account, he requests that the inhibition of the money may be made a subject of consideration. This recommendation is doubtless the result of anxious attention to the

policy of government, and serious regard for the interests of the people. But arguments are not wanting in favor of the circulation of money, so far as regards the eastern and southern provinces.

The places where foreign ships anchor are also the places where foreign money is scattered abroad. The supplies of provisions furnished to them comprise minute and multifarious details; their expences include numerous items of a very varied character; and many small sums are paid by them, as the hire of labor, or the price of articles. Not a day passes without money being used for one or other of these purposes. It becomes, then, a matter, of necessity that they should bring foreign money with them, to meet these various expences; and hence it happens that the market prices are regulated by dollars, it being found highly convenient to value goods by them. The people among themselves, also, gladly fall in with such an arrangement, finding it to be advantageous. From which it is clear that *the inhabitants of the coast* cannot well be deprived of the foreign money.

Again, native merchants, trading by sea along the coast, when they travel, carry their money with them. If these have to carry the governmental [copper] coin, the expense of so doing will be a heavy tax upon their small transactions; and if they carry gold or silver to sea with them, they have reason to fear lest they be found guilty of contravening the prohibitions of government. It is therefore impossible for them to do otherwise than carry foreign money with them, it being necessary that they should have such money in order to make purchases. And hence it is evident that the *native mercantile classes* along the coast cannot dispense with the use of foreign money.

Further, as to the foreigners, they import foreign money into Canton as a medium in which to pay the prices of commodities purchased by them. The amount of such importations is variable and uncertain; and whatever balance they may have remaining is either employed, on perceiving an advantageous state of the market, in making additional purchases, or is spent in a more abundant and luxurious supply of the daily necessities of life. For in the love of much money, and of good prices, the flowery people and barbarians are altogether like-minded. We see, then, lastly that the *foreign merchants* of other countries are likewise unable to dispense with the use of foreign money.

We are informed that there are silver mines in England, and America, and Spain. Although the pattern after which the money of each country is made differs, yet the degree of purity is nearly the same with all, being above ninety per cent. touch, as compared with the sycee silver of China. We see, then, that though they be left to follow their own methods, yet the foreigners do not draw their materials from this country. And in commercial intercourse, so long as each holds its due place, the foreign money is the same as though it were issued from the mint of the palace itself.—Our empire is separated from the foreigners by ten thousand miles of sea, over which they

By showing that the money is necessary—1. To the inhabitants of the coast;

2. To traders along the coast;

3. To foreign merchants in China :

And that no injury is to be apprehended from its free circulation.

cross to present things of value and to offer tribute: and for their doing this, established regulations exist. Since, then, to present themselves here, and to make offerings has been so long their practice, that time has rendered it equal to an ancient rule that they should do so,—what cause can there be for apprehension of any consequences that may arise from permitting them to bring such things as will be most advantageous and profitable to them?—It is most truly said in his sacred majesty's edict, that the circulation of the foreign money in the east and south is not a thing merely of yesterday. The right mode of acting is, to establish *rules* and *limits*, so as to bring upon the same level the wishes both of our own people and of those from afar. But were the foreign money permitted to be circulated even in all the provinces, it would not be productive of the slightest injury to China.

The varying weight and standard of foreign money alone objectionable.

The great objection to the use of foreign money is this, that with it no regard is paid to the weight of metal, or the degree of purity. In Canton this was formerly the case, also. But at a later period, as a precaution against fraud, foreign money began to be stamped and chopped, to mark the degree of purity,—and to be weighed, in order to ascertain the quantity of metal. The money so stamped is in general circulation in the markets, where it goes by the name of 'broken pieces;' and when it is exchanged for sycee silver, about 3 or 4 taels per cent. are added to make amends for the inferiority in touch. But in Keängnan and Chekeäng no money is in circulation but such as is bright with a new smooth face. At present the 'broken pieces' of Canton, when paid in exchange for new faced money, pay a premium of no less than 6 or 7 taels per cent. And crafty dealers, having many clever devices for obtaining gain, raise the price still higher, whenever the supply of this new-faced money is insufficient.—Of the manner in which the money circulates in Keängnan and Chekeäng, at the present time, we are ignorant.

Hence payments, though in new dollars, should be by weight and the value of dollar silver should always be kept below that of sycee silver.

Should the imperial pleasure be declared in favor of the circulation of foreign money, it ought to be required, in all the provinces, that the money be paid by weight, and that prices be no longer rated by the *number* of dollars; that foreign money, when exchanged for sycee silver, whether such money be in broken pieces, or in whole bright-faced coin, shall always pay a premium per cent. to make up the difference of purity between it and sycee silver; and that foreign money shall never be allowed, on the contrary, to bear a premium, when given in exchange for sycee silver. With regard to native counterfeits and adulterated pieces of money, the shroffs in the market-places are so expert in discovering and picking out such, that it is quite unnecessary to think for the people on this point, or to make any rules or restrictions with reference to it.

Precautions to be taken that sycee silver be not exported.

The purity and weight of the silver being in this manner rendered subject to trial, the crafty deceitful character of the foreigners will have no room for exercising itself in petty arts. But the importance of the custom-house restrictions is such as to call, in a still greater degree,

for prohibitions,—prohibitions, namely, of the exportation of sycee silver. It is our duty to request, that, in all future commercial dealings with foreign merchants, no persons be permitted to mix up sycee silver in the payment of any balances due to such foreign merchants, or to sell any sycee silver to them for their every-day use; that voluntary engagements to this effect be filed by all the hong merchants, both the senior merchants and the others; that, if any of these infringe this regulation, they be rendered liable to severe punishment by fine or transportation; and that if any shopkeeper, or any other of the people, transgress it, such transgressor be made liable to a punishment one degree more severe. The officers and men in charge of custom-houses and passes, as well as those in command of naval vessels at sea, should be required to keep guard in constant succession, the latter always cruising about. When the foreign ships are returning from hence, officers and men should be bound to search faithfully; and in case of their discovering and making seizure of any sycee silver, and sending the offenders to meet their trial, they should be rewarded by a gift of all the silver so seized. Should any dare to protect and wilfully connive at any transgression of the law, and should such connivance be discovered by the transgressor being elsewhere apprehended, inquiry ought to be made as to the places through which the transgressor had passed, and the officers and men at those places ought to be dealt with most severely. If regulations be made of this clear and determined nature, all will then be convinced that the purpose is to uphold them.

The luxuriance and splendor of this central nation are such, that its own native treasures are exhaustless, and it values not things of foreign and distant extraction. The would-be-clever arts of the outermost barbarians it reckons as nothing and of no worth. These arts can therefore be productive of no detriment to the policy of the government, while to the people they appear not unattended by some advantage. It is our duty, therefore, to request, that your excellencies will implore his majesty, of his heavenly favor, to sanction the continuance of foreign money in circulation in the sea-board provinces, its circulation being suitable to the position of foreign affairs, and convenient for the people. As in duty bound, we have consulted together, and lay before your excellencies the result, awaiting your decision as to the correctness or incorrectness thereof, preparatory to a full memorial to the emperor.

Conclusion.

No. 9.

Inquiries from the governor, &c., respecting traders in opium.

TANG governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, Ke lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, and Wän superintendent of maritime customs, issue these commands to the senior hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance therewith.

We, the governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, have with deep humility received an imperial decree, commanding us,

power to carry into execution their petty designs? It is surely our bounden duty to inquire into this matter.

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

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

No. 10.

The said traders are to leave Canton within half a month.

TANG governor of Kwangtung and Kwanse, Ke lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, and Wán superintendent of maritime customs, issue these commands to the hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance therewith.

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

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

In this report, it is represented, that the receiving ships being anchored in the outer seas, much of the smuggling carried on by traitorous dealers is conducted by means of sea-going vessels, from various parts, approaching the receiving ships, and purchasing from them. Truly, if, as here represented, all such illegalities are committed without the port, how comes it, then, that the instances that have formerly occurred of seizures have continually been within the pre-

Order to inquire regarding the persons named in the above extracts.

A report received from the hong merchants.

This report inaccurate, and not to the point.

cincts of the capital? And, even assuming the truth of their present assertion, that the seizures outside are numerous, those in the capital but few, this only shows the rareness, not the entire want of such seizures. There being then some instances, consequently there must be men by whom the transactions are arranged, and individuals by whom a mutual understanding is brought about.—We, the governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, in our desire to preserve uninjured the property and lives of the said merchants, will not withhold maternal kindness, or spare any pains in advising and guiding them. If they acknowledge their offenses themselves, their punishment shall be remitted. But if they continue to report in this irrelevant manner, and turn thus away from the point, hereafter, when once discovery is made of an offense on their part, it will only remain for us to execute the laws and severely inflict the penalties thereof. And if they will not now care for the consequences, they will then be utterly without cause for murmuring against us.

No excuse
admissible
on the part
of those fo-
reigners who
have stayed
so long in
Canton.

As to the foreign merchants, * * * and the others, it is wholly needless to question their bare, proofless assertions, or at all to doubt, whether their long residence in Canton does indeed arise from the multitude of ships, the business of which they have to transact, and from the circumstance that not a month elapses without a trading ship coming to Canton,—or whether it is not rather owing to their desire to wait and observe the prices in the market in order to make their purchases. For, granting the first assertion to be perfectly true, and that not a day passes in which trade is interrupted, does it, therefore, follow that these foreigners are free to remain, and are never to return home? Or can such a principle as this be admitted? Hear what a memorial, formerly sanctioned, says upon this point:

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

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

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

At the present moment, the investigations, ordered by the court, are exceedingly strict. If then these foreigners do not bestir themselves and quickly return home, even though it be admitted that they are not residing in the country to sell what is contraband, and though it be granted that the hong merchants do not combine with them and arrange their transactions, yet how can these last reconcile it even to their own minds, that they should suffer the said foreigners to remain here, daily exciting fresh suspicions. Moreover, we the governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, hold the direction of this territory, and are bound to eradicate all that is evil, and to bring back to reason the depraved. In chastisements, we show no partiality or leniency; and, having received with reverence the imperial commands to investigate this manner, it the more behoves us to take anxious precautions on every side, equally toward those within and towards those from without the empire. Though it be said, in regard to what is past, indulgence should be shown, yet how can we neglect to pay prudent attention to the future consequences? We desire to impress it on the minds of all, early to look to themselves, and to consider these things long and seriously.

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

What is due from them is grateful obedience.

And they shall be compelled to pay it.

Half a month granted as the limit of their further stay.

Cautionary admonitions

which they are suffered to remain shall also, in such case, be closed ; and the parties concerned in them shall be brought to investigation. Be careful then not to decide carelessly. Let the said merchants present to us, within three days, signed bonds, that the limited period will be carefully observed, in order that we may be enabled, after thorough examination of the subject, to report to his majesty. Let none oppose this, or delay obedience. A special order.

Taoukwang, 16th year, 10th month, 15th day. (23d Nov., 1836.)

No. 11.

The time for their departure extended.

TANG governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, Ke lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, and Wán superintendent of maritime customs, issue these orders to the hong merchants, requiring their full acquaintance therewith.

We, the governor, &c., have received the subjoined report from the said hong merchants :—

A report received from the hong merchants, as under.

Your excellencies' commands were received, directing us immediately to communicate to the foreign merchants, * * and others, that they are severally to finish with the utmost diligence their commercial affairs ; that they are indulgently allowed a period of half a month, in which to pack up their effects and remove out of the provincial city, after which they are either to avail themselves of some expected ships, or of some vessels on the point of sailing, to return to their country ; that they cannot be allowed longer to loiter about ; and that, should any of them be really unable to conclude their business in half a month, they also must remove within the time prescribed, but may go to Macao, and remain there for a season ; that, however, they must not be allowed by remaining long at Macao to disobey the fixed regulations. On the receipt of these commands, we examined our documents, and found, that in our former report we had already stated that there is no such person here as

The last order to them was enjoined.

* * . With the exception therefore of him, we, in obedience to the commands received, enjoined it on the said foreign merchants, * * and the others, that they should obey the same, should settle with the utmost diligence their commercial affairs, should within the prescribed period of half a month remove from Canton, and either return home, or go down to Macao ; and that if there were any who really were unable to conclude their business in half a month, they should place their merchandise and their accounts in our hands, that we might dispose of the one and settle the other for them. We also desired them to give us written bonds that they would carefully observe the limited period, in order that we might present the same.

Replies given thereto by foreigners.

Having thus done, we received from * * a note, stating, 'that as soon as he had concluded his sales and purchases, about the first month of next year, he will return home.' We received also a note from * * , stating 'that he has determined to go home, and that at the end of this year, he will avail himself of a vessel sailing back to his country.' We also received replies from * * , * * , * * , * * , * * , and * * severally, stating, 'that at present ships are arriving in great numbers ; that it is necessary that they should purchase cargoes for them before they can sail again ; and intreating a delay until such time as they have concluded their sales and purchases, when they will go down and reside at

Macao.' Having reported these answers, we received your excellencies verbal commands, to the effect, that the language of the several foreign merchants bore marks of a desire to delay; and that they should therefore, still be directed to move out of the provincial city, as before ordered, within the prescribed time. After we received these directions, we again enjoined the commands, and called on the foreigners to act in trembling obedience thereto.

"Having done this, we have now received a reply from * * *, still intreating 'that he may wait until he has concluded his sales and purchases, and that about the first month of the next year he will return to his country.' From * * * we have also received a reply, still 'requesting that he may be allowed to clear up his accounts, and at the end of this year he will return home.' From * * * also we have received a reply, intreating 'that he may be allowed to stay until his commercial affairs are concluded; and then, in the third month of next year, he will return home.' * * * has replied to us: 'I am now conducting my mercantile transactions with the utmost diligence. I beg that I may stop till the first month of next year, when I will go down and reside at Macao.' * * * replied: 'Many ships to my consignment still remain anchored at Whampoa; and it is requisite yet to purchase silk, and teas, and other goods for exportation. The teas this year are reaching Canton later than is ordinarily the case. I intreat that I may be allowed to remain till I have purchased all the goods required, and till the ships have all left the port; and then, in the fourth month of next year, I will go down and reside at Macao.' From * * * and * * *, we have received answers, 'that they have now ships at Whampoa to their consignment; that they have to purchase silks, teas, and other goods for them to export; and that they intreat, therefore, they may be allowed to stop till they have completed all their purchases, when, in the third month of next year, they will go down and reside at Macao.' Lastly, * * * has replied, intreating 'that he may be allowed to complete his sales and purchases, when, at the end of this year, he will go down and reside at Macao.' These all having reached us, it is our duty to report the particulars, and ask if your excellencies will deign to grant the requests of the several foreign merchants, which must proceed wholly from your excellencies' grace and favor."

This report having come before us, we, the governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, have again taken the subject into consideration. In the regulations there is no article permitting foreigners to abide in the provincial capital. Out of former chance-inadvertence has grown up a stay and continuance therein of several years' duration. It is, indeed, an infringement of the established enactments. Admit that these foreign merchants quietly attend to their commercial duties; grant that they and the hong merchants are not mutually drawn into acts of depravity; yet suspicions have arisen, in the place of their stay, that they have taken their quarters here for the purpose of combining with natives to dispose of contraband goods; and the expression of these suspicions has ascended even to the ninth heaven (the imperial presence), and has called down from the great emperor strict orders to investigate the subject.

Now, having received the above detailed report, we, the governor, the lieut.-governor, and the hoppo, look upwards, and would embody the extreme desire of the sacred intelligence to cherish strangers with

These replies deemed unsatisfactory.

A second series of replies.

Report of hong merchants concluded.

Remarks by the governor, &c.—reasons why foreigners should leave.

Extension of the period, granted them.

tenderness. In seeking condescendingly to yield to the dispositions of foreigners, what need is there to be over-strict and harsh? But if the period be too long extended, we shall not only be unable to find words to report it to his majesty; but also, by partiality and connivance, we shall greatly derogate from the dignity of government. We have therefore jointly deliberated and determined on our course of action. The three merchants, * * *, * * *, and * *, who have pleaded for a delay, at the same time purposing to return to their country, may be allowed their requests, namely to return severally at the end of this year, and in the first and third months of the next year. They may return at the periods they have named. The two merchants, * * * and * * *, also, who have requested that they may go and reside at Macao, are allowed to do so at the times named, the close of this year, and the first month of next year. But with regard to the three merchants * * *, * * *, and * *, who, without having named a period for going home, seek to go and reside at Macao, and yet ask to stop till the third and fourth months of next year before they go, manifest the most absurd and foolish conduct. From their statements, however, it appears that they have yet many ships here, and they have need to purchase cargoes for them. We therefore will indulgently permit an extension of the period, prescribing to all of them the second month of next year, at which period they must go to Macao. Between this date and the second month of next year four months will elapse; and in that period they may transact all their affairs; or if some do remain unfinished, yet they will be able to make Macao their place of sojourn. We certainly will not permit the least extension of this period, or opposition hereto. We the governor, the lieut.-governor, and the hoppo, are this day sending a memorial, by express, to inform the great emperor that periods have been fixed for the departure severally of the said foreigners; and on no account will we make any change.

They are required to give bonds to observe this prescribed period.

Let the said hong merchants take signed bonds from the said foreign merchants, severally, to observe this prescribed limit; and let them also give bonds for themselves, that they will not presume to suffer their stay beyond the period prescribed: the hong merchants shall be held responsible for them in their property: and these bonds they must deliver within three days. Let them not seek and hope for delay. And, as the said foreign merchants successively depart, let them on each occasion report the same, that examination may be made. If when the periods elapse they still linger and hesitate to go, it will then be seen that these foreign merchants are bound up in the love of their own private interests, and that they are minded to offer contumelious opposition. We, the governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, in the performance of our duties, will not assume the slightest degree of false coloring and vain pretext; nor will we show the least personal regard and consideration. We can only pursue our course with firm maintenance of the laws; ruling well, on the one hand those without, on the other those within, the empire's pale; and thus aim-

ing to display gloriously the majesty of heaven (the emperor). Say not that you were not forewarned. Tremblingly and attentively consider this. A special edict.

Taoukwang, 16th year, 11th month, 6th day. (13th Dec., 1836.)

No. 12.

Cultivat'ion of the Poppy.

THE *Papaver somniferum*, now so extensively cultivated for the purpose of obtaining its "inspissated juice," though probably a native of India, has been naturalized throughout almost every part of China and Europe. It was known in ancient times. Homer speaks of it under the name of *Μηκον*; and Virgil calls it *Cereale Papaver*, also *soporiferum*. Ovid makes the night to be crowned with it. In Hindústan it is called *post*; and by the Cingalese *albin atta*. The Japanese call it *kesi*, also *jeisoku*; and the Chinese, *yingsuh*. In modern Europe, it is the *garten-mohn* of the Germans; the *mak* of the Bohemians and Hungarians; and the *maczek* of the Poles. In the Linnean system, it belongs to the class polyandria, and order monogynia. It is an annual plant, with a glaucous colored stem, smooth, erect, and round; it seldom rises higher than five feet, has large, simple, obtuse, lobed and crenated leaves, embracing the stem, on which they are alternately placed; its flowers are large, terminal, and of a silver-grey, tinged with violet at the base.¹ In the wild plants the flowers are provided with only four petals; but in the double varieties the petals are very numerous, and vary in color from white to red and deep violet, with a hundred intervening shades. The capsules contain a great number of seeds.²

Description
of the poppy.

In Europe, the poppy is found as an ornamental plant in gardens; it is also extensively cultivated, but chiefly for the sake of the oil which is obtained from the seeds. The time of sowing is in autumn, and the crop is ready for harvesting in July or August following. The oil is used for culinary purposes.³

Its cultivation
in Europe, and

The greatest part of the opium used in Europe, as well as a part of that which finds its way to China, is produced in the Turkish empire. The process of cultivating the poppy and manufacturing the drug is very simple. When the poppies are fit for the harvest, the flower falls off, and the people, in the evening, go into the plantation, and with hooked knives make circular incisions round the capsules; from these there exudes a white milky juice, which, being exposed next day to the heat of the sun, concretes into a dark brown mass, and forms crude opium. On the next and several succeeding evenings they come and scrape this off, as long as the plant continues to exude it. This is called by the Turks *measlac*, and by the Greeks *ζηλον*, which literally signifies juice, and hence the name opium. That sent to Europe is always adulterated. They boil down the poppy heads with other narcotic plants, and having inspissated the juice, wrap it up in poppy leaves, and so send the impure mass in cakes to the market. The pure *measlac* they generally keep for their own use,

in the Turkish
empire.

when they wish to make *kef*, i. e., enjoy “an undefinable sensation of pleasure.” Accordingly, when a Turk wishes to make *kef*, he takes a drachm of opium; then adds a draught of water; and, throwing himself on his divan, is soon wrapt in Elysium.³

Early notices
of the poppy
by the Chi-
nese.

In very remote times, the Chinese seem to have known but little of either the poppy or its “inspissated juice.” The latter they call *á-fooyung*, also *ápeën*, and vulgarly *yápeën*. They say, however, that the signification of the name is not clear: “by some it is said, that *á*, in certain foreign languages, is the pronoun of the first person, and that the plant, from its resemblance to the *fooyung* (*hibiscus mutabilis*), is named *áfooyung*, ‘our hibiscus.’” The same author, who by the by wrote more than two centuries ago (yet here centuries past are but as years), gives the following account of the cultivation of the poppy. “Opium was formerly but little known. Those who have employed the drug in modern times, say that it is the exuded juice of the poppy. It is procured in the season when the poppy produces a green head, by piercing the outer green skin, with a large pointed instruments, in four or five places, being very careful, however, not to injure the inner integuments. This is done in the afternoon. The next morning, when the juice has exuded, it is scraped off, with a knife made of bamboo, placed in earthen pots, and dried in the shade. Hence we see the reason why the drug, when brought to the market, often has pieces of the pericarp mixed with it. Wang, in his “Medical Collectanea,” states, that it is procured from the red poppy of India, and that water must not be allowed to rest upon the heads, from which the juice is obtained, by piercing their green skin, which is done after the decay of the flowers, in the 7th and 8th months. But (continues the same author), the poppy having flowered and produced its fruit in the 5th month, how can there be any green skinned head to it in the 7th and 8th months? Perhaps, however, the period of flowering in India may be different from that in our own country.”⁴

Modern ac-
counts of it.

In modern times, the cultivation of the poppy has been greatly extended in China; and memorials to the emperor, requesting that prohibitions might be enacted to prevent this, have been presented from the provinces of Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, Chêkeäng, Shantung, Yunnan, Kweichow, &c. One of these memorials will serve as a specimen of the others, and afford some idea of the present mode and extent of cultivating the poppy and of manufacturing the drug in China.⁵ The memorial was written in 1830, by a censor, named Shaou Chinghwuh, a native of Chêkeäng. He names five departments, which probably include about one half of the province: they lie contiguous to each other, between the parallels of 27° 31' and 30° N. lat., and between 2° and 5° lon. E., of Peking. The following is the memorial.

Memorial
respecting it.

“Shaou Chinghwuh, censor, superintendent of roads, &c., &c., in the province of Chêkeäng, presents this memorial, in order to obtain the imperial will on the subject of which it treats.

“Opium is a product of foreign countries, and at first was only occasionally included in the list of medicines. Subsequently, villainous people induced others to use it ; and in this way the contaminating practice has passed from one to another, till it has spread over the whole country. It is, indeed, a *flowing poison* of no small influence. Traitorous natives have also, lately, engaged in planting the poppy and preparing the drug for sale. In Chêkeäng, my native province, the planters are the most numerous in the department Taechow foo; next to it, in the number of cultivators, are Ningpo foo, Shaouhing foo, Yenchow foo, and Wánchow foo. The mode of culture, as I have heard it described, is this; the seed of the poppy is sown in the 10th month of the year; in the 4th month of the following year, when the heads are formed, they are cut open and the white juice exudes. In this manner, may be obtained from one mow of land [about 6600 square feet] four or five catties [$1\frac{1}{3}$ lbs. per catty], which is boiled down to the consistency of soft clay. The article thus obtained in Taechow foo, is called the Tae juice, i. e., the juice of Taechow. There are some also who obtain opium from species of the alcea and hibiscus; and hence it is named, the juice of the alcea, or of the hibiscus. These two kinds of opium are quite like that which is brought from beyond sea, and there are large companies of petty traffickers, who, going continually from place to place, sell the drug, and thus openly and knowingly violate the laws. If this now be considered a trivial matter, and is not interdicted, it will, eventually, become so general, that government will be afraid to interfere. The said people, like flocks of ducks, run after gain; for it is supposed that from an acre planted with poppies, ten times as much profit can be gained as from one planted with rice. The people, therefore, presuming that government will not issue strict prohibitions, go to the utmost excess, without the least fear; and around all the cities, villages, hamlets, and markets, belonging to the departments named above, every place is covered with poppies; and all the inhabitants, both men and women, old and young, are employed in the production and sale of opium. Thus, within less than ten years, the evil has spread over a large part of this province, not only bringing injury on the good, but greatly retarding the work of the husbandman.

“I have heard, also, that in the provinces of Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, and Yunnan, the people produce and sell opium; and hence the drug is called the juice of Fuhkeën, the juice of Kwangtung, &c., according to the province in which it is produced.

“Considering that your majesty has frequently issued interdicts against the introduction of foreign opium, in order to stop villainy and prevent calamity; that the people are in multitudes planting the poppy and selling the drug; and that, if this cannot be effectually stopped, there is reason to fear, lest the effects of the flowing poison, spreading over every province of the empire, will eventually become more ruinous than the effects of that brought from beyond sea; it is my bounden duty to request, that your majesty will be pleased to order

It came first from abroad, is now spread over the country,—

Particularly in Chê-keäng.

Mode of culture.

It is also cultivated in Fuhkeën, Kwangtung, and Yunnan. Call for its interdiction.

the lieut.-governor of Chêkeäng, and the great officers of all the other provinces, carefully to examine the subject, and devise means for stopping the cultivation of the poppy and the production of opium, faithfully carrying into execution your majesty's commands. Then the sources of the evil will be effectually closed up, and the people daily increase in affluence. Whether my humble views are right or not, it is still my duty to lay them before your majesty."

In India its chief localities are Malwa, Benares, and Behar.

In India, the extent of territory occupied with the poppy, and the amount of population and capital engaged in its cultivation and in the preparation of opium, are far greater than in any other part of the world. Malwa, Benares, and Behar (Patna), are the chief localities; and nearly every chest of the drug, exported from India, bears one of their names, according to the part of the country in which it was produced. About one half of the whole product of India is obtained from Malwa. Though the chiefs of Malwa are under British protection, the management of the soil is entirely beyond the Company's authority, and both the cultivation of the poppy, and the production of opium are free. The traffic in the drug is also free, excepting "transit duties," which are levied upon it when passing through the British territories,⁶ as most of it does, on its way to Bombay, from whence it is exported to China. But in Benares, Behar, and throughout all the territories within the Company's jurisdiction, the cultivation of the poppy, the preparation of the drug, and the traffic in it, until it is brought to Calcutta, and sold at auction for exportation, are under a strict monopoly. Should an individual undertake the cultivation, without having "entered into engagements with the government to deliver the produce at the fixed rate," his property would be immediately attached,⁷ and the ryot compelled either to destroy his poppies, or give securities for the faithful delivery of the product. Nay, according to a late writer,⁸ "the growing of opium is compulsory on the part of the ryot." Advances are made by government, through its native servants; and if a ryot refuses the advance, "the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the peons seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. The business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fulfilment of his contract."

In Malwa its cultivation is free; i

In Benares and Behar it is monopolized.

Its cultivation greatly extended, in place of other articles.

Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with poppies, which require a very superior soil in order to produce opium in perfection.⁹ Hence, its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural purposes, where other plants, "grown from time immemorial," have been driven out before it. But though poppies are now spread over a wide extent of territory, the cultivation is still, as it has long been, rapidly on the increase. In 1821, in the single district of Sarun, belonging to the province of Behar, there were, according to the testimony of Mr. Kennedy (many years collector of land revenue and deputy opium agent in that district), between 15,000

and 20,000 bigahs of land (about $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acre per bigah) then under cultivation; in 1829, the amount was nearly or quite doubled.¹⁰ And the produce, in the mean time, had increased in a still greater degree. No plant, perhaps, depends so much on the soil, the season, and the mode of culture, as the poppy. In some districts, a bigah yields no more than one seer, or rather less than 2 lbs. While in others, ten, twelve, or more, times that amount is obtained. In the district of Sarun, the average was supposed to be five seers per bigah.¹¹ Not only should the best soil be selected, and that which can be easily irrigated, but careful attention should be given to the plant, through every stage of its growth, in order to bring it to perfection. Owing to its structure, having a long slender stalk and a heavy head, it is easily destroyed.¹² Sometimes the finest crops, covering the ground with white flowers like drifted snow, promising abundant produce, have been in an hour utterly ruined by hail-storms. Also the state of atmosphere, and the course of the winds, during the time the juice is being collected, greatly affect the produce. The best quality, and the greatest quantity, are obtained, when, with a very gentle breath from the north west, there are heavy dews, and the juice exudes freely, and so thick that it will not fall to the ground.

The plant easily injured.

The mode of cultivation pursued in the "Patna district," may afford a good idea of that which obtains in other places.¹³ The ryot, having selected a piece of ground, always preferring (*cæteris paribus*) that which is nearest his house, encloses it with a fence. He then, by repeated ploughings, makes it completely fine, and removes all the weeds and grass. Next he divides the field into two or more divisions, by small dikes of mould, running lengthways and crossways, according to the slope and nature of the ground. He afterwards divides the field into smaller squares, by other dikes leading from the principal ones. A pit, or sort of well, is dug about ten feet deep at one end of the field, from which, by a leathern bucket, water is raised into one of the principal dikes, and in this way it is carried to every part of the field, as required. This irrigation is necessary, because the cultivation is carried on in the dry weather. The seed is sown in November, and the juice is collected in February and March, during a period, usually, of about six weeks. Throughout the whole process, the ryot is assisted by his family and servants, both women and children. As soon as the plants spring up, the weeding and watering commence, and are continued till the poppies come to maturity. Perpendicular cuts or scraches are then made in the rind of the bulbous heads, with a muscle shell, found in all the tanks of the country. From these cuts the juice exudes, and is daily collected and delivered to the local officers.¹⁴ This is a very tedious process, requiring constant attention. When the poppies are exhausted, their color changes from green to white. The seeds contain no opium, and the labors of the season are now closed. The cultivator receives about $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees (\$1.65) for each seer of the poppy-juice, which is required to be of a specified consistency.¹⁵ This must be such that a gomastah can take it out of the vessel in which it is brought for delivery by the ryot, and turn it over

Mode of cultivation in the Patna district.

without its dropping off his hand: if it is not sufficiently dry to admit of this, it is either returned to the ryot for further evaporation, or an additional quantity must be delivered to make up the deficiency.

The lands cultivated, annually measured. The agency employed in the cultivation.

The lands under cultivation are measured every year,¹⁶ and their boundaries fixed, in order to prevent collision among those to whom they are assigned. The government annually enters into an engagement with the cultivators, through an intermediate agency, constructed in the following manner: there is, 1st, a collector, who is a European; 2dly, there are gomastahs, a superior class of men, both in education and caste; 3dly, sudder mattús, a respectable class of landholders; 4thly, village mattús, the principal villagers, a little superior to the ryots; and 5thly, the ryots, the chief laborers in the cultivation of poppies.¹⁷ The "engagement," entered into with the government, is this: when the poppy is ripe, and immediately before the period of extracting the juice, the gomastah and his establishment make a circuit of the country, and form, "by guess," a probable estimate of the produce of each field.¹⁸ *He then makes the ryot enter into an engagement with him to deliver the quantity thus estimated, and as much more as the field will yield, at the price previously fixed; if he fails to deliver the estimated quantity, and the collector has reason to suppose he has embezzled the deficiency, he is empowered by law to prosecute the ryot in the civil court for damages.*

The probable amount of product, in India, Turkey, and China.

The product in India, for the last year, it is said, amounts to about 35,000 chests. The Malwa averages about 134 lbs. per chest; the other, 116 lbs.¹⁹ The weight of a chest, however, varies; and is sometimes 140 lbs. In Turkey, the product may be 2,000 or more chests, annually. In regard to China, we have only the testimony of the counselor Choo Tsun, respecting his native province, Yunnan. The poppy, he says, is cultivated all over the hills and open campaign, and the quantity of opium annually produced there cannot be less than several thousand chests.²⁰

Conclusion.

From the foregoing statements, derived chiefly from official documents, the reader will be able to form some opinion, as to the extent of territory, and the amount of population and capital, now devoted to the production of opium. Taking into the account, the whole of Turkey, China, and India, it will be seen that, many thousands of acres, with millions of the inhabitants, are employed in the cultivation of poppies. The preparation of the drug for market, the traffic in it, its various uses, &c., are topics worthy of consideration, and may be noticed in subsequent numbers.

Notes. 1, Ainslie's *Materia Indica*, vol. 1, p. 275. 2, *Encyclopædia Americana*, vol. 9, p. 396. 3, Dr. Walsh's *Residence at Constantinople*, vol. 2, p. 192. 4, Le Shechin's *Puntsaou Kangmuh*, sec. 23, p. 23. 5, *Peking Gazette*, No. 97, dated Aug. 25th, 1830; also *Can. Reg.*, vol. 3, No. 24. 6, *Thornton's State and Prospects of India*, p. 231. 7, Kennedy in evidence on E. I. affairs, No. 763, 1833. 8, *Singapore Free Press*, Feb. 25th, 1836. 9, Stark in evidence, on E. I. affairs, No. 266. 10, Kenn., No. 718. 11, *Ibid.*, No. 776. 12, *Ibid.*, No. 1080. 13, *Singapore Free Press*, vol. 1, No. 21, Feb., 1836. 14, Stark, No. 257. 15, *Ibid.* No. 232; and Kenn. No. 789. 16, Kenn. No. 769. 17, *Ibid.*, Nos. 721 and 735. 18, *Ibid.*, No. 781. 19, Mr. Fleming's *Papers on revenue*, p. 401. 20, *Chinese Repository*, vol. 5, p. 393.

No. 13.

On the preparation of Opium for the Chinese market, written in March 1835, and then communicated to the Benares and Behár Agencies. By D. Butter, M. D., Surgeon 63d B. N. I., late opium examiner of the Benares Agency.

IN committing to paper, for the use of my successor in office, the following observations, I would beg, once for all, to disclaim the idea of their being infallibly correct: for, although they are the result of ten years' attention to their various subjects, I am aware of the disadvantages under which an individual labors, upon whom falls the task of first writing on any subject involving the discussion of obscure questions, and who is thus deprived of the benefit of the judgment of other persons; and am prepared to find my remarks hereafter greatly modified by the progress of discovery.

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

It therefore becomes a question, how the whole process of the production of opium from the sowing of the seed to the packing of the chests for sale, should be conducted so as to preserve with the least injury its native flavor and its solubility.

There can be no doubt that the quantity and richness of the milk obtained from each poppy-head depend greatly upon the geological and other physical conditions of the locality which produces it; especially the soil, sub-soil, manuring, and irrigation; and also upon the seed which is employed. But as these matters are, in the present circumstances of the Bengal agencies, little open to choice or control, the first *practical* inquiries which claim our attention relate to the extraction of the juice and its treatment while in the hands of the *koerís*.

Of the various processes for the preparation of sugar and medicinal extracts from vegetable juices, it is well known that distillation in vacuo is incomparably the most efficient in preserving unaltered the original taste of the sugar, and the taste, solubility, and therapeutic powers of the extracts. It is also known that this process owes its

Introduction.

Object of the agencies is to furnish an article for the Chinese market.

Process of preparation—In regard to the soil, culture, and extraction of juice.

Distillation in vacuo.

superiority to the exclusion of the chemical as well as the physical agency of the atmosphere, to its rapidity of exsiccation, and to the comparative lowness of temperature at which it is performed. When sugarcane juice, after even half an hour's exposure to the air, is boiled in a narrow deep vessel, and under the pressure of the atmosphere, vaporization goes on so slowly that the sugar has time to undergo the vinous and acetous fermentations, whereby a certain portion of it is converted into vinegar, before the heat can be raised high enough to check this change; and the high temperature, to which it is so long exposed during this slow vaporization, chars another portion, and converts it into molasses. Other vegetable juices, under similar circumstances, undergo analogous transformations: much of their substance is converted into vinegar; and the high temperature causes a partial decomposition of the rest: oxygen also is largely absorbed from the atmosphere, and greatly impairs the solubility of the dried extract.

Advisable,
and

On the principles which flow from these facts, it would be, *chemically* speaking, advisable to prepare opium by distilling in vacuo, large quantities of the milk just as it has oozed from the capsules; and I have no doubt that opium thus prepared would possess in an unprecedented degree the desired qualities of solubility and strength and purity of flavor, as well as narcotic power; and can imagine, that under a system of open trade in opium, this process would be *commercially* profitable. It would, however, be inapplicable under a monopoly constituted as the present system is; and I have mentioned it only with the view of pointing it out as the acme of that perfection in the preparation of vegetable juices to which we can, with our present means, only approximate.

Profitable.

Collection
of poppy-
juice.

That the approximation may proceed as far as possible, it will be necessary, first, that the poppy juice shall, at the time of collection, contain a minimum of water; so that its reduction to the proposed degree of spissitude may be effected in the shortest time, and be therefore attended with the least exposure to the air at a high temperature, and with the smallest consequent loss of solubility and of specific qualities that may be practicable.

How affect-
ed, by dews:

The goodness of the soil, and the management of the irrigation, are circumstances which powerfully affect the strength of the juice at the time of its collection: but a third agent, still less amenable than these to control, now comes into play, the precipitation of *dew* on the surface of the capsule. When a current of wind, or a cloudy sky, prevents the formation of dew, it is found that the scarifications made in the capsule about the middle of the preceding day are sealed up by the slight oozing of juice, which had immediately followed the incisions; and the quantity of opium obtained is small. When, again, the dew is abundant, it washes open the wounds in the capsules and thus facilitates the flow of the milk, which in heavy dews is apt to drop off the capsule entirely, and be wasted. But when the dew is in moderate quantity, it allows the milk to thicken by evaporation, and

to collect in irregular tiers, (averaging one grain of solid opium from each quadruple incision,) which on examination will be found to have a greater consistency, and a "rose-red" (*Werner*) color towards the external surface, while the interior is semi-fluid, and of a "reddish-white" color. This inequality of consistence constitutes the *grain of raw opium*, of which I shall have to speak hereafter.

In the collection of these drops of half dried juice, it is very apt to get mixed with the dew, which, in the earlier hours of collection continues to besprinkle the capsules, and which here does a double mischief; first, by retarding the inspissation of the general mass of the juice; and secondly, by separating its two most remarkable constituent parts, that which is soluble, and that which is insoluble, in water. So little aware, or so reckless, even under the most favorable construction of their conduct, are the *koéris* of the injury thus caused by the dew, that many of them are in the habit of occasionally washing their scrapers with water, and of adding the washings to the collection of the morning: in Malwa, oil is used for this purpose, to the irremediable injury of the flavor of the opium. On examining the juice thus mixed with water, it will be found that it has separated, as abovementioned, into two portions, a fluid and a more consistent substance; the latter containing the most of the resin, gluten, caoutchouc, and other less soluble constituents of opium, with part of the supermeconiate of morphia; and the former containing the gum, some resin, and much of the supermeconiate of morphia, and much of the coloring principle, which, though pale at first, is rapidly affected by light, and acquires a very deep "reddish or blackish brown" color. Many *koéris* are in the habit of draining off this fluid portion into a separate vessel, and of bringing it under the name of *paséwá'*, for sale, at half the price of opium, to the Benares agency, where it is used as *léwá* (paste for the petal envelops of the cakes). Others, after allowing the soluble principles to become thus changed into an acescent, blackened, sluggish fluid, mix it up with the more consistent part of their opium, and bring the whole for sale in this mixed state; the consequence of which is that they are subjected to a penalty, called *battá upon paséwá*, and regulated by the estimate of the opium examiner of the quantity of *paséwá* contained. This penalty is the only efficient check upon this most pernicious practice of the *koéris*; for on the generality of the *gomáshtas*, it is difficult to impress the necessity of their looking after the *koéris* during the collecting season. Were *gomáshtas* in general fit for their offices, the name of *paséwá* might be banished from the Bengal agencies; all that is required for that purpose being that they should instruct all their *mahta's* and *koéris's*, to exclude dew as much as possible from the opium at collection, never to add water to their opium, then or at any other period, but at the end of their day's collection, to rub it together in a mortar or similar vessel, breaking down the *grain* of it abovementioned, so as to reduce the whole to a homogeneous semi-fluid mass, which should be dried as quickly as possible in the shade, in a current of air, free from

Or by any other substance collected with it.

Admixture of *paséwá*,

dust, by spreading it on any clean flat surface, and turning it over ten or twenty times. With this management, one afternoon in the dry collecting season would suffice for bringing to the spissitude of 70 per cent. the collection of each day, which could then be secured, along with the rest of the *koéris* opium, in a vessel of any form, safe from deterioration by internal change. It is a common belief, that all new opium *must* ferment:* but that is a fallacy occasioned by the low degree of spissitude at which opium is generally received at the Bengal agencies, and by the consequent fermentation and swelling up which almost, constantly occur, when such opium is allowed to stand for some hours in large vessels.

But now less than formerly:

So very large was formerly the admixture of *paséwá* in the opium brought to the Benares agency, that it was thought necessary, for the sake of its appearance, to draw off as much as possible of the black fluid, by storing it for weeks, in earthen vessels, perforated with a hole. Of late years, there has been a great amendment in this respect, and the draining system has therefore become unnecessary; an event which ought to be followed by the abolition of the inconvenient receptacles in which it was carried on, and by the general substitution of moveable wooden cases and drawers in their stead.

Its characteristics and effects.

Paséwá, in a pure and concentrated state, is a viscid, dark, reddish-brown fluid, transparent in thin plates. Its homogeneous physical constitution prevents its assuming to the eye that appearance of consistency which is presented by ordinary opium. In the former, all the ingredients are in a state of true chemical combination, with the water contained; while, in the latter, many of the ingredients are only in a state of mechanical mixture, a condition which almost necessarily gives an appearance of solidity beyond all proportion to the actual quantity of solid matter contained. Hence, *paséwá*, and opium containing *pásewá*, are less consistent, and would, to the inexperienced eye, appear to contain much more water than pure opium of the same actual spissitude; a source of much perplexity to any one who tries for the first time to estimate, by the consistence, the real spissitude or dry contents of different samples of opium containing more or less of *paséwá*. A tentative process is the only one by which a person can qualify himself to estimate the spissitude with tolerable accuracy. He should, before allowing the *parkhiyas* to state their estimate of the spissitude, form one in his own mind, and make a memorandum of it, noting his reasons for assigning the degree of spissitude on which he fixed. The result of the steam-drying test, to which small samples of all opium are subjected in the Benares agency, will then enable him to judge on which side, whether under or over estimate, he has inclined to err, and to avoid the error in his subsequent operations.

* Dr. Abel believed that fermentation was necessary for the developement of the narcotic principle, and considered the fermentation as of a panary species, in which the gluten played a principal part.

The constituents of *paséwá* are in a state of chemical combination; and the slow addition of water will not subvert that condition. But the sudden affusion of a large quantity of water on concentrated *paséwá*, instantly resolves it into two portions, a dark colored fluid containing the gum, coloring matter, and super-meconiate and acetate of morphia, and a lighter colored powder, consisting of the resin and some gluten, and a minute portion of caoutchouc. In making *léwá*, therefore, from *paséwá*, or from inferior opium, the necessary quantity of water should be slowly added, and thoroughly mixed previously to the addition of more water. Pure opium is liable to the same resolution of its component parts, from the sudden affusion of water: if the latter be slowly added and thoroughly mixed, the gelatinous opium will absorb it, forming a species of hydrate, and will retain its tremulous consistence; but if the water be suddenly added in considerable quantity, an immediate separation of the more and less soluble constituents occurs, and the opium loses its gelatinous and adhesive character. When opium is dried up to a certain point, below the spissitude of 80 per cent., it loses the power of absorbing water without decomposition, and cannot be brought to the gelatinous state. It might be expected, that, by adding 30 parts of water to 70 of dry opium powder, we should produce a combination possessing the consistence and other physical characters of fresh standard* opium; but the compound has little *consistence*, and will be found to contain insoluble portions, which have lost their power of forming hydrates with water: yet its *spissitude* remains exactly that of standard opium, the precise quantity of dry opium employed in making it being recoverable from it, but in a darkened and deteriorated condition. The above observations have a practical bearing upon the manufacture of *léwá*, as has already been noticed, and upon the degree of spissitude which opium, either in the hands of the *koéris* or in the agency godowns, should be permitted to acquire: it should be limited to 66 or 67 per cent. for the former, and 70 or 72 for the latter; because, with every additional degree of spissitude above this, the solubility is impaired in an increasing ratio.

Among some thoughts on the subject committed to writing six years ago, I find the following remark and query: "The whole of the original milky juice will pass through a finer filter than that used by the Chinese in making the extract for smoking: is it possible to dry the opium, retaining its property of such minute division and diffusibility; or is it necessary for the complete separation of the water from the resin, gluten, caoutchouc, &c., that *some* absorption of oxygen should take place, and some consequent diminution of their solubility, or rather miscibility with water?" My reason for noticing this query is the subsequent solution of the proposed problem by M.

Its constituents.

Manufacture of *léwá*.

Problem of M. Previte.

* So called, because this is the degree of spissitude required at the Bengal agencies for the full price allowed by government. On parcels of opium, inferior to this in spissitude, a penalty is levied, called *battá upon consistence*.

Previte of Calcutta, in the highly similar case of animal milk, which he appears to have succeeded in drying to a powder with no perceptible injury to the diffusibility of its curdy and oleaginous principles. This is the very result that should be aimed at in the preparation of opium for the Chinese market.

Properties of poppy-juice when properly dried.

When the juice of the poppy has been properly dried, that is, rapidly, in a cool shade, and protected from dust, it possesses, at the spissitude of 70 per cent., (that is, containing 30 per cent. of water,) the following properties. It has in the mass a "reddish brown" color (*Werner*), resembling that of copper (the metallic lustre obstructed); and when spread thin on a white plate, shows considerable translucency, with a "gallstone yellow" color, and a *slightly* granular texture. When cut into flakes with a knife, it exhibits sharp edges, without drawing out into threads; and is tremulous, like jelly, or rather strawberry jam, to which it has been aptly compared. It has considerable adhesiveness, a handful of it not dropping from the hand inverted for some seconds. Its smell is the pure peculiar smell of opium, heavy and not unpleasant. In this condition it is said to be "standard" or "*awwal*" opium.

Its appearances when kept in deep vessels.

When the juice, again, instead of being thus exposed to the air, has after collection been kept in deep vessels, which prevent evaporation, it presents the following appearances. A specimen of it which has the spissitude of only 60 per cent. has the apparent consistence or substantiality of standard opium of 70 per cent. But on minuter examination, it will be found, that this apparent firmness of texture is a deception, resulting from the mechanical constitution of the mass; it being made up with but little alteration of the original *irregular drops* collected from the capsule, soft within, and more inspissated without; this outer portion, as long as it remains entire, giving the general character of consistency to the mass, just as the shells of a quantity of eggs would do. For, when the opium is rubbed smartly in a mortar, this fictitious consistence disappears, exactly as that of the eggs, if pounded, would do; and in point of apparent consistence, as well as of real spissitude, it is reduced to the proportion which it properly bears to standard opium. When opium thus retains the original configuration of the irregular drops, it is said to be "*kachá*" or "raw," when these are broken down into the *minute grain*, mentioned in the description of standard opium, it is said to be "*pakka*" or "*matured*," whatever may be the actual spissitude of the opium, whether 50 or 70 per cent. An opinion has been entertained, but on what grounds I know not, that the breaking down of this large grain is an injury to the opium; to myself it seems plain, that, as the large grain *always* disappears before the opium attains the spissitude of 70 per cent., and as this vesicular constitution of the raw opium retards the evaporation of its superfluous moisture, the more inspissated shell of each irregular drop checking the evaporation from its more fluid interior, the object should be to reduce the whole with the least possible delay to a nearly homogeneous mass, in which state the inspissation of opium advances with much greater rapidity.

Connected with this subject, is a question which has been raised, whether the inspissation of opium stored in large quantities in the agency godowns is effected more quickly, by removing, from time to time, into another receptacle, the pellicle of thick opium which forms on the surface of the mass; or by turning over the mass frequently, and thus constantly mingling with it the pellicles successively formed. As agreeably to the general law of chemical affinity, whereby the last portions of any substance held in combination, and in course of gradual expulsion, are retained with increasing obstinacy, the inspissation of thin, is, *cæteris paribus*, always more rapid in its progress than that of thick opium; it is clear that the removal of the pellicle, by which opium of minimum spissitude is constantly exposed to the air, must accelerate the inspissation more than the turning over of the whole mass would do; because the latter process exposes to the air opium which is gradually acquiring a greater degree of concentration, and from which the evaporation will gradually be *slower and slower*. As evaporation takes place from the external surface only, it may be proper here to advert to the propriety of making all reservoirs for opium below the standard spissitude as numerous and shallow as may be permitted by the means of stowage; every practicable method being at the same time adopted to facilitate ventilation across, and to exclude dust from, the extensive surfaces exposed; and as little light being admitted as may be suitable to the convenience of the people at work.

Its inspissation, how effected.

It might be expected, from the ingenuity of the natives of this country, and from their imperfect notions of fair trade, that they would resort to a great variety of means for increasing, by adulteration, the weight of such an article as opium, in which fraud might be made so difficult of detection. But in fact, it is seldom that they attempt any thing of the kind, beyond keeping their opium at a low spissitude; an act by which, under the present searching system of examination, they cannot profit; and which, from its occasioning a deterioration of their opium through fermentation, entails the levying of a *battá* upon its quality, and therefore, in those cases, an inevitable loss. It is impossible that opium left to itself in the open air, during the parching season of the hot winds, could remain at the low spissitudes of 50 and 60 per cent., at which it is frequently brought to Gházipur towards the end of that season: and we must therefore conclude, that artificial means are resorted to, in order to maintain it in that condition; either the frequent addition of water, or the burying it in a damp piece of ground, which is said to be sometimes done for the sake of security. When these malpractices have been carried too far, the gluten undergoes in a greater or less degree the process of putrefaction; the mass of opium first becoming covered with mould, and acquiring an opaque "yellowish grey" color and a pasty consistence, in which every vestige of the translucency and *grain* of the opium is lost; and the smell becoming venous, sour, and at last abominably fetid; in which condition the deteriorated opium is fit for none of the purposes of the

Means of adulterating opium.

manufacture, and is always destroyed, and its original value forfeited, by the *ko'ris*. It is to be hoped that their experience of the unvarying consequences of such folly, and the introduction of a superior class of *gomáshtas*, will in time convince them of the advantage, as well as the facility, of bringing in all their opium at very nearly the standard spissitude.

By adding
water, by
boiling, &c.

In some cases it would appear, from the fluid state in which they bring it for sale, as if they expected every drop of water which they add to it, to be assimilated and converted into opium. Occasionally, it would seem that they had admitted some suspicions of its having been watered too much; and their only remedy is to drive off the superfluous water by boiling: an operation which speedily reduces the mixture to a blackened and charred condition, easily recognized.

A more ingenious fraud, but which is seldom practiced, is, that of *washing out* the soluble and most valuable part of the opium, and bringing for sale the residual mass. In this process, the opium loses its translucency, and the *redness* of its color: it loses its adhesiveness also, not adhering to the hand like opium which has not been robbed of its soluble principle; and by these marks, without going further, the fraud is detected. *Sand* is now and then added, to increase the weight, and is at once detected by its grittiness when rubbed between a plate and a spatula.

Soft clayey mud is also, but very rarely, used for the same purpose: it always impairs the color and translucency; and can, as well as sand, be detected, and its quantity accurately ascertained, by washing the opium with a large quantity of water, and collecting the sediment, which is the clayey mud.

Sugar and *gur*, or coarse molasses, are sometimes employed to adulterate opium: they invariably ferment and give it a sickly, sweetish, venous, or acescent odor easily known.

Cow-dung, the pulp of the *dhatúra*, or thorn-apple, and the gummy resinous juice of the *bél*, or Bengal quince, are seldom met with as fraudulent ingredients: the first may be detected by drying it to a powder, or by washing it with water, either of which processes brings under the eye the undigested shreds of vegetable matter, constituting the animal's food; but the two last are extremely difficult of detection, if not added in quantity sufficient to affect the color and smell of the opium, which generally happens in the few instances of their occurrence. The seeds of the *dhatúra* are apt to get mixed with the opium, and afford a ready means of detection. A strange, but not uncommon, mode of adulteration is the addition of *pounded poppy seeds*: if reduced to a fine powder, the oleaginous seeds might enter into an imperfect chemical union with the kindred resinoid principle of the opium; but the fraud is never so skillfully effected as to produce this result; and the hard particles of the seeds are perceptible to the touch and sight. Malwa opium, though less now than it was eight years ago, is in general largely contaminated with oil, which is easily separated by dissolving the opium in water; and I have seen, in a few

instances, the same fraud attempted within the Benares agency. As the oil is always in a rancid condition, its presence is betrayed by its odor, as well as by the glistening appearance which it communicates to the opium.

By long exposure to the heat of the sun, the texture of opium, whatever be its spissitude, undergoes a remarkable change, through the conversion of parts of its gluten into a species of birdlime. Its shortness, or property of exhibiting sharp edges, when cut into flakes with a knife, disappears; and it draws out into long threads.

These two varieties of texture may almost always be recognized in cakes of Behár and Benares opium respectively; the former being exposed to the sun, in the process of drying the cakes, and the latter not. This diversity of treatment occasions a difference between the hygrometric properties of the cakes of the two agencies; the Behár cakes acquiring a more speedy but less permanent hardness than the Benares: whereby, though firmer in the shell towards the end of the hot winds, they are more liable than the Benares to soften and lose their shape during the rains. The immediate cause of this difference appears on making a clean section of the shells with a sharp knife. It will thus be found, that in the Benares shells, the *lé'wá'* remains visibly interstratified with the petals, dark-colored, and tenacious; while in the Behár, it is in a great measure absorbed by the petals, which are apparently in intimate contact with each other, and is not to be distinguished from them; the *combination* being more easily effected by hygrometric changes of the atmosphere than the *independent* strata of leaf and *lé'wa* in the Benares cakes.

While, as at present, a considerable amount of inferior opium is produced, not safely applicable to any other purpose than the manufacture of *lé'wá'*, its sacrifice is no great loss. But if all the opium brought to the agencies were of a good quality, the substitution of some less expensive vegetable paste would be an important desideratum. Any strong cheap mucilage or farinaceous paste, or perhaps some indigenous imitation of bird-lime, would answer for the inner portion of the shell; and an exterior coating of a resinous, waxy, or oily nature, impervious to water, would defend this from the moisture of the air.

In cutting open a cake for examination, the above points should be attended to. It should also be observed whether the external and internal surfaces of the shell are smooth: the former not knotty or fissured, and none of the interior leaves of the latter detached among the opium: there ought, also, to be no vacuities between the strata of the leaves, such as are sometimes found, lined with mould, in faulty cakes, and the shell altogether ought to be thin, compact, and of equal thickness throughout. The shape ought to be as nearly spherical as possible: that being the geometrical form which under the smallest surface contains the greatest quantity of matter, and which consequently affords the least scope for the extrication of air, and ultimate injury to the shape of the cake when that air escapes.

Affected by the heat of the sun.

Difference between the opium of Behár and Benares.

Examination of cakes;

Greater attention to having the earthen cups, in which the cakes are dried, perfectly hemispherical, instead of parabolical as they now are, would contribute to the desired sphericity.

Points of attention.

In opening a cake, the next thing to be attended to is the manner in which the two hemispheres of the opium separate; the Behár will be found to retain its *shortness*, while the Benares draws out into threads. The smell should then be attentively observed and noted down, being strongest immediately after the opening, and giving at that instant the fairest indications of the taste of the opium with respect to preservation; the pure narcotic, venous or acescent odor being then most strongly perceptible: in this respect the Benares will generally prove superior to the Behár. It is an important character; for the Chinese are great epicures in the flavor of opium, and object to it when it smells at all sour.

Surface of the cakes.

The surface of the opium should then be narrowly inspected, and the tint and shade of color, both by reflected and transmitted light, noted down, in terms of Werner's nomenclature; also the apparent quantity of *paséwa'* if any be present, which is almost constantly the case with Behár opium, where it appears like dark glistening fluid, lining the little cells in the surface of the opium. As the depth of the color of opium in the caked state depends on the quantity of *paséwa'* in it, or the degree in which it has been deteriorated by exposure to the sun, the lighter the shade, the better is the opium.

The chemical analysis yet incomplete.

The chemical analysis of opium, after all the trouble that has been bestowed on it, is still in an unsatisfactory state. A perfect analysis, such as we possess of Peruvian bark, and of some other medicinal plants yielding vegetable alkalies, ought to eliminate the whole of the active principles, leaving nothing at its close but an inert mass possessed of no therapeutic power: and the essential principles thus obtained should equal (or, as in the case of quina freed from its bulky fibrous accompaniment, surpass) in activity, a quantity of the original substance equal to that from which it was extracted. But how greatly inferior are the powers over the animal economy, of a grain of morphia, in whatever state of purity or saline combination, to the quantity of opium that is required to furnish that single grain! Yet, for all that we can, chemically, see, we obtain by our analysis the whole of the morphia that is contained in opium. I suspect that the narcotic power is partly lodged in some unknown substance (not narcotic) insoluble in water: for I have, after careful and repeated washing until it ceased to color the water, found the insoluble residuum to act as an opiate with considerable energy. Although morphia, in a state of purity, can, like sulphur, be fused without change; yet, when in combination with the other constituents of opium, it is partly destroyed by a much lower degree of heat, greatly under that of boiling water; for the pharmaceutical and Chinese extracts are found to contain very little morphia; still, the former, as is well known, exerts great medicinal power, out of all proportion to the quantity of morphia, which analysis evolves from them. From all these considerations

it would result that the proportion of morphia obtained, by the analysis at present known, cannot be regarded as a true exponent of the total narcotic power of the opium which yields it. An additional source of fallacy in comparing the produce of different countries exists in the varying proportions which they contain of coloring matter, or extraction; a principle for which morphia and narcotine have a strong affinity, forming insoluble compounds* with it; and which, as well as narcotine, is much more abundant in Indian than in Turkey opium. Hence a considerable loss in the purification of morphia from the former, and an apparent, and probably real, inferiority in its quantity; although we know that good India opium is equal to Turkey in narcotic power.

Robiquet's process is the one employed by the opium examiner in Calcutta. The chief precautions necessary to ensure success and uniformity in its results are, not to use too much water at first; to see that the magnesia is brought to a red heat; not to expose any of the subjects of analysis to the sun, or to artificial heat, except in the washing and final solution in alcohol of the morphia; not to use too strong a spirit in washing the morphia and excess of magnesia; and to employ the strongest alcohol for its final solution before crystallization. Ser-tuerner's process is useful where it is not necessary to obtain the morphia in a separate state: and in practiced hands affords speedy and tolerably accurate information. It is probable that Robiquet's process will in time be superseded by that of the late Dr. Wm. Gregory, Edinburgh, which does not acquire the expensive use of alcohol, and yields more morphia, by 30 or 40 per cent.; affording in fact, the cheapest medicinal preparation known of Turkey opium. It consists in the exhaustion of the opium with water under the temperature of 90°; concentration of the solution at a low temperature; precipitation by slight excess of ammonia; elutriation of the precipitate with cold water; exsiccation of it at a temperature below 213°, and reduction to powder; solution in cold water by muriatic acid, slowly added in slight excess; filtration and concentration to the consistence of syrup; after which, the preparation on cooling, becomes a mass of crystals of muriate of morphia, moistened with a dark-colored solution of uncrystallizable muriate of narcotine and resinoid coloring matter. This solution is abstracted from the crystals by strong pressure between folds of bibulous paper; and the solution, crystallization, and expression repeated once or twice; after which the salt is obtained in radiated bunches of snow white silky crystals, containing 37 parts of muriatic acid and 322 of morphia. But for the unfortunate superabundance of narcotine, and comparative paucity of *obtainable* morphia, in Indian opium, the manufacture of the muriate on a large scale might advantageously be established, at one of the Bengal agencies, for the supply of the Indian medical department with this admirable preparation, the marc (?) of which would be available for the manufacture of *léwá*.

* This may partly account for the medical activity of the mass of opium above noticed.

Robiquet's process to ensure success in its result, adopted;

and that of Dr. Gregory described and found less expensive.

Care requisite in the accuracy of the weights and balances.

Connected with the subject of analysis is another which claims some attention from the opium examiner, the accuracy and sensibility of the weights and balances used in his department. Neither of them should ever be allowed to be soiled with opium; and the former should occasionally be compared, to see that all weights of similar denominations mutually correspond within one-tenth of a grain, and that the larger and smaller weights are equally accurate multiples and sub-multiples of each other. The knife-edges of the balances should occasionally be sharpened, so that they may turn with as little friction as possible; and the three points of suspension, whenever deranged, should be brought into a perfectly straight line, by bending the beam with the hand: if the centre edges be too low, the balance will, when loaded with its proper weights, be in a state of unstable equilibrium, and will cause great mistakes; and if they be too high, the balance will lose its sensibility, and cannot be depended upon within perhaps two grains. Care should also be taken that the distance from centre-edges to arm-edges are exactly equal; from accidental violence, this element of accuracy is very apt to be deranged, and causes great confusion when overlooked.

Battá or paséwá not to be admitted in the godown, but into the receiver's and koéris's, account.

Were all the opium brought for sale unexceptionable in quality, free from *paséwá*, and liable to battá on account of deficient spissitude only, there would be, supposing the battá levied with tolerable accuracy little difference at the end of the manufacturing season, between the registered receipts and expenditure of opium: and, supposing it levied with *strict* accuracy, there would be a small loss, occasioned by accidental spilling of semi-fluid opium, adhesion to the persons and clothes of the work-people, and other unavoidable sources of waste. But as, in the present state of things, battá to a considerable amount is levied on quality, the effect of its deduction, if not kept separate from the battá on spissitude, would be to show, at the end of the year, a deceptive deficiency of receipt compared with expenditure. Battá upon quality, or *paséwá*, therefore, should not be admitted into the godown accounts; and should be confined to the account between the receiving-officer and the *koéris*'s.

The specific gravity is the only means of ascertaining the quantity of paséwá in the opium.

There are no satisfactory experiential means, except perhaps by the specific gravity, of ascertaining the precise quantity of *paséwá* in opium. It will hardly drain at all from opium of higher spissitude than 60 per cent., and not readily from opium of even that spissitude, unless assisted by a slight fermentation, which greatly facilitates its flow: the *paséwá* trickling down the sides of the air-vesicles thus formed. The only convenient rule for the adjustment of battá upon *paséwá*; or upon quality generally, is, that absolute *paséwá*, if not too thin, and the worst opium purchased for the Company, being paid for at half the price of standard opium; for different grades of inferiority in quality between those two conditions, as fair a gradation of penalties shall be fixed, as can be formed from an estimate of the sensible qualities.

It has been thought, that specific gravity might prove an accurate index of the spissitude of opium; which is, however, not the

case; its soluble principles, and that portion of its insoluble constituents which, slightly modified, unite with the soluble in forming *paséwá*, acquiring, in their transition to this altered state, a considerable increase of density. Opium, therefore, containing *paséwá*, is much heavier than an equal *bulk*, at the *same* spissitude, of pure opium. I have found this condensation to bear the same proportion to the quantity of *paséwá* apparently contained: and it might, probably be found to indicate, with considerable accuracy, the proper amount of *battá* to be levied for *paséwá*, were such nicety desirable or conveniently attainable.

The regulation of government, which requires civil surgeons to report upon the relative value of parcels of confiscated opium, according to the quantity of foreign matter which they may contain, is obscure on two important points: first, whether, and beyond what degree of thinness, *water* is to be considered as foreign matter; and, secondly, whether and beyond what degree of deterioration, fermented and *paséwá*, converted opium, when contained in the contraband article, are to be considered as "foreign matter." I have been in the habit of regarding them as foreign, when the *water* exceeded 30 per cent., and when inferiority in quantity was palpable; because a different practice would defeat the end, for which the regulation was framed, of securing a fair reward to the informer. Under a less strict interpretation of the rule, he would be tempted to double the weight of the seized opium, and consequently his own reward, by adding to it, a sufficient quantity of *water*, or of bad opium, such as may at all times be clandestinely purchased for a trifle in the poppy districts.

The government regulation obscure in two points.

No. 14.

The traffic in opium carried on with China.

ENOUGH is known of the early history of this traffic to show that the rapidity of its increase, during the last seventy years, especially in China, is unprecedented in the annals of commerce. The plan of sending opium from Bengal to China, was suggested by colonel Watson, and adopted by Mr. Wheeler, then vice-resident in council.¹ Before the year 1767, says an Indian journalist,² the import of "this pernicious drug," into China, rarely exceeded 200 chests: that year it amounted to 1000; at which rate it continued for many years, in the hands of the Portuguese. In 1773, the British East India Company made a small adventure of opium from Bengal to China.³ About 1780,⁴ a depôt of this article was established by the English, on board of two small vessels, stationed in a bay to the southward of Macao, called Lark's Bay,⁴ where they often sold their opium for 500 or 600 dollars, the price in Bengal being about 500 rupees per chest.

In 1781, the product of opium for one year was lying unsold in the Company's ware-houses in Calcutta, their shipping being employed in supplying Madras with rice, and the seas being infested with French and Dutch cruisers. Under these circumstances the Bengal

Its early history.

Plan of sending opium to China suggested:

Adventure by the British E. I. Comp.

Depôt in Lark's Bay.

Two ships freighted by the Bengal government.

government, unable to obtain "reasonable offers" for their opium in Calcutta, determined to export it themselves: accordingly, two ships were freighted, one to the Indian Archipelago, and one to China, their proceeds were to be paid into the Company's treasury at Canton. "The Bengal government drew against this for ten lacs, then for ten more; and issued to their civil and military servants, certificates on Canton, there to be exchanged for bills on London: this measure afforded a seasonable relief to the Company's finances." That part of the opium which was sent to Chiua, was freighted in one of their armed vessels, which in those days appear to have been allowed to enter the river, within the Bogue, "free of measurement duties." But the drug came to a bad market; and the supercargoes, after much delay and difficulty, were obliged to dispose of it at 210 head-dollars (which were at two per cent. discount, in reference to pillar-dollars). The opium was purchased by Sinqua, a hong merchant, who had previously conducted an extensive business at Macao. Sinqua, however, was very anxious that Pwankequa, the senior in the cohong should take a share in the purchase; but the latter was unwilling to expose himself to his enemies in this way, as opium was then understood to be, and had long been, an interdicted article of trade. (?) The quantity purchased by Sinqua was 1600 chests; 1200 had already been imported; these 2800 chests so over-stocked the market, that Sinqua reshipped the greater part of his purchase for the Malay coasts. In 1791, the price of the drug ranged from 360 to 380 dollars per chest.⁵ In the reign of Keënlung, as well as previously, opium was inserted in the tariff of Canton as a medicine, subject to a duty of three taels per hundred catties, with an additional charge of two taels, four mace, and five candereens, under the name of charge per package.⁶

The opium purchased by a hong merchant;

And in the tariff was inserted as a medicine, subject to duty.

Chinese authorities complain of the ships in Lark's Bay.

A ship exclusively laden with opium comes to Whampoa.

Special laws enacted against the importation and use of the drug.

The Chinese authorities seem not to have taken any public notice of the vessels which imported opium until 1793, when they began to complain of the vessels lying in Lark's Bay.⁵ In 1794, after many ineffectual attempts to establish themselves under the sanction of the Portuguese government, and being constantly annoyed both by the Chinese government and pirates at Lark's Bay, the parties concerned in the trade were induced to bring one of their ships, laden exclusively with opium, to Whampoa, where she lay unmolested for more than fifteen months, with from 290 to 300 chests of the drug on board. This practice, of bringing opium to Whampoa in foreign vessels, continued till 1820, and without any interruption or molestation, except an attempt, in 1819, to search those vessels which were supposed to have it on board. Meanwhile, however, the Chinese government enacted special laws to prevent both the importation and the use of the drug. In the 4th year of Keäking (1799), Keihking, of the imperial kindred, and then the governor of this province, "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.⁷ In 1800, the Chinese prohibited the importation of opium, and denounced heavy penalties on the contravention of their orders. In consequence of this, the supercargoes of the East India Company recommended to the Court of Directors, to endeavor to prevent the shipment of the article for China, either in England or Bengal.¹ Early in the 14th year of Keäking (1809), the governor of Canton, then holding the seals of the commissioner of maritime customs, published an edict, requiring the hong merchants, when presenting a petition for a ship to discharge her cargo at Whampoa, to give bonds that she has no opium on board. The governor then proceeded to declare, that, since it was well known to all parties to be a contraband article, in case of disobedience, the vessel should not only not be permitted to discharge her cargo, but should be expelled from the port, and the security merchants brought to trial for their misdemeanor.⁵ This edict was often repeated, by orders from Peking. In 1815, governor Tseäng sent up a report to the emperor concerning some traitorous natives who had established themselves as dealers in opium at Macao: in reply, commands were given to carry the laws rigorously into execution. It does not appear, however, that the commands were put in force. In 1820, governor Yuen took up the subject, in conjunction with Ah, the commissioner of maritime customs. The following proclamation bears date of April 5th, 1820.⁸

“Yuen, the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Ah, the hoppo of Canton, hereby issue a proclamation to the hong merchants, with the contents of which let them make themselves fully acquainted. Opium is an article which has long been most strictly prohibited by his imperial majesty’s commands, and frequent proclamations have been issued against it, which are on record. But the passages on the coast of Canton being very numerous, Macao being the resort of foreigners, and Whampoa being the anchorage for foreign ships, should be more strictly watched and searched. It is found on record, that during the 20th year of Keäking, the then governor Tseäng, reported to court, and punished the abandoned Macao merchants, Choomeiqwa and others, for buying and selling opium. The emperor’s will was then most reverently received to this effect:

“When the Portuguese ships arrive at Macao, it is incumbent to search and examine each ship. And let the governor widely publish a proclamation, stating, that opium, being an article produced abroad, and from thence flowing into China, and as every region has its usages and climate proper for itself, and differing from others, the celestial empire does not forbid you people to make and eat opium, and diffuse the custom in your native place. But that opium should flow into the interior of this country, where vagabonds clandestinely purchase and eat it, and continually become sunk into the most stupid and besotted state, so as to cut down the powers of nature, and destroy life, is an injury to the manners and minds of men of the greatest magnitude; and, therefore, opium is most rigorously prohibited by law. Often have imperial edicts

The hong merchants required to give bonds that ships coming to Whampoa have no opium on board.

Traitorous natives dealt in opium at Macao.

Governor Yuen’s proclamation to the hong merchants.

Macao merchants punished.

Portuguese ships required to be examined on their arrival.

Commercial transactions disallowed in case opium is found on board a ship.

been received, commanding a search to be made; and it is absolutely impossible to suffer you people to bring it, in a smuggling manner, and disperse it by sale. Hereafter, when your ships arrive at Macao, they must all and each be searched and examined. If one ship brings opium, whatever other cargo the said vessel may contain, will all be rejected; and all commercial transactions with her be disallowed. If every vessel brings opium, then the whole cargo of every vessel will be rejected; and none of the ships be permitted to trade; and the ships, in the state they come, will be driven out, and sent back to their country. As to you people, who live in Macao, since you occupy the territory of the celestial empire, you therefore ought to obey the laws and regulations of the celestial empire. If you presume, without public authority, to act and frame rules for yourselves, and cherish schemes of approaching near to grasp illicit gains, the laws are prepared to punish you; and just as in the case of those who in China clandestinely promulgate the Roman Catholic religion, they will assuredly severely punish your crimes, and will not show any indulgence. In this manner let an explicit and pointed proclamation be published to the said foreigners, and no doubt they will, every one of them, be afraid, and yield implicit obedience, and not dare to oppose the prohibition, and to sell opium. And hereafter let a true and faithful search be made, as before, and so the source from which the evil springs will be cut off. Respect this."

Macao custom-house officers directed to search and prevent smuggling of opium: "

The same to be done at Whampoa.

Conclusion.

Connivance of local officers.

"Former proclamations were published, and stand on record; and since that time, four or five years have elapsed; and it is feared, that remissness may have crept in by length of time. It is probable, though not certain, that, when the Portuguese ships anchor in Macao harbor, there may be avaricious vagabonds, who smuggle opium into the port, and therefore the Macao deputy custom-house officers have been ordered to search very strictly and faithfully. With respect to Whampoa, it is the anchorage of all the foreign ships, and although I, the governor, appoint to each ship an attending officer; and I, the hoppo, also appoint tide-waiters, who watch the ship on each side, and make due search, which seems as strict a guard as can be kept; still the seamen are not all good men; it is impossible to be surely, that they never connect themselves with native vagabonds, and seize opportunities of smuggling. Therefore, strict orders are given to all the local military stations, to the deputy officer from the custom-house, and to the armed police at Whampoa, to be very strict in searching; and further, confidential soldiers are sent in all directions to search and seize. Besides these precautions, the hong merchants are required to promulgate to all foreign factory chiefs, resident at Macao or Canton, our commands to them, to yield implicit obedience to former imperial edicts, which disallow the clandestine introduction of opium, and which require the sources from which it comes to be cut off. If they dare to disobey this order, as soon as a discovery is made, the ship concerned will be expelled, and not permitted to trade; and the security merchant will be seized and punished for the crime; if he dares to connive, he will most assuredly be broken, and prosecuted to the utmost, and without mercy. Be careful, and do not view this document as mere matter of form, and so tread within the net of the law; for, you will find your escape as impracticable, as it is for a man to bite his own naval. Report the manner in which you execute these orders; and at the same time present a bond, engaging to abide by the tenor of this. Delay not! A special edict.

"Keäking, 25th year, 2d month, 22d day."

Hitherto, since the prohibition of opium, the traffic in it, had been carried on, both at Whampoa and Macao, by the connivance of local

officers, some of whom watched the delivery of every chest, and received a fee; whilst others, remote from the scene of smuggling, received an annual bribe for overlooking the violation of the imperial orders. In September,⁹ 1821, "a Chinese inhabitant of Macao, who had been the medium of receiving from the Portuguese, and paying to the Chinese officers, the several bribes usually given, was seized by government for hiring banditti to assault an opponent of his, which they did; and, having got the man in their power, poured quicksilver into his ears, to injure his head without killing him; and having shaved the short hairs from the man's head, they mixed the hairs with tea, and forced him to drink the potion. The wretch who originated this cruel idea, and paid the perpetrators of it, had long been the pest and the terror of his neighborhood, by acting as a pettifogging lawyer, and bringing gain to the public officers; who, finding him useful, always screened him from justice. An enemy, however, at last, arose amongst his official friends, who contrived to have this man's character laid before the governor, with his influence or power in the neighborhood stated in an exaggerated degree, affirming that no police officer could apprehend him, for he had but to whistle and hundreds of men flew to his defence. The governor, alarmed and irritated by this declaration, ordered a party of the military to seize him forthwith; and then had him cast into the judge's prison. The pettifogging lawyer now turned his wrath against his former official friends; and immediately confessed that he had held the place of bribe-collector; and that all the governmental officers in the neighborhood received each so much per chest, or so much annually (stating the exact sums), to connive at the smuggling of opium: these bribes were received, not only by the inferior attendants in public offices, but by the superior officers of the rank of blue buttons; and even by the admiral, who wore a red button.—The governor at no period could have been ignorant of what was going on in reference to opium; for it was very commonly used by clerks, secretaries, military officers, and other persons in his own establishment; but the exposition now laid before him brought it more fully to his notice, and risked more his own safety, than any previous occurrence: for, after being in the government of Canton for several years, to plead ignorance of such misrule would not be accepted as an excuse at the imperial court: nor would it have screened him from censure, and perhaps degradation, to have proceeded immediately to punish the officers against whom he had received information; for they being under his control, he was, in a certain degree, responsible to the supreme government for their good conduct. Instead, therefore, of punishing those who were directly guilty, he made up his mind to accuse the senior hong merchant, a timid rich man, nick-named by the Chinese "the timid young lady," and easily assailable, and charge him with a defective performance of the duties of his suretiship, in not pointing out to government every foreign ship which contained opium.

A Chinese of Macao, who had been bribe-collector, seized by government.

The man, a pettifogger, turns informer against the police, his former friends.

The senior hong merchant charged with the non-performance of his duties.

+ Hongmer

It was in vain for the man to plead that he had never dealt in opium, nor had any connection with those who did deal in it; nor could he search the ships to ascertain what was in them: nor could he control the governmental officers who encouraged, and virtually protected, the smuggling of opium; the governor had determined to hold him responsible."

The senior hong merchant is disgraced by the governor, and all the blame of the traffic thrown on foreigners.

His excellency having disgraced the senior hong merchant, next issued papers throwing all the odium of this traffic, not on the Chinese consumers, smugglers, and magistacy, "who certainly, in justice, should have borne a part of it," but on foreigners—the Portuguese, the English, and the Americans. In one paper, he tried to address the religious principles of hope and fear, by the promise, that the gods would conduct the fair dealers in safety across the ocean, whilst, "over the contraband smugglers, of a pernicious poison, the terrors of the royal law on earth, and the wrath of infernal gods in hades, were suspended." The American captains, he said, were embolden to bring opium, "because they had no king to rule them." Although the governor did not attack directly those who were in the service of his government, yet he sent an officer, as a spy, to watch the revenue cutters. This officer surprised a party in the very act of smuggling; and in the attempt to seize them, one or two men were killed. The consequence of these proceedings, against the several parties at Whampoa and Macao, "was, that foreigners, having no one with whom to place their opium, proceeded to Lintin." Of late years "the foreign vessels have visited all the ports of Fuhkeän, Chêkeäng, Keängnan, Shantung, and even to Teentsin and Mantchouria, for the purpose of selling opium."⁶ Such is an outline of the history of this traffic; the mode of conducting it comes next to be noticed.

The seat of the traffic removed from Macao and Whampoa to Lintin and the coast.

Transportation of opium to China.

From the cultivators in India, the drug is quickly conveyed to the consumers throughout the Chinese empire. About two thirds of the opium from Malwa is, at present, transported directly to Bombay, and a transit duty of about 175 rupees per chest paid to the British government; and one third of it is carried by a circuitous route to the Portuguese settlement of Demaun,¹⁰ whence it is exported for China in Portuguese ships only. That from Bombay is generally shipped in English vessels. Before being put on board, it is carefully examined, and repacked in chests, each containing about 400 or 500 cakes, of from three to four taels weight, averaging 101 catties per chest. The price paid to the cultivator in Malwa is about double that paid, for a given quantity, in Behâr and Benares, the former being estimated at 600 rupees per chest.¹¹ The pure opium alone is made into cakes which are covered with a thin coating of oil, and afterwards rolled in pulverized petals of poppy.

Chests in Malwa, how packed.

The weight and value of chests in Benares and Behâr.

In Behâr and Benares the inspissated juice is collected by the ryot and delivered to the government's agent during the months of February and March. The ryot formerly received 3 rupees 8 annas

per seer;¹² but of late years, as the product has increased, the price, paid to the ryot, has decreased. The price has varied, at different times, and according to the quality of the article. In 1836 it was 3 rupees per seer, nearly; previous to 1819, it was sometimes sold for 2½ rupees. After it comes into the hands of the governmental agents, it is examined, made into balls, and packed in chests. A chest ought to contain two maunds, or eighty seers, equal to 160 lbs. It is brought as near as possible to the 'pecul chest,' containing 133½ lbs., or 100 cattie; but considerable allowance is made for 'dryage.' On its arrival in China, it usually weighs 115 cattie; but in a few months, loses ten or twelve per cent. in weight.¹³

The chests are made of mango-wood, and consist of two stories, in each of which there are twenty 'pigeon holes,' making forty small apartments in the chest. The drug is formed into solid balls and covered with a hard skin or shell, composed of the petals of the poppy, and a gum obtained from inferior opium juice. Being thus prepared, the balls are packed in the chests with dried leaves of the poppy—forty balls in each chest. In order to keep the chests and their contents secure, those in Patna are covered with the hides of bullocks, and those in Benares with the skins of gunnies.¹ In this state, the drug is sent to Calcutta, where it is sold at public auction, "divided into four sales, at intervals of about a month, commencing generally in December or January, in lots of five chests,—under the following unusual conditions: one rupee is paid down to bind the bargain; a deposit of 30 per cent. in cash or Company's paper, to be made within ten days after the purchase, 'unless a longer period shall be allowed' by the opium Board; in failure of which, the opium is subject to be resold at the risk of the defaulter. The opium is to be paid for within three months from the day of sale, in default of which, the above deposit is forfeited to the Company, the opium disposed of and the proceeds taken by the Company."¹¹

The whole product of India for 1836, has been estimated at 35,000 chests, nearly half of which goes off at auction in Calcutta, "probably yielding a net revenue to government of some two crores of rupees." The drug now becomes the property of individuals,¹⁴ and "most of the commercial houses in Calcutta are engaged" in its traffic; on the other side of India, the number of traders and the amount of capital are equally great; and together they have brought into their service some of the finest vessels that ever navigated the eastern seas. A few are constantly employed, while others are only occasionally freighted. Four or five vessels are stationed, as receiving ships, at Lintin; and an equal number drive the coasting trade. The manner in which the drug is received by the native boats and conveyed into the interior of China, is fully described by Heu Naetse, and the account need not be here repeated. Sometimes opium has been sold by foreign merchants for more than \$2,000 per chest. The present price (4th

Chests for packing.

The drug is formed into balls—how packed.

It is sent to Calcutta, and sold at public auction.

Estimated quantity of the drug in India in 1836.

Vessels employed in the traffic.

Value in China, Ap. 1837.

inst.) is, for Patna, old \$ 830, new 760; for Benares, old \$ 730, new 700; and for Malwa, both old and new, \$ 600. The stock at Lintin, April 1st, 1837, was 8364 chests.¹³

References.

Notes. 1, Phipp's China, and Eastern Trade, 1835. 2, Bombay Gazette, 30th of August, 1820. 3, British Relations with Chinese empire, London, 1832. 4, Horsburgh. 5, Private manuscripts. 6, Heu Naetse in Chi. Rep., vol. v, p. 139. 7, Report to the emperor of governor Täng, &c. 8, Indochinese Gleaner, Oct. 1820, p. 401. 9, Narrative of the affair of the Topaze, p. 67. 10, Report to the House of Commons, 1832, p. 91. 11, Bayley's evidence, 1832, No. 1693. 12, Kennedy, Nos. 1097, and 1112. 13, Swinton and Magniac, in evidence, 1830, pp. 20, 419. 14, Thornton, p. 230. 15, Canton General Price Current, April 4th, 1837.

No. 15.

Testimony as to the effects of using opium.

It impairs the digestive organs, and destroys the mental energies.

Three drachms taken daily.

It produces intoxication, tremors, &c., like ardent spirits.

The intoxication is followed by imbecility, bordering on insanity.

No. 1. "The use of opium for the purpose of exhilarating the spirits has long been known in Turkey, Syria, and China, and of late years it has been unfortunately adopted by many, particularly females, in this country (Eng). Russell says, that in Syria, when combined with spices and aromatics, he has known it taken to the amount of three drachms in twenty-four hours. Its habitual use cannot be too much reprobated. It impairs the digestive organs, consequently the vigour of the whole body, and destroys also gradually the mental energies. The effects of opium on those addicted to its use, says Russell, are at first obstinate costiveness, succeeded by diarrhoea and flatulence, with the loss of appetite and a sottish appearance. The memories of those who take it soon fail, they become prematurely old, and then sink into the grave, objects of scorn and pity. Mustapha Shatoor, an opium eater in Smyrna, took daily three drachms of crude opium. The visible effects at the time, were the sparkling of his eyes, and great exhilaration of spirits. He found the desire of increasing his dose growing upon him. He seemed twenty years older than he really was; his complexion was very sallow, his legs small, his gums eaten away, and the teeth laid bare to the sockets. He could not rise without first swallowing half a drachm of opium." Phil. Trans. xix, 289.

No. 2. "In moderate doses, opium increases the fulness, the force, and the frequency of the pulse, augments the heat of the body, quickens respiration, and invigorates both the corporeal and mental functions, exhilarating even to intoxication; but by degrees these effects are succeeded by langour, lassitude, and sleep; and in many instances headache, sickness, thirst, tremors, and other symptoms of debility such as follow the excessive use of ardent spirits, supervene. In very large doses the primary excitement is scarcely apparent, but the pulse seems to be at once diminished, drowsiness and stupor immediately come on, and are followed by delirium, sighing, deep and stertorous breathing, cold sweats, convulsions, apoplexy, and death. The appearances on dissection are those which indicate the previous existence of violent inflammation of the stomach and bowels; but notwithstanding the symptoms of apoplexy which an overdose, when it proves fatal, occasions, no particular appearance of an inflammatory state or fulness of the vessels of the brain is perceived." London Encyclopedia, p. 461.

No. 3. ("The opium eater) soon after having taken the opium perceives an unusual exhilaration and activity of spirits; his imagination revels in luxurious images, and he enjoys a feeling of more than common strength and courage; but this pleasing intoxication soon leaves him, and in its stead follow laziness, disgust at all kinds of occupation, and a certain imbecility of the senses, closely bordering upon insanity. To avoid the duration of this insufferable state, opium must again be taken, thus continually changing between the highest excitement and the lowest state of despondency, the consequence of which is an early derangement of the functions of the body, and a premature death. The Arabs are at present less addicted to this dangerous practice, since they have begun secretly to drink brandy, but its use all over Turkey is very general." Bohns Waaren lager.

No. 4. " Their gestures were frightful; those who were completely under the influence of the opium talked incoherently; their features were flushed; their eyes had an unnatural brilliancy, and the general expression of their countenances was horribly wild. The effect is usually produced in two hours, and lasts four or five. The dose varies from three grains to a drachm. The debility, both moral and physical, attendant on its excitement, is terrible; the appetite is soon destroyed, and every fibre in the body trembles; the nerves of the neck become affected, and the muscles get rigid: several I have seen in this place who had wry necks and contracted fingers, but still they cannot abandon the custom. They are miserable till the hour arrives for taking their daily dose." Madden's Travels in Turkey.

No. 5. " The use of opium, it must be confessed and lamented, has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European government, overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country. It is either eaten in its crude state as *mánta*, or smoked as *mándat* or *chádu*. In the preparation of *mándat*, the crude opium is boiled down with the leaves of tobacco, *sírí*, or the like, and used in a sticky or somewhat liquid state. In *chádu*, the opium is merely boiled down without any admixture, to a still thicker consistency, and rolled into small balls or pills, in which state, when dry, they are inserted into *bámbug*, and thus smoked. The crude opium is eaten principally by the people in the interior of the country, in the provinces of the native princes: the opium prepared for smoking is used along the coast, and generally in the other islands of the Archipelago; it is prepared by the Chinese. The use of opium, however, though carried to a considerable extent, is still reckoned disgraceful, and persons addicted to it are looked upon as abandoned characters, and despised accordingly. The effects of this poison on the human frame are so well described by the Dutch commissioners who sat at the Hague in 1803, and who much to their honor declared, 'that no consideration of pecuniary advantage ought to weigh with the European government in allowing its use,' that together with the opinion of Mr. Hogendorp, who concurred with them, I shall insert their statement here. The wish to do justice to authorities, whose views were so creditable to their country and their own character, and the importance of their opinions to an extensive population, will plead an apology for the length of the extract which I now present.

" 'The opium trade,' observe the commissioners, 'requires likewise attention. The English in Bengal have assumed an exclusive right to collect the same, and they dispose of a considerable number of chests containing that article annually at Calcutta by public auction. It is much in demand on the Malay coast, at Sumatra, Java, and all the islands towards the east and north, and particularly in China, although the use thereof is confined to the lower classes. The effect which it produces on the constitution is different, and depends on the quantity that is taken, or on other circumstances. If used with moderation, it causes a pleasant, yet always somewhat intoxicating sensation, which absorbs all care and anxiety. If a large quantity is taken, it produces a kind of madness, of which the effects are dreadful, especially when the mind is troubled by jealousy, or inflamed with a desire of vengeance or other violent passions. At all times it leaves a slow poison, which undermines the faculties of the soul and the constitution of the body, and renders a person unfit for all kinds of labor and an image of the brute creation. The use of opium is so much more dangerous, because a person who is once addicted to it can never leave it off. To satisfy that inclination, he will sacrifice every thing, his own welfare, the subsistence of his wife and children, and neglect his work. Poverty is the natural consequence, and then it becomes indifferent to him by what means he may content his insatiable desire after opium; so that, at last, he no longer respects either the property or lives of his fellow creatures. If here we were to follow the dictates of our own hearts only, and what moral doctrine and humanity prescribe, no law, however severe, could be contrived, which we would not propose, to prevent at least that in future, no subjects

It takes effect in two hours, and lasts four or five. A dose, from three grains to a drachm.

Destructive to morals and prosperity.

Different modes of using it.

Taken in moderation it intoxicates; in excess, it produces madness;

and always leaves a slow poison.

of this Republic, or of the Asiatic possessions of the state, should be disgraced by trading in that abominable poison. Yet we consider this as absolutely impracticable at present with respect to those places not subject to the state. Opium is one of the most profitable articles of eastern commerce: as such it is considered by our merchants; and if the navigation to those parts is opened to them (which the interest of the state forcibly urges) it is impossible to oppose trading in the same. In this situation of affairs, therefore, we are rather to advise, that general leave be given to import opium at Malacca, and to allow the exportation from thence to Borneo and all the eastern parts *not* in the possession of the state."

The trade, being the cause of many crimes, is most injurious and shameful.

Its extinction will preserve the lives of thousands.

The Turk takes from three to six drachms daily.

The theriakis more despicable than drunkards.

"Opium," says Mr. Hogendorp, "is a slow though certain poison, which the Company, in order to gain money, sells to the poor Javans. Any one who is once enslaved to it, cannot, it is true, give it up without great difficulty; and if its use were entirely prohibited, some few persons would probably die for want of it, who would otherwise languish on a little longer: but how many would by that means be saved for the future. Most of the crimes, particularly murders, that are now committed in that region, may be imputed to opium as the original cause. Large sums of money are every year carried out of the country in exchange for it, and enrich our competitors the English. Much of it is smuggled into the interior, which adds to the evil. In short, the trade in opium is one of the most injurious and most shameful things which disgrace the present government of India. It is, therefore, necessary at once, and entirely, to abolish the trade and importation of opium, and to prohibit the same, under the severest penalties that the law permits, since it is a poison. The smuggling of it will then become almost impracticable, and the health, and even the lives of thousands, will be preserved. The money alone which will remain in the country in lieu of it, is more valuable as being in circulation, than the profit which the Company now derives from the sale of it. This means will excite no discontent among the Javans, for the princes and regents, with very few exceptions, do not consume any opium, but, as well as the most respectable of their subjects, look upon it as disgraceful. The use of opium is even adduced as an accusation of bad conduct, and considered as sufficient cause for the removal or banishment of a petty chief." *Raffles' History of Java*, vol. i, pp. 102, 105.

No. 6. "Dr. Smith, while at Smyrna, took pains to observe what the doses of opium taken by the Turks in general were. He found that 3 drachms in a day were a common quantity among the larger takers of it, but that they could take six drachms a day without mischief. A Turk eats this quantity before him, three drachms in the morning, and three in the evening, with no other effect than its giving him great cheerfulness. But the taking it thus habitually greatly impairs the constitution; the persons who accustom themselves to it, can by no means live without it, and are feeble and weak; their legs are usually thin, and their gums eaten away, so that the teeth stand bare to the roots; they are also often of a yellow complexion, and look much older than they really are. *Rees' Encyclopedia*."

No. 7. "There is another set of people, however, who live in a still cheaper way than the dervises: strangers to the pleasures of the table, an opium pill supports, intoxicates them, throws them into ecstasies, the delights of which they extol very highly. These men, known under the name of theriakis, are mentioned by Monsieur de Tott and others, as being looked upon even in a more despicable light than the drunkards, though I know not that the practice betrays more dissoluteness of morals. They begin with taking only half a grain at a dose, but increase it as soon as they perceive the effect to be less powerful than at first. They are careful not to drink water, which would bring on violent colics. He who begins taking opium habitually at twenty, must scarcely expect to live longer than to the age of thirty, or from that age to thirty-six; the latter is the utmost age that, for the most part, they attain. After some years they get to take doses of a drachm each; then comes on a frightful pallidness of countenance, and the victim wastes away in a kind of marasmus that can be compared to nothing but itself: alopecia and a total loss of memory, with rickets, are the never-failing consequences of this deplorable habit. But no consideration,—neither the certainty of premature death, or of the infirmities by which it must be preceded, can cor-

rect a theriak; he answers coldly to any one who would warn him of his danger, that his happiness is inconceivable when he has taken his opium pill. If he be asked to define this supernatural happiness, he answers, that it is impossible to account for it; that pleasure cannot be defined. Always beside themselves, the theriakis are incapable of work, they seem no more to belong to society. Towards the end of their career they, however, experience violent pains, and are devoured by constant hunger; nor can their paregoric in any way relieve their sufferings: become hideous to behold, deprived of their teeth, their eyes sunk in their heads, in a constant tremor, they cease to live, long before they cease to exist." Pouqueville's Travels in the Morea, p. 297.

No. 8. "There is a decoction of the head and seeds of the poppy, which they call *coquenar*, for the sale of which there are taverns in every quarter of the town, similar to our coffee-houses. It is extremely amusing to visit these houses, and to observe carefully those who resort there for the purpose of drinking it, both before they have taken the dose, before it begins to operate, and while it is operating. On entering the tavern, they are dejected and languishing: soon after they have taken two or three cups of this beverage, they are peevish, and as it were enraged; every thing displeases them. They find fault with every thing, and quarrel with one another, but in the course of its operation they make it up again;—and, each one giving himself up to his predominant passion, the lover speaks sweet things to his idol—another, half asleep, laughs in his sleeve—a third talks big and blusters—a fourth tells ridiculous stories. In a word, a person would believe himself to be really in a mad-house. A kind of lethargy and stupidity succeed to this disorderly gayety; but the Persians, far from treating it as it deserves, call it an ecstasy, and maintain that there is something exquisite and heavenly in this state." Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia.

No. 9. "In this country opium is much used, but seldom with the view of producing intoxication. Some, indeed, deny that it can do so, strictly speaking. If by intoxication is meant a state precisely similar to that from over-indulgence in vinous or spiritous liquors, they are undoubtedly right; but drunkenness merits a wider latitude of signification. The ecstasies of opium are much more entrancing than those of wine. There is more poetry in its visions—more mental aggrandizement—more range of imagination. Wine, in common with it, invigorates the animal powers and propensities; but opium, in a more peculiar manner, strengthens those proper to man, and gives, for a period amounting to hours, a higher tone to the intellectual faculties. It inspires the mind with a thousand delightful images, lifts the soul from earth, and casts a halo of poetic thought and feeling over the spirits of the most unimaginative. Under its influence, the mind wears no longer that black passionless aspect which, even in gifted natures, it is apt to assume. On the contrary, it is clothed with beauty "as with a garment," and colors every thought that passes through it with the hues of wonder and romance. Such are the feelings which the luxurious and opulent Mussulman seeks to enjoy. To stir up the languid current of his mind, satiated with excess of pleasure and rendered sluggish by indolence, he has recourse to that remedy which his own genial climate produces in greatest perfection. Seated perhaps amid the luxuries of oriental splendor—with fountains-bubbling around, and the citron shading him with its canopy, and scattering perfume on all sides—he lets loose the reins of an imagination conversant from infancy with every thing gorgeous and magnificent. The veil which shades the world of fancy is withdrawn, and the wonders lying behind it exposed to view; he sees palaces and temples in the clouds; or the paradise of *Mahomet*, with its houris and bowers of amaranth, may stand revealed to his excited senses. Every thing is steeped in poetic exaggeration. The zephyrs seem converted into aerial music, the trees bear golden fruits, the rose blushes with unaccustomed beauty and perfume. Earth, in a word, is brought nearer to the sky, and become one vast Eden of pleasure. Such are the first effects of opium; but in a proportion as they are great, so is the depression which succeeds them. Languor and exhaustion invariably come after; to remove which, the drug is again had recourse to, and becomes almost an essential of existence.

"Opium retains, at all times, its power of exciting the imagination, provided sufficient doses are taken. But, when it has been continued so long as to bring

Decoction of the heads and seeds of the poppy—*coquenar*;

effects produced by taking it.

Opium used in England; its effects on the human system.

Its exciting power.

disease upon the constitution, the pleasurable feelings wear away, and are succeeded by others of a very different kind. Instead of disposing the mind to be happy, it now acts upon it like the spell of a demon, and calls up phantoms of horror and disgust. The fancy is still as powerful as ever, but it is turned in another direction. Formerly, it clothed all objects with the light of heaven; now it invests them with the attributes of hell. Goblins, spectres, and every kind of distempered vision haunt the mind, peopling it with dreary and revolting imagery. The sleep is no longer cheered with its former sights of happiness. Frightful dreams usurp their place, till, at last, the person becomes the victim of an almost perpetual misery. Nor is this confined to the mind alone, for the body suffers in an equal degree. Emaciation, loss of appetite, sickness, vomiting, and a total disorganization of the digestive functions, as well as of the mental powers, are sure to ensue, and never fail to terminate in death, if the evil habit which brings them on is continued." Macnish's Anatomy of drunkenness, p. 51.

Theriakce or Tchartchee, the great mart of the drug—the resort of those driven by private sorrow, &c.

No. 10. "As a last and desperate resource, I tried to drive away my frightful visions by gayer dreams, the children of drowsy opium. I found my way to the great mart of that deleterious drug, the Theriakce Tchartchee. There, in elegant coffee-houses, adorned with trelliced awnings, the dose of delusion is measured out to each customer, according to his wishes. But lest its visitors should forget to what place they are hying, directly facing its painted porticoes stands the great receptacle of mental imbecility, erected by sultan Suleiman for the use of his capital. In this Tchartchee, any day might be seen a numerous collection of those whom private sorrows have driven to a public exhibition of insanity. There each reeling idiot might take his neighbor by the hand, and say: 'Brother and what ailed thee, to seek so dire a cure?' There did I with the rest of my familiars now take my habitual station, in my solitary niche, like an insensible, motionless idol, sitting with sightless eye-balls, staring on vacuity. One day, as I lay in less entire absence under the purple vines of the porch, admiring the majestic Suleimanye, as it shaded the Tchartchee, the appearance of an old man with a snow-white beard, reclining on the couch beside me, caught my attention. Half plunged in stupor, he every now and then burst out into a wild laugh, occasioned by the grotesque phantasms which the ample dose of *maltjoon* he had just swallowed, was sending up to his brain. I sat contemplating him with mixed curiosity and dismay, when, as if for a moment roused from his torpor, he took me by the hand, and fixing on my countenance his dim vacant eyes, said in an impressive tone; 'Young man, thy days are yet few; take the advice of one who has counted many. Lose no time; hie thee hence, nor cast behind one lingering look: but if thou hast not the strength, why tarry even here? Thy journey is but half achieved. At once go on to that large mansion before thee. It is thy ultimate destination, and by thus beginning where thou must end at last, thou mayest at least save both thy time and money.' The old man here fell back into his apathy, but I was roused effectually. I resolved to renounce the slow poison of which my neighbor was so woeful a specimen; and, in order not to preserve even a memento of the sin I abjured, presented him, as a reward for his advice, with the little golden receptacle of the pernicious drug, which I used to carry. He took the bauble without appearing sensible of the gift; while I running into the middle of the square, pronounced, with outstretched hands, against the execrable market where insanity was sold by the ounce, an elaborate and solemn malediction. Hope's Anastacius, page 230, vol. 2.

Horsburgh's opinion of the traffic.

No. 11. "And here, it may be mentioned, as a proof of Mr. Horsburgh's philanthropy, that on its being remarked by a friend, that he was thereby [viz., by his chart of the east coast of China, 1835,] aiding the opium-smugglers in a traffic which he abhorred, as repugnant to the laws of God and man, and destructive of the morals and lives of the Chinese people, he replied, 'Very true, but as they will carry on that vile trade, we may as well afford the means of preserving their lives.'" Asiatic Journal for Sept. 1836.

Memorial to the emperor, showing the evils of using opium, &c.:

No. 12. "A late memorial to the emperor from one of the censors laid open the evil in all its deformity, and showed its prevalence among the officers of government—"I have learned," says he, "that those who smoke opium, and eventually become its victims, have a periodical longing for it, which can only be assuaged by the application of the drug at the regular time. If they cannot obtain

at when that daily period arrives, their limbs become debilitated, a discharge of rheum takes place from the eyes and nose, and they are altogether unequal to any exertion; but, with a few whiffs, their spirits and strength are immediately restored in a surprising manner. Thus opium becomes, to opium-smokers, their very life; and, when they are seized and brought before magistrates, they will sooner suffer a severe chastisement than inform against those who sell it. * * * Worthless subordinates in offices, and nefarious traders, first introduced the abuse; young persons of family, wealthy citizens and merchants adopted the custom; until at last it reached the common people. I have learned on inquiry, from scholars and official persons, that opium-smokers exist in all the provinces, but the larger proportion of these are to be found in the government offices; and that it would be a fallacy to suppose that there are not smokers among all ranks of civil and military officers, below the station of provincial governors and their deputies. The magistrates of districts issue proclamations, interdicting the clandestine sale of opium, at the same time that their kindred, and clerks, and servants smoke it as before. Then the nefarious traders make a pretext of the interdict for raising the price. The police, influenced by the people in the public offices, become the secret purchasers of opium, instead of laboring for its suppression; and thus all interdicts and regulations become vain." /Davis' China, vol. 2, p. 454.

its prevalence among officers, &c.

No. 16.

Premium for an Essay on the opium trade.

THE manner in which £ 100 were placed at our disposal, to be awarded "for the best Essay on the Opium Trade, showing its effects on the Commercial, Political, and Moral, Interests of the Nations and Individuals connected therewith, and pointing out the Course they ought to pursue in regard to it," was stated in our number for January. The following are the conditions on which that premium will be awarded.

Premium for an essay on opium;

1. The candidates for the premium will send their manuscripts, of not less than 40 nor more than 100 octavo pages, to the Chairman of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in England, giving their names and address under a separate envelope sealed; of these envelopes only the one accompanying the successful essay will be opened by the arbiters.

conditions on which it will be awarded.

2. All the manuscripts which shall have come to hand by the 1st of October 1838, will then be placed in the hands of two or more arbiters, whom the said Chairman will nominate, and by whom the premium will be awarded, and immediately remitted to the successful competitor.

3. The prize essay will be published immediately; and also the remaining ones, provided the Committee of the above named Society shall deem them worthy of publication.

4. The essays, addressed "To the Chairman of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London," must be sent *post paid*, or delivered in such a manner as to be free from any charge.

By these conditions, each competitor is left to conceive of the plan of his essay, and to execute it, in the manner which, according to his own views of the case, is most conformable to those principles which ought to guide the conduct of mankind, both in their individual and national capacity. We have no permission, nor inclination, to intimate what ought to be the scope and bearing of the essays. When placed in the hands of arbiters, who will examine them with unbiassed minds, that one which develops the whole subject most faithfully and forcibly will, doubtless, gain the award. *Chi. Repos. vol. v., p. 573.*

No. 17.

Revenue derived by the British government from opium.

Revenue derived by the British government from its monopoly.

THE monopoly of opium in Bengal supplies the government with a revenue amounting to sicca rupees 84,59,425, or sterling money £981,293 per annum, and the duty which is thus imposed amounts to 301 $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. on the cost of the article. In the present state of the revenue of India it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue—a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer, and which appears upon the whole less liable to objection than any other which could be substituted. Besides the present mode of collecting the duty by means of a governmental monopoly, four other methods have been suggested; viz. 1st, an additional assessment on lands under poppy cultivation; 2d, a duty to be levied according to the value of the standing crop when ripe; 3d, an excise duty on the juice when collected; 4th, a custom duty on the exportation of the opium. * * * Although the governmental monopoly of opium must in all probability, like all other monopolies, be disadvantageous, in consequence of the want of economy in the production, and the restrictions which it imposes on the employment of capital and industry, yet it does not appear to be productive of very extensive or aggravated injury; and unless it should be found practicable to substitute an increased assessment on poppy lands, it does not appear that the present high amount of revenue could be obtained in a less objectionable manner. At the same time it must be recollected, that the revenue thus derived is of the most precarious kind, depending as it does on a species of monopoly under which we possess exclusive control neither over the production nor the consumption of the article: it has already been materially affected by the competition of the opium of Malwa; and from the continued increase of supply from that district, as well as from its improved quality, which has enabled it to fetch an enhanced price in the foreign market, it would appear that the same cause must in all probability hereafter produce a still greater reduction in the revenue. It would be highly imprudent to rely upon the opium monopoly as a permanent source of revenue; and the time may probably not be very far distant, when it may be desirable to substitute an export duty, and thus, by the increased production under a system of freedom, to endeavor to obtain some compensation for the loss of the monopoly profit. Another source of revenue under this head, is the duties collected on the transit of Malwa opium through Bombay: the government having for the two last years abandoned their attempted monopoly of that article and substituted a permit or transit duty, which has been attended with satisfactory results. It is in evidence, that previous to this regulation, two-thirds of the opium of Malwa were carried by a circuitous route to the Portuguese settlement of Damaun, and only one-third brought to Bombay; but latterly, no more than one-tenth has been exported from Damaun, and the remaining nine-tenths have been shipped from Bombay, yielding to the government a revenue of £200,000 for the current year. *Report Brit. Commons, 1832.*

Revenue for 1837.

The opium sold by the E. I. Company in Bengal, has cost them 250 rupees per chest—at least, this has been the usual estimate. The quantity sold this season (at four sales, Jan. 4th, Feb. 20th, March 30th, June 12th), as stated in the accompanying table No. I., is 16,916 chests, for 2,53,95,300 rupees. Allowing to the E. I. Company for cost, 300 rupees per chest, which is 50 above the usual estimate, leaves, 2,53,95,300—300 × 16,916 = 2,03,20,500 rupees; Spanish money, *nine millions, two hundred and thirty-six thousand, five hundred and ninety dollars; or in English currency, 2,155,204 pounds sterling,—net revenue for 1837.*

TABLE NO. I.
Statement of the sales of opium by the E. I. Company at Calcutta
from 1798-99 to 1836-37.

<i>Thirty-nine</i>	<i>Seasons.</i>	<i>Total Chests.</i>	<i>Total annual Sales in Sicca Rupees.</i>
1.	1798-99	4,172	17,31,161
2.	1799-1800	4,054	31,42,591
3.	1800-1	4,570	31,43,035
4.	1801-2	3,947	37,19,748
5.	1802-3	3,292	45,55,728
6.	1803-4	2,840	39,44,595
7.	1804-5	3,159	62,03,805
8.	1805-6	3,836	58,94,919
9.	1806-7	4,126	40,77,948
10.	1807-8	4,538	68,54,157
11.	1808-9	4,208	51,05,760
12.	1809-10	4,561	80,70,955
13.	1810-11	4,968	80,88,330
14.	1811-12	4,891	79,96,870
15.	1812-13	4,966	62,76,705
16.	1813-14	4,769	88,71,475
17.	1814-15	3,672	89,14,290
18.	1815-16	4,230	90,93,980
19.	1816-17	4,618	90,79,972
20.	1817-18	3,692	80,43,197
21.	1818-19	3,552	63,43,265
22.	1819-20	4,006	82,55,603
23.	1820-21	4,244	1,05,63,891
24.	1821-22	3,293	1,31,76,313
25.	1822-23	3,918	1,08,29,496
26.	1823-24	3,360	65,08,610
27.	1824-25	5,690	74,01,553
28.	1825-26	3,810	88,80,225
29.	1826-27	6,570	83,30,025
30.	1827-28	6,650	1,12,28,416
31.	1828-29	7,709	1,06,35,134
32.	1829-30	8,778	1,12,55,767
33.	1830-31	7,548	1,18,07,008
34.	1831-32	7,938	1,17,70,875
35.	1832-33	10,638	1,24,59,572
36.	1833-34	12,223	1,16,31,830
37.	1834-35	12,977	1,32,15,464
38.	1835-36	14,745	1,87,95,355
39.	1836-37	16,916	2,53,95,300

Sales of
opium at
Calcutta for
39 years.

N. B. This table is from Mr. Phipps's book, with additions (in the number of seasons) from other sources. It may not be perfectly correct in all the details, but is, doubtless, very near to the truth. We have omitted to insert the fractions in the average cost of each year. The value of the sicca rupee varies; it is about 46 hundredths of a dollar, or two shillings sterling.

Explanations.

TABLE NO. II.

Statement of the Opium exported from Calcutta, to China, to the ports in the Indian Archipelago, and to Europe, from 1795 to 1835.

Seasons.	Chests to China.	Chests to the Eastern Ports.	Chests to the Western Ports.	Total Chests.
1795-96	1,070	4,103	10	5,183
1796-97	2,337	3,247	—	5,644
1797-98	1,935	1,514	4	3,503
1798-99	1,718	1,624	—	3,342
1799-1800	1,867	2,059	—	3,926
1800-1801	3,224	1,539	25	4,788
1801-2	1,744	1,723	—	3,467
1802-3	2,033	1,035	—	3,068
1803-4	2,116	937	—	3,053
1804-5	2,322	1,026	10	3,358
1805-6	2,131	1,526	—	3,657
1806-7	2,607	1,777	—	4,384
1807-8	3,084	1,171	—	4,255
1808-9	3,223	1,416	—	4,639
1809-10	3,074	1,172	—	4,246
1810-11	3,592	1,317	—	4,909
1811-12	2,788	1,887	38	4,713
1812-13	3,328	1,504	—	4,832
1813-14	3,213	1,059	—	4,272
1814-15	2,999	868	5	3,872
1815-16	2,723	1,120	5	3,848
1816-17	3,376	947	2	4,325
1817-18	2,911	794	3	3,708
1818-19	3,575	724	—	4,299
1819-20	1,741	1,345	5	3,091
1820-21	3,591	1,556	—	5,147
1821-22	1,936	655	—	2,591
1822-23	3,207	893	—	4,100
1823-24	3,923	1,286	—	5,209
1824-25	5,365	1,710	1	7,076
1825-26	4,627	536	2	5,165
1826-27	5,861	707	—	6,568
1827-28	7,341	562	—	7,903
1828-29	4,903	1,651	—	6,554
1829-30	7,443	2,235	—	9,678
1830-31	5,672	—	—	7,069
1831-32	6,815	—	—	7,427
1832-33	7,598	—	—	9,408
1833-34	7,808	—	—	9,518
1834-35	10,207	—	—	10,107

Explanations.

N. B. The *eastern* ports are intended to include all those between the Capes (Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn), and the *western*, those beyond them. This estimate does not show the exact quantity brought to China, the table being very incomplete.

TABLE NO. III.

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.	Average Bombay Rs.
1821	1,600	678	2,278	2,024
1822	1,600	2,255	3,855	2,007
1823	1,500	1,535	5,535	1,764
1824	1,500	2,063	6,063	1,288
1825	2,500	1,563	5,563	971
1826	2,500	2,605	5,605	1,877
1827	2,980	1,524	4,504	1,383
1828	2,820	3,889	7,709	1,765
1829	3,502	4,597	8,099	1,686
1830	3,720	9,136	12,856	1,202
1831	4,700	4,633	9,333	1,450
1832	11,000	3,007	14,007	1,250
1833	—	—	11,715	—
1834	8,985	2,693	11,678	—
1835	7,337	5,596	12,933	1,093
1836	8,224	3,500	11,724	958

Exports from Bombay and Damaun.

"The foregoing statement may be looked upon as an authentic document, since it will be found as correct as it was possible to make it; and from its being a tabular history of the opium trade for so long a period, it will serve as a standard of reference hereafter, to judge of the future by the past, on a subject hitherto involved in mystery, not only as respects the capability of the Indian soil to produce an almost indefinite supply of the article, according to the demand for it, but in regard to the probable out-turn in China, where it is consumed with reference to the number of chests exported.—From *Bombay Price Current*, 23d March, 1833." See Phipps's *China*, p. 235.

Explanations.

N. B. The above applies to the statement down to 1832 only; the account of the subsequent years is taken from other sources. "The estimated quantity of Malwa opium to pass through Bombay this season is stated at 19,000 chests, of which 17,300 had arrived,—in addition to about 2,450 chests at Damaun, 450 of which had arrived." See *Calcutta Courier*, 29th of April 1837, as quoted in the *Singapore Chronicle* for June 17th, 1837. This account gives only 21,450 chests of Malwa for this season; but we are informed (by the *Macaista Impartial* of the 26th of July,) that passes have been granted at Bombay, for 19,754 chests, of which, on the 1st of June, 16,122 had been exported to China, in addition to about 2400 from Damaun, which have arrived.

Exports for the year 1837.

From this note it appears that, at present, a larger part of the Malwa drug passes through Bombay, than was stated in a former article. By an order, dated at Bombay October 24th 1835, the duty was reduced from 175 to 125 rupees per chest: which on the 19,000 chests for 1837, gives another item of 23,75,000 to the E. I. Company's treasury; this added to the profits on the 16,916 chests sold in Bengal presents a grand total of 2,77,70,300 rupees of revenue to the British government in India: in Spanish dollars \$12,622,869; or sterling money £2,945,336.

Total revenue to the British government.

"Under the convention between France and Great Britain, dated 7th March 1815, the French government are entitled to demand any quantity of opium, not exceeding 300 chests in each season, at the average cost: such requisitions have not been of frequent occurrence, the French authorities preferring to take from the Company, the difference, between its cost and sale rates, in money, which yields to the French an annual revenue of from three to four lacks of rupees." See *Phipps's China*.

French government is allowed 300 chests annually.

No. 18

Chinese method of preparing opium for smoking.

Series of ex-
periments.
Experimt. 1st.

HALF a cake of Patna opium, weighing 26 oz. 19 dwts. having 2 oz. 3 dwts. 9 grs. of the outermost part of the skin laid aside, is put into a very thin hemispherical brass vessel, capable of containing twelve pints, with about six pints of spring water, and placed on a brisk fire. At first the mixture is seldom stirred, but when rather more than half the water has been evaporated, the stirring (by means of a wooden spatula) is without intermission. When in this manner the mass has attained about the usual consistency of soft extract, half of it is placed in another vessel, exactly like the first, and the evaporation is continued in the two vessels, by placing them alternately on the fire. The fire is now considerably damped by throwing over the charcoal the burnt ashes from below. The exsiccation is continued by spreading the mass over the inner surface of the pans, to within about an inch and a half of the rim, about the thickness of a fifth of an inch. The pans continue to be alternately put on the fire, and the surface is often changed by mixing the whole well with the spatula, and carefully respread. At length, the fire having been diminished to a very low state, and being without smoke or flame, the pans are inverted for two or three minutes at a time, the drug pressed with the fingers, (to which it does not stick,) and allowed a few minutes to cool. Lastly, the masses are cut, by means of a knife, into lines similar to the meridional lines of a globe. The exsiccation is now finished: the mass, after it has been allowed to cool, is broken up, and about eight pints of spring water are added, and the whole is allowed to remain at rest for twenty four hours. Next day the cold infusion is drawn off clear, by means of a piece of thick cloth (which is used to keep down the sediment), from the edge of which the liquor is poured by inclining the pans. This infusion appears about the consistency of syrup. The mass remaining is quite soft, upon which about three pints of boiling water are poured, and the warm infusion is allowed to remain about ten minutes. It is then filtered through coarse Chinese paper, but no pressure of the mass takes place. By the time this has been accomplished, the cold infusion, which had been placed over a brisk fire, begins to boil; and the filtered warm infusion is now added. The boiling is briskly continued, and a little scum is thrown up, which is removed by means of a feather. As the extract thickens, it is carefully stirred, and when the quantity of water is much reduced, the pan is placed on a smaller fire, and carefully stirred with three round sticks; from time to time, it is removed from the fire, and a circular motion given to it. When it has attained the form of a thin extract, it is taken from the fire, stirred gently, cooled by means of a fan, and placed in a jar for use. Its appearance is not unlike treacle, but rather of a reddish brown color. The scum was added to a small part of the warm infusion, which had now dropped from the filter,

and evaporated to about the same consistency as the first part; but its color is darker, and it is not of itself fit for smoking. The residuum, when dried, appears nearly as dark as charcoal.

	<i>oz. ducts. grs.</i>
The original opium weighed - - - -	13 14 23
The pure opium weighed - - - -	9 10 00
The second extract weighed - - - -	0 2 8
The outer shell - - - -	2 3 9
	<hr/>
Weight of the half cake - - - -	25 10 16
	<hr/>
Loss - - - -	1 8 8

Thirty grains of the outermost part of the cover of the same cake of opium and exactly similar to what had been laid aside by the Chinese artist, was infused for a week in six drachms of proof spirit. It was then filtered, the residuum washed with fresh portions of spirit and dried, and the spirit evaporated by means of sulphuric acid, in Leslie's ice machine, to the same consistency as the Chinese extract, which weighed 9 grains: the residuum weighed 21 grains, equal to the quantity of skin employed. It may be remarked that the skin was perfectly dry, that at least two grains of fluid would be required to give the extract produced its proper consistency, and the hygrometer showing the air to be somewhat above the medium state of moisture, (65,) so that under different circumstances, the quantity of residuum might have weighed about one grain less. In this way I account for a quantity of extract, which could not be separated from the platina dish, in which the evaporation was conducted, and from the spatula employed to take it out. I am therefore disposed to rate the product of the outermost part of the rind at one-third. The matter left on the filter consisted of poppy leaves, very clean, weighing 18 grains; the remaining succulent matter was a gray powder, weighing three grains.

Experiment. 2d.

Forty grains of the inner part of the cover, lining the inner part of the portion of skin employed in the last experiment, and carefully freed from the pulp, was treated with the same quantity of spirits, and the process conducted in the same manner. The result was:—extract 21.50 grs.; residuum, in about equal quantities of leaves and powder, 13.75 grs.; total 35.25 grs.—Here four grains and three-quarters disappear, which may be accounted for by the great hardness of the extract, and some part adhering to a split in the wooden spatula; it should therefore, without doubt, be added to the product of extract, making $25\frac{1}{4}$ grains in 40.

Experiment. 3d.

Having taken $14\frac{\frac{1}{2}}{\frac{3}{10}}\frac{2}{8}$ grs. of the pulp of the same cake as was employed in the preceding experiments, it was infused in 10 oz. of spirits, as before. The extract was made over a lamp in a platina dish, of the same form as the Chinese brass dish. The extract, of the same consistency as the Chinese, weighed 216 grs.; the residuum

Experiment. 4th.

was a gray powder, weighing 126.25 grs.; total 342.25 grs. Here an excess of 34 grs. appears, and had the residuum been equally moist with the opium employed, it must have weighed full 10 grs. more; but of this difference, say 4 grs. are necessary to account for the greater fluidity of the extract than the opium.

Experimt. 5th. Eight ounces troy of Bombay opium was infused in 6 lbs. of proof spirit, and filtered after 12 days' digestion. The residuum, dried to about the same consistency as the opium, weighed 4 oz. 4 dwts. 16 grs., the extract, 6 oz. 19 grs.; total, 10 oz. 5 dwts. 11 grs. Now two ounces and a quarter appear to be gained, equal, probably, to the fluid contained in the extract.

Experimt. 6th. Taking 1 oz. 11 dwts. 15 grs. of the residuum of the Chinese artist's experiment, it was digested for four days in 16 ounces of spirits 30 per cent. above proof, and filtered. The residuum on the filter was washed with a fresh portion of spirit, as long as the spirit appeared loaded, when the remaining part of the process was completed in the same manner as the former experiments. The result appeared, refuse, 1 oz. 4 dwts. 14 grs.; extract, 6 dwts.; total, 1 oz. 10 dwts. 14 grs.;—loss, 25 grs.

Experimt. 7th. The residuum of experiment v. was infused in 30 oz. of alcohol, and after remaining two days, was made to boil, and strained in that state. Upon cooling, the filtered liquor deposited, on the sides of the bottle, regular crystals of the salt of opium, which, being soluble in 100 parts of spirits of wine, and the liquor being saturated, gave the following, $30 \times 480 = 14,400$ — $100 = 144$ grs.

Requisite apparatus. Three hemispherical brass pans of equal size; two or three bamboo baskets for filters; a large reservoir for spring water; two or three earthen pots to receive the straining; a large and a small stove (fo-gons); a wooden ladle for stirring; a chisel to scrape the particles that adhere to the pans; a square piece of woollen cloth for strainers; some pieces of common brown paper; a fan for cooling the extract; a feather; a knife; a small bamboo broom, to sprinkle water with while boiling; and three small round sticks for stirring. Having procured these articles of apparatus, then take, for experiment, half a cake of one year old Bengal (Patna) opium, weighing 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens.

Process of operation. Stage 1st. The interior of the cake being extracted, is laid in one of the pans and set aside; then as much of the coat as is found to have any opium adhering to it or to be impregnated with it, is collected into another pan, which is first boiled slightly three several times—each time using a pint of spring water, at the end of each time it is strained through the bamboo basket into the earthen pot: some cold water is poured over the dregs after the third boiling. The liquid thus produced being about five pints, and the time occupied about an hour.

Stage 2d. These five pints of thin liquid are poured into the pan containing the interior of the cake. The whole is boiled and stirred together on an active fire, till it has attained the consistency of paste, which requires about another hour.

The paste thus produced is divided, half and half, into two pans, and being well spread out with the spatula is laid inverted on the now rather gentle fire, alternately (of and on) for two or three minutes at a time, till it becomes quite dry (i. e., divested of its water, and not the essential oil), to facilitate which, the paste is as often broken up during this stage, respread with the spatula and pressure of the fingers, and crossed with a knife, as the experience of the artist may suggest. Stage 3d.

When become quite dry, the whole is put into one pan, spread out with the spatula, and sufficient water poured over to cover the opium, which was about six pints, and so allowed to remain till 9 o'clock the next morning, for digestion. Stage 4th.

The next morning the piece of rag is doubled and applied to the edge of the pan, in the position of one triangle in, and the other out of, the rim; then by raising the opposite side of the pan, the whole digestion drips progressively through the rag (the inner triangle of which keeps the dregs down), into a basket with coarse paper laid within it, and from thence into another pan—both the basket and paper being previously well washed with cold water. The quantity of liquid thus drawn by the filtration is nearly as much as of water poured over the opium on the preceding day, viz. six pints. Cold water is then poured over the dregs and filtered in the same way, till found to be nearly tasteless and without color; the whole water thus poured through them being found to be about six pints of much weaker extract. The dregs are again watered, and thrown into a pot to remain over till required. Stage 5th.

The six pints of strong liquid are then boiled over a brisk fire, and in its course sprinkled betimes with cold water from the broom, to prevent the fermentation boiling over the pan, the scum produced round the edge being removed by means of a feather into a pan containing the pint hereafter mentioned. After boiling for 20 minutes, five pints of the other six of weaker liquid are then thrown into the pan and boiled with the former, which, when evaporated to about three pints, are strained through the brown paper into another pan, and the remaining one pint, above mentioned, is thrown into the pan just emptied, to wash the adhesive particles, and is boiled about five minutes, and strained again with the three pints; and while it is boiling down to that degree of consistency in which it is used, the pan is shifted to the small stove and there allowed to remain, till a perfect ring of about the fifth part of an inch thick is formed on the edge by the exhalation of the steam; then it is, at intervals, removed from the fire to prolong the evaporation, or to avoid miscarriage of the process; wherefore, during the course of the operation, the fan and the three round sticks are incessantly employed in cooling and stirring the extract (when off the fire), till it is fully completed, when it much resembles thick treacle; it is then taken off with the chisel, and deposited in a small pot for consumption. Stage 6th.

Stage 7th.

The dregs, mentioned to be remaining over at the close of the fifth stage, together with the scum and washings of the pans, are strained through the rag and basket into another pot, and boiled on the large stove (much about the same time that the other pan was removed to the smaller stove), producing a thin brownish liquid of about six pints from the additional cold water poured on the dregs, and is boiled down to an inferior quantity of extract, which is sometimes used for smoking by the poorer classes, but more frequently reserved for another occasion to add strength to other opium. The whole of this process occupied about twenty-four hours.

The result was, that the 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens of original opium produced, of superior extract, 9 taels 1 mace; of second quality, from dregs and washings, 1 tael 3 mace 1 candareen; consumable opium, 10 taels 4 mace 1 candareen. If 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens yield 10 taels 4 mace 1 candareen, then 16 taels, or a catty, will yield 7 taels 8 mace 8 candareens. Reduced 51 per cent.

Note.

The outer coat of the cake is apparently never used in this process, as it seems to possess no fluid of the opium. Spring water alone is used throughout the process; as also charcoal, and not wood, for fire. It is stated in the third stage that, to facilitate the drying of the paste, it is *crossed with a knife*. The operation is performed but once, and in the last inversion of the pans, by cutting the surface of the paste in opposite lines.

No. 19.

Memorial for limiting the number of hong merchants.

A RESPECTFUL memorial, the sacred perusal of which is solicited, in relation to the merchants engaged in foreign trade, showing that they are now sufficiently numerous for the transaction of business, and requesting that the old regulations in regard to the appointment of such merchants be restored, with the view of clearly laying down a limit, and of arresting wide-spreading evils.

Our humble opinion is, that, the port of Canton being open to a general commerce with foreigners, it is of the first importance, that the hong merchants, by whom the trade is conducted, should be proper men; in which case alone can the cherishing kindness of the throne be seconded. To enable the ship-traveled people to be, universally, recipients of joy and advantage, and to prevent smuggling and enrich the revenue, depend wholly upon them. Their relation to the affairs of the customs is not then at all trivial.

Formerly the hong merchants engaged in foreign trade were in all thirteen; but in length of days negligence having arisen, some among them became, in consequence, defaulters to the revenue, and fell into debt, on which account they absconded, or were subjected to punishment. Hence in the 11th year of Keäking (1806), the then superintendent of customs, Tihking, presented a memorial, wherein he requested that a senior merchant should be appointed to regulate all the affairs of the hong; and that, in future, whenever a new merchant should be chosen, the senior and all the hong merchants should jointly bind themselves, by signing a security, for him. In answer to this memorial the following imperial edict was received:

“Tihking has presented a report of the results of his investigations of the state of the custom-house. The merchants engaged in foreign trade, in Canton, who enter into security for the payment of the duties, have hitherto been admitted to fill their places, upon the security of only one or two merchants being given for them. Then, when involved in distresses and reduced in circumstances, they have either become defaulters, or have fallen into debt and absconded; and thus, much evil and many illegalities have resulted. Let it be as the said superintendent of customs has requested. Let a careful selection be made, from among all the hong merchants, of one or two individuals, of wealthy and substantial connections, and of honest and sterling character, and let them be appointed to the general management of the affairs of the hong merchants engaged in foreign trade, to lead and direct all the other hong merchants, and with equity and justice to amend what is wrong: and let the names of the senior merchants thus selected be recorded in the public offices, and reported to the Board. Whenever a new merchant is to be chosen to fill up a vacant place, let the whole body of the hong merchants, seniors and others, enter into a joint and general suretiship for him, and let the matter be communicated, in a distinct form, to the Board. If any one be expelled or retire, let it be reported, that whatever relates to him may be erased. And every year, on the day when the custom-house is closed, let a complete list of the

Preamble.

Importance of having proper men for hong merchants.

The thirteen hong merchants.

A memorial requesting the appointment of a senior merchant.

Reply to the memorial of Tihking for selecting senior hong merchants.

hong merchants' names be made, and presented to the Board, for examination and reference. Let the Board of Revenue be made acquainted with these directions. Respect this."

Memorial of Yenlung, requesting that any opulent men, after trial, may be made hong merchants.

Afterwards, in the ninth year of Taoukwang (1829), the then superintendent of customs, Yenlung, finding that none would come forward as hong merchants, and fearing that the senior merchants, having the responsibility of the suretiship, purposely made hindrances and objections, recommended for establishment some new and altered regulations, which having been laid before the throne, the following imperial edict was received :

Edict in reply, granting the request of the governor's memorial, abolishing the joint securityship, and requiring that of one or two only.

"Yenlung has laid before us a memorial, requesting a change in the regulations in reference to the bringing in of new merchants. In the province of Kwangtung, hongers are established for carrying on foreign trade. Formerly, a man was allowed to become a hong merchant, on obtaining the security of one or two of their number: but in the reign of Keaking, permission was given to appoint senior merchants to conduct the general affairs, and to require of any one, being chosen as a new merchant, that he should have the jointly-signed security of the senior and all the other merchants. These senior merchants have continually been in the practice of purposely making objections, so that the new merchants are too few to complete the regulated numbers; and it is difficult to get the vacant numbers filled up. Hence, for several years past, while the foreign ships have been daily increasing in number, the number of hongers has been constantly diminishing; so that it is difficult for them to give due attention to all things, and illegalities rapidly spring up. It is certainly right, taking these things into consideration, to make a change. Let it be as is requested. Hereafter, if a man in opulent circumstances and of good connections prefer a request to be made hong merchant, and the superintendent of customs find that what he states of himself is correct, let him be put on trial for one or two years; and if he then be found really correct and upright in his dealings, and possessing the confidence of the foreign merchants, and have paid up all the duties without defalcation, let him, according to the old regulations, obtain the security of one or two hong merchants, and on so doing receive his appointment. Let the rule, that the joint security of the senior and all the other merchants is to be procured, be forthwith annulled. Respect this."

Thirteen hong merchants; and three of these on trial:

These directions were respectfully recorded and obeyed; and from that time onwards, merchants have successively come forward to supply vacancies, so that the full number of thirteen hongers, formerly existing, is now again complete; and there is no cause for anxiety on the ground of there not being enough to pay due attention to business: among these, is Pwan Wanhæ, of the new hong Jinho, who has been on trial seven years, and, though frequently urged to it, has never yet obtained securities, nor in consequence been reported to the Board; also, Yeih Yuenchang of the new hong Footæ, Lo Futæ of the new hong Tungchang, with Yung Yewkwang of the new hong Anchang — not yet entered on the list presented to the Board, who have been on trial from upwards of one, to about two, years. These persons we have commanded, in obedience to the last-established regulations, speedily to obtain the true and faithful securities of one or

two merchants, that their names may be reported to the Board, and they be duly appointed, in order to give weight to the principle of responsibility; and for doing this, we have limited them to a period of one month. If the period pass over, without their obtaining a merchant to give securities for them, we will immediately communicate with each other, and erase their names, at the same time making inquiry if there are any transactions commenced by them during their period of trial, and yet unfinished, and in that case strictly urging the completion thereof, under governmental inspection.

In making regulations, however, the first and most important thing is, to ascertain what is most suitable; and in establishing laws, it is desirable to adopt such as may long continue unchanged. The new regulations, sanctioned on the representation of Yenlung, and now in force, we, your majesty's ministers, have found, after diligent and faithful examination, and joint discussion, to have been suited to the past, but to be unsuitable to the present state of things; and to have given rise to evils, which result in impeding their operation and rendering them ineffective. The full number of hong engaged in foreign trade at Canton has, for a very long period, been thirteen: and even when the vessels have been numerous, and the amount of duties large, there has never been any anxiety in regard to their being unable to attend to all their concerns. But Yenlung, seeing that the hong were weakened and reduced to half their number, and impelled by this temporary state of circumstances, effected the alteration—that any opulent person, applying of his own accord to become hong merchant, if his representations be found on inquiry to be true, should be permitted to enter on a course of trial. But what limit ought to be prescribed was not once made a subject of consideration. Thus the common people, striving together for gain, and snatching every opportunity—the appointments may go on gradually and endlessly increasing. Then the merchants being numerous, their characters must be various and often not free from alloy. In this way, it must indeed become difficult to pay due attention to all affairs.

During upwards of ten years past, silver bullion has been exported, and the poisonous opium has been spread throughout the empire, giving rise to a crowd of illegalities—smuggling contraband articles, and evading the lawful duties. While in this we see scoundrels who are *without*, entering into compact to do evil, it would be difficult to ensure that the contamination does not actually commence *within*. Thus, in the third month of the present year, a criminal, Leäng Ake, was apprehended as a smuggler; and on his trial there appeared a letter, from the hong merchant Lo Futae to an escaped criminal Ching Yungping, wherein allusion was made to Lo Heaoufung, naval captain in the department of Shacuking, as concerned in the establishment of that hong. I, your minister Täng, in consequence, represented the circumstance against him to your majesty, and received your imperial pleasure to remove from Lo Heaoufung his rank,

One month allowed for them to obtain security.

The existing regulations, unsuitable to the present state of things

since appointments may go on increasing indefinitely:

they give rise to smuggling, and other illegalities.

and to bring him to the capital, to be tried. Although the trial of the case has not yet terminated, yet it is already plain that the said merchant, not being affluent, has connected himself with lawless people. If now, when investigation of this subject is being made with the utmost strictness and closest attention, the spread of the evil be not quickly arrested, it is truly to be feared that these illegalities will increase to a very great degree.

Objections to a course of trial for selecting good merchants.

Moreover, the plan of placing men on a course of trial was adopted as an important means of selecting good merchants. But how unfathomable is the human mind! How shall it be ascertained, that men are not, during the one or two years of trial, artfully patching up, to save appearances, in order that, after their appointment as merchants, they may pursue their law-subverting plans? Then, when the time has elapsed, and the necessary securities have been obtained, the leak in the patched kettle is, when too late, discovered; though the law pursue such a person, yet how is the loss already suffered to be made up? Hence it is perfectly clear, and beyond a doubt, that the plan of passing through a course of trial is not in the least to be depended on. But the old regulation, sanctioned at the desire of Tihking, that the securities given for a merchant shall consist of a joint bond entered into by all, being agreeable to the common and general sense of justice, how solid and substantial is the security it gives! By the framers of the new regulation, it was found fault with, as giving scope to make objections and present hindrances; and hence they altered it, deciding hastily to sanction an appointment on the surety of one or two merchants. They did not call to mind, that the result of such objections and hindrances—delay—is but the lesser evil: for these one or two merchants, if not his immediate relatives or intimates, are probably induced to secure him by presents; and when suddenly his affairs are upset, the injury that is thereby caused is indeed great.

The whole body of hong merchants are responsible for the debts of those who fail.

Furthermore, in all cases of prosecution of these merchants, the property sequestered not sufficing to pay all demands, the whole body of the merchants has been directed to pay them by instalments. This practice has now by long usage become a rule; and, whether standing surety for the defaulter or not, none can in the least degree evade it. But when they have to pay for one whom they did not secure, the payers must indeed find it difficult quietly to submit. Is it not much better, that they for whom they pay should be secured by them, by which a remedy will be obtained for careless security, in the caution which each will observe?

New regulations requested—

1. That the number of hong merchants be limited:

Our feeble and obscure views, we, your ministers, would humbly represent to be these:—That, as the number of the hong merchants has been filled up, and there is no deficiency, but the number is sufficient for conducting affairs, a limitation should at once be plainly prescribed: That it is our duty to request, that hereafter, when any of the thirteen hong merchants fails, or is for any cause expelled, or retires, then as each vacancy occurs, permission be given to supply

it; but that, except in such case, it be not permitted, without sufficient cause, to add a single merchant to the number: That it is unnecessary to prescribe a period for going through a course of trial, vainly adopting a nominal, but unreal, check; but that, at the time of appointing a merchant, the old rule should be reëstablished, of giving a general security; the whole body of merchants, seniors and others, being required jointly and carefully to select an opulent, honorable, and upright man, and to sign their names together to a bond of security for him,—the whole to be laid in a separate form before the Board of Revenue, that the man may be fully appointed: That not the slightest evasion and hindrance be suffered, so that every monopolizing purpose may be disappointed: That, lastly, in all other respects the former regulations be retained, as the rule according to which all affairs are to be safely conducted. Thus a fixed limit will be laid down; and, it is hoped, the numbers will be properly circumscribed, and not in excess; those who become merchants will bring with them large property, so that there will be something on which the responsibility can rest; and those who secure them will, as a matter of necessity, seek for really and substantially good persons. It may be expected also to be not wanting in advantage, as enriching the revenue, and as tending utterly to put an end to all compacts in wrongdoing. We present our views before the throne, with the desire of reforming the affairs of the custom-house, and unite together in a joint memorial, respectfully awaiting the imperial decision as to their propriety or impropriety; and to this end we humbly solicit our sovereign to cast on them a glance, and to vouchsafe instructions. A respectful memorial.

No. 20.

Imperial edict, requiring certain foreigners to leave Canton.

Wän, superintendent of maritime customs in Canton, &c., to the hong merchants, Howqua and others, for their full information. On the 22d of October, I received from the governor and lieutenant-governor the annexed communication.

“We received, on the 19th of October, by an express of the Board of War, a dispatch from the Council of state, addressed ‘to Täng, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Ke, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, to be enjoined also on Wän, superintendent of customs,’—and containing, under date the 29th September, 1837, the following

“Imperial edict. ‘A report has been laid before us, representing that, in the province of Kwangtung, remissness and illegalities increase daily; enumerating six particulars; and earnestly requesting that orders may be given for amendment thereof. The memorialist states, that of the multitudinous cases of plundering which occur in that province, the majority are attributable to associated banditti, bearing such names as the Teënte Brotherhood, the Triad Society, &c.; that these

2. That a course of trial be abolished, and the whole body of merchants give joint security:

3. That there be no monopolizing:

4. That, in all other respects, the old regulations remain unchanged.

Preliminaries.

Dispatch from the council of state addressed to the governor: plundering attributable to associated banditti.

District magistrates reduce the tribute of grain into money.

Cruising vessels receiving bribes, and allow smuggling.

Encroachments in the salt department. Tolls and duties neglected. The foreigners in Canton and the Lintin fleet should be expelled.

These illegalities to be investigated.

club together in bands and fraternities, and are ever and anon injuring and troubling the people; and that every instance of complaint affords occasion for varied and numerous extortions. Again, he states, that the magistrates of districts in that province, when levying the tribute of grain, have sometimes, as it is said, reduced it into money at the extravagant rate of six or seven taels for a *sheih* [about eight or nine dollars for 130 catties]; that they are very lax towards their writers and police, receiving bribes to screen and shelter them. The report then points out that the storing up of grain is a convenience to the people; and that there is nothing better than to establish free granaries, and to hold the grain, furnished to fill them by the people themselves, as a provision for the occasional wants of years of dearth,—a measure alike advantageous to the officers and the people. In regard to governmental cruising vessels, the objects of their establishment are the apprehension of thieves, and the prevention of smuggling: but of late, the report states, the only thing aimed at by them is, to receive from the whole face of the country petty and unlicensed fees; they do not at all apprehend smugglers; and all the stations and posts of the maritime police have gradually come to be mere names, without any effective reality. In the salt department of that province, it is needful to put a stop to all clandestine encroachment; and it is essential, from time to time, to examine thoroughly, and adopt measures for making a full end thereof. With regard to all that relates to tolls and duties, it is still more needful to remove and cut away every evil and illegality. The depraved foreigners residing in Canton, ——— and others, and the receiving ships already at Lintin, should all be forcibly expelled. Let T'ang and his colleagues make faithful examination in regard to each of these six subjects spoken of in the memorial, and if there be such illegalities as are named, they must feel it imperative on them to lay aside every consideration of pleasing others, and proceed with truth and fidelity to correct what is wrong. It is our sincere hope that the civil administration, and the military defenses, may all be really and practically useful. In that case all will be right and proper. Let a copy of the original address be sent, and these commands be made known, to T'ang, and Ke, and by them enjoined on Wán. Respect this.'

"The council of state having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure, forwarded the above, we the governor and lieutenant-governor have received the same. We will proceed accordingly, in distinct documents, to direct inquiry on the several points alluded to in the above clauses, beginning "in the affairs of the police, there must not be any remissness or procrastination allowed:" also, on the subject of the remaining clause, "that, in relation to tolls and duties, all illegalities should be removed, and correctness restored,"—we will forward a communication to the naval commander-in-chief, expressing our hope, that he will immediately drive away and send back to their country the re-

ceiving ships anchored in the seas about Lintin and Lantao,—and that he will, after careful consideration, write in answer, and inform us of the line of action adopted by him, to enable us to reply to the throne: we will still further instruct the judicial commissioner, to proceed immediately, in concert with the financial and territorial commissioner, to act in accordance with the instructions contained in our separate dispatches; and, on the several points noticed in the original memorial and in the imperial edict now received, to issue directions that the imperial pleasure may be respectfully obeyed and acted on; at the same time, also, to detail consecutively the measures adopted in reference to each clause, and report the same for our examination, so as to enable us to make our reply to the throne.

“ Besides all this, it is our duty to forward to you [the hoppo] this communication, for your examination. We trust you will immediately command the hong merchants to expel with severity those depraved foreigners, —— and others, residing in Canton; also, that you will examine and discover if any of your attendant officers have indeed sold to depraved natives the information of warrants being out against them, thus enabling them to procure others to take their place, and so giving rise to gross illegalities; furthermore, whether the number of officers deputed to act in the custom-houses of Canton and Macao should or should not be reduced. We hope that you will grant us a reply, that we may perform what is required of us; and that, as regards the other particulars of the memorial and imperial edict, you will act with respectful obedience, and enforce what is required. Annexed is a copy of the original memorial.”

The above communication having reached me the hoppo, I, on the receipt of it, proceed to issue this order, to give information. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately pay obedience to it, by instituting inquiry concerning each of the foreigners unlawfully residing in Canton, namely ——, ——, ——, and ——, and by speedily, and with severity, expelling them. They must not allow them to linger for an instant. Let them also with the utmost speed report the period of the said foreigners' departure for Macao, to enable a reply to be made to the throne. This is an affair in which the imperial pleasure has been received, requiring examination. The said merchants must, therefore, by all means, act in obedience to it. If they dare to connive and screen the foreigners, they themselves shall be held solely responsible. Let each, then, tremblingly obey. Oppose not. A special order. October 25th, 1837.

Communication from the governor to the hoppo directing him to command the hong merchants to expell the foreigners.

The hoppo issues his order.

No. 21.

*Estimate of the annual consumption of Opium in China.*Explanatory
remarks.

MUCH has been said, by our correspondents and others, respecting the amount of opium consumed in China, and the number of those who use the drug. With reference to both these topics, the tables on the opposite page contain valuable data; and, in connection with papers already published, will enable those who desire to investigate the subject, to draw tolerably accurate conclusions. The tables, (as far down as 1833,) have been kindly sent to us by one who, though now retired from his business in this country, was for many years extensively engaged in the traffic. On account of the manner in which the government treats the traffickers and smokers of the drug, it is quite impossible for us to gain that minute information, which the importance of the subject seems to require. Some fifty or sixty native traffickers and smugglers, it is said, have been seized within a few months. In the tables, the estimated amount of the drug and the given number of consumers, are too low; besides, the Turkey opium, and the native produce, are not brought into the account. The tables, therefore, must be regarded as only an approximation to the truth. The quantity daily used varies exceedingly in different cases: some consuming only one candareen or less; some three; some ten; some twenty or more. Whether three candareens per day, as assumed in the table, is a fair average, we are not prepared to say.

Estimate of the annual consumption of Indian opium and of the stock remaining on hand at the close of each year, from 1828-29 to 1836-37.

YEARS.	PATNA.		BENARES.		MALWA.		TOTAL.		Remaining Stock on the 31st of March each year, including Macao.					
	Chests.	Price.	Chests.	Price.	Chests.	Price.	Chests.	Value.	O. P. N.	P. O. B.	N. B. O. M.	N. M.	N. M.	
1825-29	4831	947	1130	911	7,171	986	13,132	12,533,115	428	176	—	704	1302	
1826-30	5361	866	1579	842	13,291,229	6,857	14,000	12,057,157	239	781	65	411,586	2712	
1830-31	5085	876	1575	848	13,335,810	12,100	18,760	12,900,031	552	1083	92	261,2117	4060	
1831-32	4442	953	1518	951	14,448,195	8,265	14,225	11,501,584	1265	921	137	272,2983	5578	
1832-33	6410	798	1880	774	14,555,600	15,402	23,693	15,352,429	555	1304	202	121,973	3163	
1833-34	7003	631	1642	653	14,066,459	11,715	21,250	14,006,605	205	685	84	191,961	2127	
1834-35	7558	600	2509	582	14,27,604	9,982	20,089	11,758,779	217	584	94	138,2658	3691	
1835-36	9011	750	2405	702	14,07,510	15,002	26,018	17,106,903	271	1211	185	342,1864	3873	
1836-37	5250	719	2733	711	1,989,270	13,430	21,505	14,454,193	519	2086	318	254	997	4189

Table showing the progressive increase in the number of smokers of Indian opium in China for eighteen years, estimating the consumption of each man at three candareens, equal to 17 ¹⁰/₁₀₀ grains per day.

AVERAGE of three years ending on the 31st of March.	Chests of Patna and Benares.		Weight in catties.		Candareens of pure extract at 50 Malwa touch.		Weight in catties.		Candareens of pure extract at 75 touch.		Total chests consumed.		Total candareens of pure extract.		Value in Spanish Dollars.	
	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.	Chests.	Weight.
31st of March, 1820,	2550	285,000	1,437	143,700	1,437	143,700	172,440,000	4,287	400,440,000	385,699	\$4,548,900					
31st of March, 1823,	2594	259,400	2,479	247,900	2,479	247,900	297,400,000	5,073	505,000,000	461,187	8,234,773					
31st of March, 1826,	3002	300,200	5,450	545,000	5,450	545,000	634,000,000	8,452	894,160,000	816,584	7,913,310					
31st of March, 1829,	4920	492,000	6,160	616,000	6,160	616,000	739,200,000	11,080	1,132,800,000	1,034,520	10,856,058					
31st of March, 1832,	6588	658,800	9,074	907,400	9,074	907,400	1,088,880,000	15,662	1,615,920,000	1,475,726	12,154,334					
31st of March, 1835,	9311	931,100	12,366	1,236,600	12,366	1,236,600	1,488,920,000	21,677	2,233,800,000	2,639,998	19,769,111					





