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19-20 世纪中叶中国罌粟种植史研究

张巨保 著



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序

张巨保的博士论文《19—20 世纪中叶中国罂粟种植史研究》入选 2015 年岭南优秀博士论文，旋获广东优秀哲学社会科学著作出版基金资助即将出版，他的辛劳付出得到评审委员们的肯定，作为导师的我由衷为他高兴。

我国农史研究自 20 世纪二三十年代肇始以来，在作物史研究方面已积累了相当丰富的成果，大凡有关人类生活的作物几尽论及，诸如粮食作物、经济作物、园艺作物、药用作物以至染料、嗜好等作物种植史均有相当可观的研究成果。但关于罂粟种植，除在鸦片禁毒研究中有所涉及外，专门研究则十分稀少，作为“史”的系统研究更未见有。

作为自然物种，没有哪种植物对人类有百利而无一害，也不存在有百害而无一利的植物。作物种植是人类文明的正常活动，但某些植物的种植利用却可能深刻影响到社会文明的发展进程。有史以来在人类历史的记忆中，作物种植技术、利用状况不但反映着人类生存的保障水平，是促进民族文化形成、区域经济发展的积极因素，而且可能成为社会变革的重要关联表征。人类栽培植物的历史，就是不断认识、选择、发展、利用作物种植的实践活动，因此一些作物史研究不仅仅反映了作物种植技术演进的历史状况，而且有可能揭示人类特定历史时期社会急剧变动的经

济、政治等深层次矛盾斗争，这在一些作物史学论著中可以得到证明。我国历史时期长期居于国际作物种植发达的地位，许多作物种植技术的进步成就了历史时期的辉煌，但中国的罌粟种植利用，却是国人集体意识中挥之不去的惨痛记忆。然而，罌粟在国内种植的历史状况如何？其对中国社会产生了怎样的影响？与时局动荡有何关联？诸此历史之问却因史料文献缺乏等原因而长期鲜有探究揭示者，就此意义上，张巨保博士试图给予描述揭示，其克坚精神甚可嘉许。

回溯数千年人类利用罌粟的历史，大多时期罌粟都是以观赏植物和治病良药被种植的，即使在背负恶名的今天，它依然有解困救危的积极作用。然而，自有明以降，罌粟种植却深刻影响着中国社会文明进程的发展，并与国运紧紧相连。以鸦片命名的两次屈辱对外战争，其失败的主因固然为列强鸦片的戕害，而国人罌粟滥种也无疑是重要病因之一。正因此，研究 19 至 20 世纪中国罌粟种植史及其与国内外社会政治、经济发展的关系，在作物史乃至整个中国农业史研究上，都具有积极的史学价值和现实意义。

然而，对罌粟种植进行系统研究困难显见：相关正史、野史均极匮乏，勘用史料零碎散乱，存世资料散布不明，对此基础性史料的搜集、爬梳、考证、统计是需要经年累月付出的，欣慰的是张巨保的坚持终获成果。

张巨保博士论文的研究费时约 5 年，论文根据材料不断修改，几度易稿，其坚韧不拔、认真学问之精神难能可贵。在他选题之初，农史室老一辈的教授们就曾提醒这一选题的研究难度，但他毅然迎难而上，这或许与他工作于东莞鸦片战争博物馆的家国氛围有关吧。为提高研究质量，他在紧张的学习期间数次奔波西南、华北、东北开展田野调查，努力广搜资料，这种踏实严谨的学问态度是他可获成就的基石。

本书在既往研究的基础上，从罌粟栽培利用溯源、清代罌粟种植、民国罌粟种植、区域罌粟种植大省案例等几个方面系统展开，将宏观社会历史状况与区域罌粟种植个案相结合，在各时期中央政府“禁烟”与“弛禁”政策变化的政治背景下，详细析捋了与之相关联的国际民族、政治、经济矛盾；国内各阶层经济利益、经济矛盾和经济思想；并由此发生的罌粟种植客观史实及其社会效应；较全面地描画出近代中国罌粟种植与利用的历史过程，展示了内生罌粟种植、烟毒泛滥对国运兴衰所起到的作用力，为客观地认知和评价罌粟种植与利用，提供了有力的史实镜鉴。其论析数据翔实可信，史料丰富可证，分析合理有据，这与作者的史学及经济学、统计学知识素养有关。而从社会经济、政治学角度考察罌粟种禁失衡现象，亦有助于影响农业史学术研究的深入，并对近代中国医药史、经济史、贸易史、军阀史的研究甚或起到些微拾遗补缺的作用，这也形成了本书的学术亮点。

在大力构建无毒世界的今天，禁毒史研究有诸多需要深入探讨的课题，而罌粟种植史是其中一个极为重要、有待继续深入研究的领域。就研究深度来说，本书对近代中国罌粟种植史的研究还显粗略，有待深入拓展的领域仍还广泛。对于本书的不足，有些我已提出修订要求也由于种种原因还未能付诸实施，希望巨保再接再厉，继续深入研究探索。

承蒙作者抬爱，让我对这部心血之作谈些什么，思及作为第一读者我应勉力而为，因此谨就巨保专研苦修所知写如上感受，权为之序。

谢 丽

二〇一六年四月十日于华南农业大学



摘 要

人类种植罂粟的历史至少已有 6000 年之久。罂粟传入中国后，自唐至宋代主要用于观赏及治病。随着栽培技术逐步积累，明代罂粟种植在西南地区开始盛行，鸦片制作和吸食方法传入中国，鸦片也由药品演变成毒品。罂粟有规模种植始于清嘉庆年间（1796—1820 年）。道光初罂粟种植面积逐步扩大，鸦片吸食方法不断传播，吸食人口日益增长，以致罂粟种植成为最为严重的社会问题之一。

1830 年到 1857 年间清廷严禁鸦片，故此时期罂粟种植区域不广。至 1858 年第二次鸦片战争时，清廷为列强及平乱筹款窘境所迫，始对进口鸦片课税，鸦片进口遂合法化，随之自产鸦片禁令也大致废除，罂粟种植由东南、西南地区迅速扩展到全国。到 19 世纪末，形成了西南、西北、华东、华北、东北、华南和中南七大产烟区域。1906 年国内鸦片生产逐步替代进口。到 1907 年清廷再度禁烟以前，罂粟种植大抵处于弛禁状态，19 世纪 80 年代到 1906 年，中国出现了第一个罂粟种植高潮。

“以土抵洋”是晚清经济民族主义的选择。从积极方面讲，以自产烟土抵抗“洋”鸦片的侵入，部分地挽回一些经济权益，促使英国政府不得不考虑中国的禁烟要求，逐年减少以致消除印度烟土入华的销售。从消极方面讲，烟土数量的增大刺激消费，瘾民人数急剧增加，祸国殃民，

这又是清朝统治者始料不及的。在国内、国际社会高度关注和禁烟舆论压力下，清政府实施了一场较严厉的禁烟运动，并取得较明显的成效，到 1911 年初步实现了禁种的目标。

民国初虽然上承清末禁烟政策，但是“藉烟生利”思想一直左右着禁烟事业，尤其是各地军阀为壮大实力，逼迫百姓种烟，统治者公开鼓励吸食，使清末禁烟成果付诸东流。到 20 世纪 20 年代，中国罂粟种植的面积和产量都达到前所未有的规模，出现了第二个罂粟种植高潮。

随着日本侵华战争的爆发，东北、蒙疆和华北地区先后沦陷，日寇在沦陷区大力推行毒化政策，强制民众大量种植罂粟和吸食鸦片，并向国统区、抗日根据地贩运毒品，以达到“以毒养战”、削弱中国抗战意志的目的。

在国统区，统治阶层为集团利益计，在“严禁”与“寓禁于征”之间举棋不定。1929—1934 年，国民政府不仅没有采取有力的禁烟措施，相反还鼓励种、贩、吸，从而使中国的毒祸达到空前地步，国统区罂粟种植面积扩大，瘾民遍及各行各业，罂粟种植进入第三个高潮。1935 年国民政府在全国推行六年禁烟，抗战胜利后又实施两年断禁计划，前后禁了 22 年，虽有一定成效但最终屡禁不止。

19 世纪至 20 世纪上半叶，西南地区一直是中国罂粟种植主产区。西南鸦片质优价廉，基本上占领了国内市场。鸦片的大量销售又刺激了罂粟种植的发展，形成了遍布全国的鸦片生产、运销和消费网络。西南地区罂粟种植的区域特征：罂粟种植面积大，鸦片产量高，制造毒品的技术先进，贩毒猖獗，吸毒现象随处可见。

反思自清至民国罂粟种植和鸦片泛滥历史，政府在禁烟呼声不断高涨的压力下都不同程度地采取了禁烟措施，但却越禁越泛滥，甚至出现“反扑”的情形，鸦片问题始终没有得到彻底的解决。究其原因：

客观上，晚清以来农业经济日趋衰退，民众生活异常艰辛，受利益驱使烟农愿意铤而走险；在缺医少药的农村山区，因病吸食而成瘾；再加上军阀强迫等因素，为罌粟种植提供了适宜的社会环境。主观上，统治阶层的逐利动机为罌粟种植提供了温床，土烟税厘绑架中央财政和地方财政，对罌粟种植采取默许纵容政策；近代战乱不止，社会极度不稳，统治阶级把鸦片看作治疗思想障碍的良药；民众视吸食鸦片为风尚，社会示范效应导致人们争相效尤。从国际因素来看，西方列强向华输入鸦片，对近代中国罌粟种植泛滥起了推波助澜作用。

研究中国近代罌粟种植史对今天仍然具有窥鉴和警示意义。然而，尽管有关鸦片贸易、鸦片毒害、禁烟运动等已有不少专著文章进行讨论，但是关于罌粟种植史以及其毒害中国社会经济的发展演变脉络的全面研究，则尚未出现较为系统的著作，本书在此方面做出努力。

本书通过考察历史史实勾勒出19世纪到20世纪中叶中国罌粟种植的发展轨迹，并对西南地区三省做较为深入的案例研究，分析探索罌粟种植与近代中国社会政治、经济、文化生活等方面的广泛联系，以此探讨近代中国政府治理毒品问题的得失，为现实提供借鉴。同时，笔者也很期待此项研究对于中国农业史、作物栽培史等相关学科能起些微拾遗补漏、抛砖引玉的作用。

关键词：罌粟种植，19—20世纪中叶，西南地区，鸦片危害



Study on Poppy Cultivation in China from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century

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Abstract: The history of human poppy cultivation dated to 6000 years ago. In Tang dynasty, the poppy was first introduced to China. Poppy from the Tang to the Song dynasty was mainly used for ornamental and medicinal. Gradually, People gained the technologies of cultivation and some corresponding management. Opium production and smoking methods introduced into china. In Ming dynasty the cultivation of poppy became popular in southwest China. The poppy gradually evolved into drugs. Poppy cultivation in large scale began in the periods of Jia Qing (1796—1820). In the early years of the DaoGuang, the cultivation area of poppy gradually spreaded and the snorting method got introduced. The number of people who smoke increased. The problem of poppy cultivation became a serious social problem.

From 1830 to 1857, the Qing government banned opium-smoking, so the cultivation of poppy didn't spread widely. During the Second Opium War in 1958, as the Qing government met many internal and external problems, the government began to

tax opium imports. Thus the importing of opium got legalized. The ban on poppy roughly abolished. The cultivation of poppy gradually spread from southwest and southeast to the whole country. By the end of the 19th century, seven poppy production areas were formed including southwest, northwest, east, north, northeast, south China and central south. The import substitution gradually got realized in 1906. By the second ban of poppy in 1907, the condition of poppy cultivation was not ideal. Nevertheless there was a small climax from 1880s to 1906.

“The police of take the native product to repel the imported” was the choice of nationalism in late Qing dynasty. On the positive side, selling the Chinese prepared tobacco to repel the imported opium can partially retrieve economic interests. The British government was forced to consider the demands of the Chinese government’s ban on poppy, so the sale of the opium importing from India reduced year by year. On the negative side, the increase of the opium stimulated consumption and the number of addicts increased dramatically. It brought calamity to the country and people which was quite unexpected for the Qing government. In the high attention of domestic and international society and smoking under the pressure of public opinion at home and abroad, the Qing government implemented a more stringent anti-smoking movement and made more obvious results. By 1911, it achieved the goal of banned the planting.

The Republic of China although inherit the policy of banning on poppy, while the idea of “make profits from opium” influenced the opium banning. This situation was especially obvious in warlords’ period. For the purpose of expanding, the local warlords forced the peasants to plant poppy. In order to dispute the interests from the opium, the whole country was in



the “opium war”. The ruler encouraged smoking openly, which overshadowed the success of the late Qing dynasty. To the twentieth Century twenty, the area and yield of opium reached an unprecedented peak and the second climax of poppy cultivation appeared.

The invasive war broke out and the northeast China, Mongolia and northeast China were occupied by the enemy successively. The Japanese carried out the policy of poisoning by using drugs in the occupied area. They forced the local peasants to plant and smoke opium, set up factories and transport drug to the Kuomintang-ruled areas and the anti-Japanese base. Thus by bullying the peasants, the Japanese reached the goal of “sustaining the war by opium” and weakening the will of the Chinese people to fight in the Chinese Anti-Japanese War.

In the Kuomintang-ruled areas, the government just considered the interests of small group, thus the policy towards banning on the opium was quite hesitated about the policy of banning and banned the opium by taxing. From 1929 to 1934, instead of taking effective measures to ban the opium, the National Government just encouraged opium. So the drugs disaster reached to an unprecedented level, the poppy cultivation area in Kuomintang-ruled areas was expanded and the addicts were from every walk of life. The poppy cultivation reached a third climax. The National Government carried out the banning policy of opium for 6 years (2 years break after the victory of the Anti-Japanese War victory), altogether for 22 years. There were certain effectives but the poppy remained incessant after repeated prohibition.

From the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, southwest China was the main area of poppy cultivation. The

opium in southwest China was perfect both in quality and price which occupied the market roughly. The expanding of the sale of the opium brought along the development of the poppy cultivation. The nationwide network of production, transporting and selling, consumption formed gradually. There were obvious characteristics of the poppy cultivation of southwest China: the vast area of poppy plating; the advanced technology of opium manufacturing; rampant trafficking of opium and the common scenes of opium addiction.

Having a reflection of poppy cultivation from Qing dynasty to the Republic of China, the government took various measures to ban the opium under the increasing pressure. But the poppy cultivation went to the opposite side; sometimes the situations even became severe. The opium problems weren't completely resolved. The reasons are listed below:

Objectively, The agricultural economy declined since the late Qing dynasty and people led a quite hard life so many of them were easily driven by the interests of the opium. The mountain area in China was in lack of medicine so some of them were addicted to opium, although they just smoke for the purpose of treating the illness. The warlords' pressure of poppy cultivation was also a factor. All of these factors provided the poppy cultivation a suitable social environment. Subjective, The interests of the governors provided a nest for the poppy cultivation. The centre finance and local finance were chained by the tax from the poppy. The attitude of the government for poppy cultivation provided an "umbrella" for the poppy cultivation peasants. In modern China, with the frequent war and instable society condition, the government took opium as the best cure for ideological obstacles. People took opium smoking as a new



fashion, people followed this style. On the international factors, The continuous input of poppy stimulated the poppy cultivation in China.

The research on poppy cultivation of modern China is also of warning significance. While, although there are a lot of researches about the opium trade, the harm of opium and the campaign about banning on the opium. There isn't much systematic research on poppy cultivation and the harm which the opium brings to China's social and economic development. This paper will make some efforts from this point of view.

In this paper, by investigating the history from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century of the development of the cultivation of poppy of China and making careful study about the three provinces in southwest China, the writer has deeply made the connection between the poppy cultivation and politics, economy and cultural life in modern China. The writer explores the gains and loss of the effort the Chinese government took in dealing with the problems of opium. The research is of some practical and referring values. Meanwhile, the writer also expects that the research can be complementary to the history of agriculture in China, the history of cultivation of crops and other relevant subjects.

Keywords: poppy cultivation, from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, in the southwest, the harm of opium



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导 论

一、问题的提出及研究意义

罂粟 (*Papaver somniferum* L) 是罂粟科中一种美丽的植物，叶片碧绿，花朵五彩缤纷，茎株亭亭玉立，蒴果高高在上。鸦片俗名大烟、烟土，又名阿芙蓉、合浦融、阿片、亚荣等，是从罂粟汁液中提炼而来的，作为医药用品它具有止痛收敛功效，对多种疾病具有很好的疗效，同时它又具有成瘾性，对人体身心健康有严重的毒副作用。

从隋唐开始，罂粟传入中国，仅供观赏和治病之用。我国早在宋元时期就有罂粟的栽培，到了明代，随着鸦片制作和吸食方法传入中国，吸食人口增多，鸦片的身份也悄然发生了改变——由药品演变成毒品。有规模的种植则始于清代嘉庆年间（1796—1820年）。道光初年，罂粟种植面积进一步扩大，贩卖和吸食人口日益增加，尤其是两次鸦片战争爆发后，罂粟种植由东南、西南地区迅速扩展到全国范围。罂粟种植、鸦片贩运和吸食给社会的正常运转乃至整个国家的发展带来了巨大灾难，成为最为严重的社会问题之一。清代和民国历届政府都不同程度地采取了禁烟措施，对鸦片泛滥或多或少起到了一定的抑制作用，但鸦片问题始终没有得到彻底的解决。

鸦片泛滥成灾，像一场不可遏止的瘟疫，蔓延华夏大