

DIVIDED BY POPPY

A Rhetorical Conflict between Missionaries and the British Government on Opium

Abstract: Religion and commerce are often discussed as independent and distinct fields of study, each governed by their own rules and histories. Yet, it is becoming increasingly apparent within the study of global history that these two forces are critically interconnected and interdependent. Indeed, history is abound with examples of faith and trade sometimes warring as enemies and other times working as an inseparable marriage, with all manners of interaction extant in between. A brief examination of the British opium trade may provide some insight into one instance of this relationship. This essay considers rhetoric used by pro-opium representatives of the British government and anti-opium Protestant missionaries with regards to the late 19th century opium trade in China.

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The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the law, be persecuted or interfered with.¹

British subjects are hereby authorized to travel, for their pleasure or for purposes of trade, to all parts of the interior... They are permitted to carry on trade with whomsoever they please, and to proceed to and fro at pleasure with their Vessels and Merchandise...²

Set to paper on June 26th, 1858, these two clauses of the Treaty of Tientsin best demonstrate the extent of British hegemony over imperial China during the 19th century. Following the end of two Anglo-Chinese wars now labeled as “The Opium Wars,” these conflicts fully opened the gates of China to British proselytism and trade. These two forces would work in tandem in the following decades in an attempt to propagate British influence over the Chinese people—that is, with one critical exception that would become a major point of controversy: the opium trade.

In its refined state, opium is a stimulatory and pleasurable paste that can be smoked or ingested.³ Although it has a long history as a recreationally used substance in China, its prevalence and notoriety were greatly magnified following the establishment of an opium trade between the British Raj and Imperial China in the 19th century.⁴ At the same time, a significant opposition to the opium trade would arise both domestically in England and among its expatriates in China. This anti-opium movement was bolstered by immense

support from the Christian clergy and in particular, Protestant missionaries within China. Writing on the topic of the opium trade, a Reverend Silvester Whitehead would say the following: “The missionaries in China are absolutely one on this important question...the whole six-hundred of them with one accordant voice proclaim the opium a curse, and they tell you that the trade in the past was a monstrous wrong, and thus it is still a gigantic evil.”⁵ Regardless of sect or denomination, western missionaries would become some of the most vocal opponents of the opium trade, going as far as to create the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, a prominent activist and political lobbying group based in England.⁶ But despite their outrage and activism, missionaries would be met with equal vigor by pro-opium representatives sourced from both the royal government and private industry. As such, the Anglo-Chinese opium trade would persist until the early 20th century.⁷

Indeed, an instance of profound disconnect between the Protestant religious community and the British government/merchant class can be identified by examining three key points of contention on the opium trade: (1) the harmful physical and mental effects of opium on the consumer (2) the effects of opium’s trade and consumption on the spread of Christianity, and (3) the role of the British crown and people in propagating opium addiction. In pursuing this goal, this paper will utilize publications and correspondences from both anti-opium and pro-opium figures alongside secondary sources from later historians. Of particular note are John Dudgeon, a prolific contemporary anti-opium writer and medical missionary representing the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, and William H. Brereton, a pro-opium representative of the British Raj who served as a lawyer in Hong Kong for several years.

OPIUM – POISON OR SUPPLEMENT?

Central to the debate on the morality of the opium trade was a complete disagreement over whether opium was at all a harmful drug. Missionaries of the 19th century associated the recreational abuse of opiates with activities of the depraved and undisciplined and in a manner similar to popular opinion in modern western society. In contrast, proponents of the opium trade fiercely argued that refined opium as it was sold to the Chinese was not harmful or addictive, but rather was a beneficial supplement to one's physical and mental health.

The writings of missionaries in China abound with reports on the allegedly destructive effects of opium on the health of the consumer. Although opium was best known to be a stimulant, its opponents lamented that continued consumption of the paste would lead to the onset of negative physical symptoms. In an effort to prove this claim, anti-opium activists assembled reports from over 100 physicians on the use of opium:

“The digestion becomes weakened, the appetite fails, the liver inactive, and the bowels constipated. From the inability to get or take or digest sufficient food, emaciation results. The skin becomes dry and shriveled, the face sallow, the cheeks sunken, and the eyes dull. The pulse becomes weak, quick, and irritable, except when opium has just been taken. The bronchial tubes become irritated, causing cough, and often an asthmatic condition. The effects on the brain are at first stimulating and exhilarating, but in time a dull, stupid, languorous condition is induced, rendering the man unable for active work...”⁸

There is a dense amount of information within this consultation, meant precisely to convey to the reader an understanding of opium as a poison rather than a recreational drug. John Dudgeon cites another writer from the city of Nanking who describes opium addicts as “corpses – lean and haggard as demons... their skin hangs down like bags and their bones are as naked as billets of wood.”⁹ Opium was thus viewed by the missionaries as a harmful substance that directly destroyed the lives of its consumers. The missionaries intended for their readers at home to share this same interpretation. Missionaries sought to further develop this characterization of opium by emphasizing not only its immediate physical effects, but also its addictiveness. Medical missionaries or missionaries who spent ample time around opium addicts often noted an incurable addiction to opium and the onset of an “opium diarrhea” associated with withdrawal from the drug.¹⁰ Reverend John Griffith, when asked whether opium addicts could break themselves of the opium habit, wrote the following: “Many come to our hospitals with the view of breaking it off, and are cured for a time. The permanently cured, however, are exceedingly few. By far, the majority of cases fall back within a year or two.”¹¹ Because of opium's side effects and its addictiveness,



Making of Opium Cakes, 1908 (2013)

Source: *Drugging a Nation: The story of China and the Opium Trade*. Fleming H Revell Company (Wikimedia Commons)

missionaries believed that the British Empire was morally responsible for any suffering of Chinese opium smokers.

Beyond the effects on the individual consumer, missionaries also saw opium as a plague on entire Chinese communities. Opium was believed to loosen one's morals and self-discipline, leading to unproductivity and crime. Citing the testimony of the Superintendent to the British Indian Government of the tea plantations in Assam, one missionary describes the effects of opium as “that dreadful plague which has depopulated this beautiful country, turned it into a land of wild beasts, and has degenerated the Assamese from a fine race of people to the most abject, servile, crafty, and demoralized race in India.”¹² Other missionaries looked to opium dens, commercial buildings where smokers would collectively gather, to draw their conclusions on the societal effects of the drug: “...several schools showed that education was not altogether neglected; but the opium dens were more numerous than the schools and the habit of smoking seemed almost universal among the men.”¹³ An article from the *North China Herald* reads that “[opium dens] harbor all sorts of thieves and vagabonds and depreciate the value and security of property and seriously add to the number of petty robberies in the neighborhoods in which they are opened.”¹⁴ John Dudgeon, one of the most vocal members of the anti-opium movement, cites a visitor to an opium den who described the building as “an ante-chamber to hell.”¹⁵ Clearly, anti-opium missionaries and figures interpreted the opium problem as an epidemic, destroying both the individual and the society in more ways than one.

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Pro-opium representatives responded to these outcries by shifting their reader's focus to the positive effects and uses of opium, and by denying the addictiveness of the drug. In his lectures titled "The Truth about Opium Smoking," long-time Hong Kong lawyer and representative of the British Raj William Brereton sought to dispel what he called "the mischievous fallacies" of anti-opium figures. In addressing the alleged physical symptoms of opium consumption, he draws on the testimony of a Dr. Philip Ayres, who denies nearly every negative physical effect of opium smoking.¹⁶ Additionally, Brereton asserts another claim espoused by many pro-opium writers— that is, that "opium smoking may become a habit, but that that habit is not necessarily an increasing one."¹⁶ Pro-opium writers maintained that opium smoking was an easily manageable habit and not at all a malicious one that drove its consumers to find greater and greater doses of the drug. Historian Frank Dikötter is a modern historian that has reiterated this same stance, writing that opium users did not suffer from increasing tolerance to the drug, thereby allowing them to consume relatively similar amounts of the drug for long periods of time.¹⁷ Although Dikötter does not reject opium as a potentially noxious narcotic outright, he breaks from consensus by highlighting and defending some of the arguments historically made by pro-opium writers of the 19th century.

To further minimize any criticisms of opium, many writers developed the common argument that opium is no worse of a substance than alcohol frequently consumed throughout Europe. Such a stance can be found in the official reports by the 1895 British Royal Commission on Opium, charged with assessing the harmfulness of the opium trade.¹⁸ Pro-opium writers rejected moral condemnations of "peddling poison" to China, reasoning that opium smoking was no less evil than the average Englishman's post-work drink. Their goal was to normalize opium smoking by placing the drug in the minds of the public alongside other common social activities. The Protestant religious community would lambast pro-opium writers for this argument although a deep review of their comments is beyond the focus of this paper.¹⁹

Defenders of the opium trade have even argued that opium was not only harmless, but in fact a greatly beneficial drug that provided an essential health service for China. In his book, Historian Frank Dikötter notes, citing the observations of a doctor from Fujian province in 1911, that opium smoking was often used as a treatment for minor ailments such as itching, dyspepsia, and bronchitis.²⁰ Indeed, Brereton argues in his lectures that opium was commonly used as a daily supplement akin to coffee:

"The Chinaman takes opium just because he likes it, and knowing it will act at once as a pleasing sedative and a harmless stimulant. A man who is working hard all day in a tropical climate, whether at bodily or mental work, finds, towards the close of the day, his nervous system in an unsettled state, and looks for a stimulant, and the most harmless and most effectual one he can find is the opium pipe."²¹

Interestingly, it was argued that the aforementioned opium diarrhea was not a symptom of withdrawal, but rather a common pre-existing condition that opium helped to resolve. By removing themselves from opium, former users once again began to suffer from this diarrhea. Sir Lepel Griffin, an administrator in British India, used this same argument but with a more radical rhetoric. He writes that "It was an astonishingly sad thing to see, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a Society possessed of such mischievous, homicidal characteristics as the Anti-Opium Society. If their convictions were to prevail, they would rank as destroyers of the human race with cholera and famine, because a very large part of the population of India was only preserved from death by the habitual use of opium."²² Regardless of intensity, it seems that supporters of the opium trade have used a variety of rationales to completely defy and refute the findings and arguments of Christian missionaries.

THE OPIUM TRADE AS A BLOCKADE TO THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

The disputed physical, mental, and societal effects of opium consumption also directly tie to the missionaries' concerns of the deleterious effects of the opium trade on the spread of Christianity. Taken from historian Michael Adas in his book *Dominance by Design*, "...Christian preachers remained reviled outsiders [in China]. The number of converts was still miniscule at the end of the century – 100,000 in a population of approximately 500 million in 1900."²³ Although Christian missionaries did not blame all of their struggles on the opium trade, they certainly saw it as a destructive evil that inherently opposed and obstructed the spread of the Gospel. For example, missionaries were undoubtedly concerned that they were physically indistinguishable from British opium merchants, or that their efforts at conversion were being conflated with opium peddling: "[The Chinese] believed the extension of this pernicious habit [that is, opium addiction] was mainly due to the alacrity with which foreigners supplied the poison for their own profit, frequently regardless of the irreparable injury afflicted, and naturally they felt hostile to all concerned in the traffic."²⁴ Although missionaries would have been rarely, if ever, directly involved in the opium trade, they felt that the trade brewed general resentment against all westerners. Notes from Reverend John Griffith in his essay, "On Opium in China," corroborate this sentiment: "The [Chinese] people generally look upon the opium vice having been introduced by foreigners, without distinguishing between one nation and another, and they look upon its introduction as an immoral and hostile act..."²⁵

Even when the distinction between proselytizer and opium merchant was made clear, missionaries were also aware of the hypocrisy associated with the export of opium, an abusive and potentially harmful substance, by a civilization that also preached the virtues of a pious life. A contradiction between the values of Christianity and the actions of its followers was apparent to both missionaries and the Chinese. A quote from one Dr. Medhurst working in China puts it best:



China, Opium smokers by Lai Afong, (1880)
 Source: *Lai Ah Fong*(*Wikimedia Commons*)

“Almost the first word uttered by a Chinese when anything is said concerning the excellence of Christianity is, ‘Why do Christians bring us opium? The vile drug has destroyed my son... and well-might lead me to beggar my wife and children. Surely those who import such a deleterious substance... cannot be in possession of a better religion than I.’”²⁶

Another quote from Reverend W. H. Collins illustrates the internal conflict that missionaries likely felt in confronting their home-nation’s involvement in the opium trade: “[I] unfortunately am obliged to admit that both my sovereign and my fellow countrymen are deeply implicated in the trade, and that in pursuit of gain they ignore the terrible evils which result from such unrighteous traffic.”²⁷ Thus in their work with the Chinese, many missionaries feared that the opium problem would serve as a poison pill to an otherwise glowing path of Christianity. These fears may have been heightened in the case of an encounter with missionaries of another faith; an essay by anti-opium writer J. Spencer Hill notes that “missionaries of other nations can, when pressed with the opium trade, say they are free from the stain, that their hands are clean...”²⁸

Missionaries also directly impeded the conversion of Chinese natives if they were found to have consumed opium. Reverend W. H. Collins briefly mentions in one of his essays that opium smokers were forbidden from joining in Christian communion.²⁹ The rationale behind this rule was likely an uneasiness about immoral or undesirable characters, i.e., opium smokers, joining the congregation. An article published in London titled “Missionary Magazine” includes an anecdote about a young Chinese Christian convert whose baptism was postponed following allegations that he was an opium smoker.³⁰ These two examples show that, to missionaries, opium smoking not only drove away potential converts, but also was considered a serious enough doctrinal offense to interrupt or prevent successful conversion of willing Chinese natives.

The characteristic pro-opium response to these concerns was denial that the opium trade played any significant role in the failures of Christian proselytization and conversion. In the first of his lectures, Breton argued that many factors existed in influencing the Chinese opinion of western foreigners and Christianity.³¹ Any hypocrisy or associations relating to the

opium trade played a relatively minor role in affecting the likelihood of Chinese conversion.

Brereton takes this argument further by dismissing any genuine Chinese interest in Christianity, effectively condemning the efforts of Protestant missionaries as futile. The following excerpt from his lecture encapsulates his opinion on the work of Christian missionaries:

Still, our Chinese friends are a very polite people, and no doubt they are and will continue to be outwardly very civil to missionaries, and, although they may consider them impudent intruders, will give courteous answers to their questions; but it does not follow that they will give true answers. A respectable Chinaman, such as a merchant, a shopkeeper, or an artisan, would consider himself disgraced among his own community if it were known that he had embraced Christianity, or even entertained the thought of doing so. I do not think that, long as I was in China, I had a single regular Chinese client who was a Christian.³²

it inculcates, and, unable to account for their failure, ... they accept the stale and miserable subterfuge that the Indo-China opium trade is vicious and that before Christianity is accepted by the country, the trade in question must be abolished.³³

SHIFTING THE BLAME – WHO BEARS THE BURDEN OF THE OPIUM TRADE?

In further examining this rift, it is of great interest to also pry into the stances of the British government on actual intervention in the opium trade. In addition to the topics already discussed thus far, defenders of the opium trade fundamentally disagreed with missionaries on the effectiveness of banning the opium trade between British India and China. This manifested in two ways: first, that the quantity of imported British Raj opium consumed by the Chinese was relatively small in comparison to the total population of the country, and second that a burgeoning native Chinese opium industry would continue to drive opium consumption even in the absence of importation.

“Why do Christians bring us opium? The vile drug has destroyed my son”

Within this quote, Brereton describes a Chinese society driven so strongly by a collective dislike of the west that missionaries were essentially destined to fail. Moreover, his worldview also asserts that any “successful” converts are actually frauds assuming the costume of a Christian simply to appease missionaries. In a later excerpt, Brereton goes as far as to explicitly claim: “In very rare instances, Chinese professing Christianity will be found holding respectable positions, but, I regret to say, I do not believe that any of such people are sincere.”³³ Such a stance dismisses not only ordinary Chinese Christian converts, but even those Chinese who ascended to positions within the clergy. This specific point is unlikely to be representative of the entire pro-opium camp, but is nonetheless worth examining given Brereton’s prominence and the degree of attention his lectures would receive. Ultimately, what Brereton’s thesis implies, is a lack of faith in British missionaries and therefore the entire Protestant religious community. A final parting quote on this topic exemplifies the apparent rift between British religious interests and representatives of the opium trade:

I hold the missionaries altogether responsible for the hallucination that has taken possession of the public mind on the opium question. With the Bible they revere in their hands, they think the Chinese should eagerly embrace the doctrine

Opium defenders believed that missionaries often exaggerated both the effects of opium, as discussed above, and the prevalence of the drug within the population. An 1881 report by the inspector-general of imperial maritime customs in China, Sir Robert Hart, is frequently cited for the official quantification of Chinese opium consumption. According to Hart’s office, a total of 100,000 chests of imported opium entered China each year as of the year 1881. Following a few lines of calculations, the report concludes that such a quantity amounts to only approximately 3 opium smokers per 1000 people, or 0.3% of the population.³⁴ In citing this data, pro-opium writers attempted to minimize the role of the British Empire in supplying China with opium.

Furthermore, it was commonly argued that imported opium supplies were overshadowed by native opium production from within China. In the words of Sir John Strachey, a government official from British India, “There can be no greater delusion than to suppose that China depends on India for her supply of opium. If no opium were exported from India, the consumption of China would remain relatively unchanged.”³⁵ The earlier mentioned 1895 Royal Commission on Opium would ultimately corroborate this stance as well, publishing that “India only sends to China about one-fifth of what that country uses, and that the rest is not entirely home grown, but is imported from other countries, notably

from Persia.”³⁶ This argument essentially attempts to remove responsibility from the royal crown, placing it instead on the heads of other countries and of China herself.

The pro-opium faction would pursue this re-attribution of responsibility to an even greater extent by citing the failure of the Chinese government to enforce laws banning the production or consumption of native opium. The Royal Commission’s final advice for the British government would include the following statement: “So long as the importation of Indian opium is allowed by the Chinese government, and is not imposed upon it by intimidation or pressure of any kind, we are not of opinion that the objection [is] sufficiently strong to call for interference on the part of the British government.”³⁷ The absence of Chinese legal action, and the Chinese government’s continued profit from taxation of imported opium, was cited as evidence that British opium was a welcome product. Such an argument had little basis in historical reality: a major point of tension leading to the first Anglo-Chinese “Opium War” in 1840 had been in fact a Chinese ban on British opium and the imperial confiscation of over 2 million pounds of opium. The legalization of opium would come later with surrender to British hegemony.³⁸ Regardless, such was the rhetoric of supporters of the opium trade. Their arguments would ultimately manifest into the decided stance of the British royal government on the trade.

CONCLUSIONS

The opium trade became an extremely contested topic during the latter half of the 19th century. Those who opposed it saw it as an evil and immoral stain upon Great Britain as an allegedly civilized and upstanding nation, as well as the entire religion of Christianity. Given the solidarity of the Christian religious community on this subject, those who supported the trade thus inevitably demonstrated doubt in or defiance of their own religion. The motives and intentions behind this behavior remains unclear for now. Indeed, while this essay focused on elucidating a rhetorical divide between missionaries and the British government, a further study of the potential economic motivations behind defenders of the opium trade is essential in completely understanding the context of their conflict with the religious community.

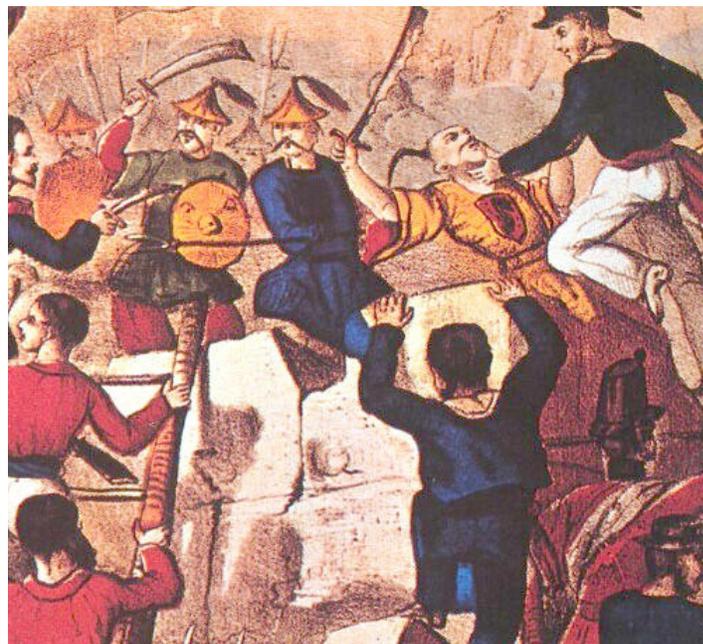
Endnotes

[1] “Treaty of Tientsin,” *Historical Laws of Hong Kong Online*, accessed November 22nd, 2018 <http://oelawhk.lib.hku.hk/items/show/1025>. Article VIII.

[2] “Treaty of Tientsin.” Articles IX, XI.

[3] K. Flow, *The Chinese Encounter with Opium: Dreams of Colored Clouds and Orchid Fragrance* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2009), 14.

[4] K. Flow, *The Chinese Encounter with Opium: Dreams of Colored Clouds and Orchid Fragrance* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 2009), 14.



Second Opium War (2005)

Source: *Library of Congress (Wikimedia Commons)*

After the release of the Royal Commission on Opium’s final report in 1895, the opium trade would continue for more than a decade into the early 20th century.³⁹ In a grand study of the historical struggle between religious and economic priorities, this could be interpreted in one of two ways: (1) that economic, or at least non-religious, priorities were dominant over religious ones, allowing the continuation of the opium trade, or (2) that the efforts of Protestant clergymen and missionaries were ultimately successful in eventually putting an end to a profitable trade. In truth, numerous other players and factors in addition to anti-opium activists likely contributed to the prohibition of opium in China. Further inquiry beyond the scope of this paper is necessary to truly understand the consequences of the opium trade in China, but it remains undeniable that the opium trade serves as a compelling case study into the ever-changing, yet eternally intimate, relationship between religion and trade. 🏛️

[5] Taken from Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 30.

[6] Taken from Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 51-52.

[7] Frank Dikötter, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 111.

[8] “Opinions of Over 100 Physicians on the Use of Opium in China,” compiled by William Hector Park (Shanghai, American

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Presbyterian Mission Press, 1899), 5.

[9] John Dudgeon "On the Extent and some of the evils of Opium smoking," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 1 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1869), 205.

[10] "Opium Smoking in China," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 1 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1869), 181.

[11] John Griffith, "On Opium in China" (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1891), 20.

[12] J. Spencer Hill, "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade considered in relation to its history, morality, and expediency and its influence on Christian missions" (London, Oxford University Press, 1884), 87-88.

[13] B. C. Henry, "Glimpses of Hainan," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 14 (Shanghai, American Missionary Press, 1883), 178.

[14] "Opium Smoking in China," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 1 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1869), 181.

[15] John Dudgeon "On the Extent and some of the evils of Opium smoking," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 1 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1869), 205.

[16] William H. Brereton, "The Truth about Opium, being a refutation of the fallacies of the anti-opium society and a defense of the Indo-China opium trade" (London, W.H. Allen & Co Publishers to the India Office, 1883), 7.

[17] Frank Dikötter, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 56.

[18] Arnold Foster, "The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium Compared with the Evidence from China that was submitted to the Commission" (London, Eyer and Spottiswoode, 1899), 4-5.

[19] John Dudgeon, "Opium and Truth," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 13 (Shanghai, American Presbyterian Mission Press, 1882), 224-225, 228.

[20] Frank Dikötter, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 123.

[21] William H. Brereton, "The Truth about Opium, being a refutation of the fallacies of the anti-opium society and a defense of the Indo-China opium trade" (London, W.H. Allen & Co Publishers to the India Office, 1883), 7.

[22] Taken from Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 79.

[23] Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 119.

[24] J. Spencer Hill, "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade considered in relation to its history, morality, and expediency and its influence on Christian missions" (London, Oxford University Press, 1884), 39.

[25] "On Opium in China," 24-25.

[26] J. Spencer Hill, "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade considered in relation to its history, morality, and expediency and its influence on Christian missions" (London, Oxford University Press, 1884), 87-88.

[27] W. H. Collins, "The Evils of Opium-Smoking," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 2 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1870), 138.

[28] J. Spencer Hill, "The Indo-Chinese Opium Trade considered in relation to its history, morality, and expediency and its influence on Christian missions" (London, Oxford University Press, 1884), 90.

[29] W. H. Collins, "The Evils of Opium-Smoking," *The Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, vol. 2 (Rozario, Marcal & Co, 1870), 137.

[30] "Missionary Magazine," (London, William Stevens, 1860), 34-35.

[31] William H. Brereton, "The Truth about Opium, being a refutation of the fallacies of the anti-opium society and a defense of the Indo-China opium trade" (London, W.H. Allen & Co Publishers to the India Office, 1883), 28.

[32] William H. Brereton, "The Truth about Opium, being a refutation of the fallacies of the anti-opium society and a defense of the Indo-China opium trade" (London, W.H. Allen & Co Publishers to the India Office, 1883), 57.

[33] William H. Brereton, "The Truth about Opium, being a refutation of the fallacies of the anti-opium society and a defense of the Indo-China opium trade" (London, W.H. Allen & Co Publishers to the India Office, 1883), 60-61.

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[35] Taken from Kathleen L. Lodwick, *Crusaders against Opium: Protestant Missionaries in China, 1874-1917* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 79.

[36] "The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium" *The British Medical Journal* (United Kingdom, British Medical Journal, 1895), 836.

[37] "The Report of the Royal Commission on Opium Compared with the Evidence from China that was Submitted to the Commission," 6.

[38] "Crisis in the Opium Traffic: Being an account of the proceedings of the Chinese Government to suppress that trade" (Office of the Chinese Repository, 1839).

[39] Frank Dikötter, *Narcotic Culture: A History of Drugs in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 111.