

THE EAST-INDIA QUESTION.

THIS question, which has so long agitated the public mind, has now been put into a course of satisfactory investigation, by the appointment of a select committee of inquiry in each House of Parliament. As to the result of the investigation, we may venture to predict, that it will be somewhat at variance with the conclusions of those, who have expeditiously and compendiously framed their opinion, respecting this most important question, without any evidence at all.

In after times, or even when the tumult of excited passions shall have been allayed by a decision of the Legislature upon this subject, it will become matter of astonishment that any considerable portion of the people of England should have been such egregious dupes to imposture; that men of common understanding, in the nineteenth century, should enrol themselves in a wild crusade, at the preaching of a Peter the Hermit or a Walter the Penniless; and that a British public, claiming the title of "enlightened," should tolerate, amongst other quacking expedients, proposals for lecturing young ladies under fifteen years of age into an abhorrence of the East-India Company at the charge of one shilling a head!

One of our essayists (Dr. Goldsmith) has facetiously imputed to the English nation the weakness of being always the voluntary victim of some prevailing apprehension: sometimes it has been a French invasion, sometimes mad dogs, and sometimes ghosts. The delirium of the present day seems to be a *phobia* of the East-India Company, which is prolonged beyond the term of existence usually allotted to these ephemeral delusions, by the artifices and for the purposes of a party.

The career of this party is, however, now verging to a close. Deliberate inquiry is fatal to every species of quackery; and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the partizans of the free-traders, even in Parliament, now deprecate inquiry, and seriously call for legislation without it! We find, from the reports in the newspapers, that, in the debate in the Commons, on the 9th February, one of the members for *Bristol* protested against the course pursued, in the appointment of a committee of inquiry, and proposed that the House should consider of the measures proper to be adopted at once, and prior to any inquiry whatever!

The temperate and judicious remarks which fell from the members of his Majesty's government, when the motions were made, do them infinite credit, and will tend to calm the apprehensions of many, who, without the smallest interest in the issue of the question beyond that which belongs to every individual in the empire, were alarmed at the apparent preponderance which popular feeling seemed to have acquired in respect to it. For ourselves, we never had any such apprehensions: the idea of legislating without inquiry never certainly occurred to us, and we had no sort of fear that inquiry would not effectually expose the fallacies and falsehoods which have been circulated throughout the country.

The nation, after the pamphlets, speeches, lectures, and other farcical exhibitions which have been played off with a view of mystifying it on a

subject which not a great many persons could readily comprehend,* will be somewhat surprised at the opinions which his Majesty's ministers avow: opinions which must be a little better founded than those of stipendiary pamphlet-mongers and travelling quacks, and at least as disinterested. It will be seen that Mr. Peel, expressly disclaiming, for himself and his colleagues, any pre-entertained resolution upon the question, pointed out the impropriety of looking merely to the interests of British commerce, there being other questions connected with the subject of far greater importance than the extension of trade. Yet even with respect to trade, he observed, "the documents which would be laid before the committee, would, he was sure, convince any unprejudiced man, that the sanguine expectations of great and extensive benefit, which some suppose would arise from entirely throwing open the trade, ought not to be entertained." He called the attention of the House to the character of that body which is the object of so much calumnious misrepresentation. "Looking," he observed, "to the information of which he was in possession respecting the East-India Company, viewing the contents of the documents which were in his hands, he was bound to say that any investigation into the conduct of that body, would, he believed, tend to their credit: contrasting the administration of the Company with that of any other colonial establishment that ever existed, he was convinced that their conduct would redound greatly to their honour. He did think that they had ever been incited by a sincere desire to promote the welfare and interest of those who were placed under them." The same right honourable speaker,—in a rather different strain from a certain pamphleteer, who contemplates so calmly the compulsory conversion of Hindu weavers into agricultural labourers, at the cheap sacrifice of a few thousand men and "a handful of old women,"—inculcated the "paramount duty," the inevitable "moral obligation," of consulting primarily the welfare of our Hindu subjects; "whatever wish might be entertained to extend British rights," he remarked, "we are bound to protect the rights of the Hindus, and thereby make them some compensation for the situation in which circumstances have placed them." In the other House, Lord Ellenborough, who moved the appointment of the Lords' Committee, expressed sentiments even more pointed. "For his own part," the noble Lord is represented to have said, "he would say that it was to him a source of great satisfaction to feel that the publication of the papers now presented, and of those which had been presented at the conclusion of the last session of Parliament, would tend to dissipate the many fallacies and erroneous notions, which had been industriously circulated throughout the country on this subject. It was not," he afterwards added, "so much for the satisfaction of their lordships, who possessed so much information on the subject, that the production of these papers" (alluding then to certain financial accounts) "was required, as for the purpose of dissipating the fallacy which had arisen out of doors, and which had been most industriously propagated in this coun-

* Mr. Cobbett, in his *Register* of January, has recorded some pretty strong proofs of the abominable attempts which have been successfully made to deceive the poor artisans in the country on this subject.

try, *viz.* that the territorial finances of India derived no benefit from the commercial funds or profits of the Company. In point of fact," added the noble Lord, "since the renewal of the charter, the profits derivable from the monopoly of the China trade enjoyed by the Company had been devoted more to the purposes and benefit of the finances of India, than to any benefit accruing to the Company themselves from such monopoly." The character of the Company's Indian administration was successfully vindicated by the noble Lord, who bore testimony, as from his official station, at the head of the India Board, he was competent to do, to the unwearied endeavours of the Company to reduce the burthens on their subjects, and to relieve British commerce from all restrictions but "such as, in his opinion, must be considered necessary, not for the interests of the East-India Company, but for the preservation of the connexion between India and this country." He concluded, as Mr. Peel did, with a strong appeal to the House to repel that selfish doctrine, which teaches that the inhabitants of a dependent territory like India are to be regarded only as the mere instruments of extending the commerce of Great Britain. "Above all things," said the noble Lord, "I trust there will be no disposition, on the part of your lordships, to sacrifice to the seemingly present advantage of any portion of the population of this country, the happiness of that people, whose interests should be as dear to your lordships, and whose appeal to your justice and generosity is as strong:—I mean the people of India."

The discussion, properly so called, in both Houses, upon the occasion of the motion for the appointment of these committees, turned upon a certain private and confidential letter, which, either by an act of larceny, by a gross and infamous breach of confidence, or through very culpable negligence, has been made public. Our readers will find a copy of this letter, taken from one of the Calcutta papers (the proper names being disguised under Indian appellations with a satirical meaning, and a few flippant parentheses being interpolated), inserted in a preceding number of this journal.* Whatever construction may be put upon the remarks in that letter, whatever opinion may be entertained regarding the discretion of the writer, there arises a consideration which supersedes the necessity of deciding on either point. The letter being private and confidential, and the contents not being intentionally promulged, the communication is privileged and exempted from stricture.

It is to us a matter of the utmost astonishment, that any gentleman, who must be conscious of the liability of every individual to a similar exposure of observations made in unsuspecting confidence, could tolerate an inquisition into the contents of such a document as this. The most just as well as the most decorous mode of proceeding would, in our humble apprehension, have been, that of preserving a total silence with regard to the letter, leaving the criticism of it to the conductors of newspapers, and those whom no restraint whatever withholds from the gratification of prying into the recesses of privacy.

Privileged communications are always exempt, in the eye of the law,

* See Asiatic Intelligence, p. 69.

from prosecution. No one, acquainted with English history, can forget the strong ground upon which even seditious and treasonable writings have been thus vindicated. The candour of Lord Ellenborough and his colleagues seems to have withheld them from availing themselves of this rule, which, in our opinion, they ought to have done, for the sake of the precedent: they have, however, successfully defended the writer of the letter from every imputation, save that which would attach perhaps to ninety-nine out of every hundred public men, if all their private and confidential correspondence with their most intimate friends were published to the world, at the very moment when the transactions to which they might transiently advert were green.

The discussion occasioned by this letter has, indeed, led to one result, which it is of some importance should be known, namely, that Sir John Peter Grant, the ultra-independent judge of Bombay, is to be recalled to answer for his conduct.*

The opinions delivered by the ministers, in respect to the "independence" of these colonial judges, should be considered by those who, with such "ignorant impatience," were led to imagine that the judges of the King's courts of India possessed the same independent character as the judges of England. Lord Melville "begged to say that much flippancy had been exhibited, in reference to this subject, in other places, and much ignorance and misapprehension appeared to exist with respect to the duties of judges in colonies, which did not by any means correspond to those of judges at home. He (Lord Melville) had sometimes had the unpleasant duty to perform of advising his Majesty to recall judges, and on such occasions he had expressed similar sentiments, though not, perhaps, precisely in the same language, as those expressed by his noble friend Lord Ellenborough. The judges in this country were, it is true, independent of the government; but in India they must be in communication with the government, and should not be persons to set themselves up against it. If the noble Lord (Durham), or any other persons, conceived that the judges of India, though independent of the government, were precisely in the same situation as judges in this country, they could have very little knowledge of the subject, or of the state of things in India." This is undoubtedly the doctrine suggested by reason and common sense; and as it has been promulgated without condemnation, by a personage well acquainted with the laws applicable to India, who is a member of his Majesty's Privy Council, we are pleased to find we are authorised to consider it as sanctioned by law.

Upon the whole view of the debate, if such it may be termed, which took place in Parliament on the 9th of February, we congratulate the sober part of the country on the prospect of the question being investigated upon other principles than those of trade. We have also the satisfaction of finding so strong a conformity between the sentiments of his Majesty's ministers in respect to it, and those which have, from time to time, been expressed in this journal.

* It will be seen, in our Asiatic Intelligence for the present month, that something further has transpired, in respect to the illegal claim of jurisdiction at Bombay.

SIR THOMAS STRANGE'S "HINDU LAW."*

SIR THOMAS STRANGE, at an early period of a useful and valuable life, officiated as chief justice at Halifax, in British America. He was appointed, in 1798, to the recordership of Madras; and the Recorder's Court having been superseded, in 1801, by the present Supreme Court at that presidency, he took his seat in it as chief justice, and presided there till the year 1816. A sound and discriminating understanding, great application, an ardent love of literature in general, and an especial fondness for juridical studies, eminently qualified him for the several judicial stations which he filled so ably and so impartially. To these advantages must be added that of a sound constitution, capable of bearing the fatigues of long and laborious sittings in the intensest heat of an oriental climate. An equable temperament of mind, and a native courtesy of disposition, rendered him uniformly mild and patient; and, upon all occasions, his demeanour to the bar, the attorneys, and witnesses of the court, combined the dignity of the English judge and the politeness of the English gentleman. But perhaps the praise, to which Sir Thomas Strange has the most undeniable claim, is that which he derives from the warm and almost affectionate interest which he took in the rights and happiness of the natives of India, whom he justly calls "by nature a gentle, and historically an interesting race;" and the earnest conviction which animated him in the discharge of his important functions, that their rights could not be securely protected, nor their happiness sincerely consulted, but by the preservation of their ancient and cherished institutions. "*Hæc est vera laus, non falsa et fucata.*" He was repaid by the grateful confidence of all the native classes living within the jurisdiction of the court, and the sentiment deeply impressed and widely diffused among them, that their public and domestic customs, endeared to them by antiquity, and consecrated by religion, had found a faithful depositary in a British magistrate. Fortunately for his reputation, as well as for the impartial administration of justice, he was not of a class of thinkers who, calling themselves philosophers, with no other title than that of their own presumption, have degraded the millions whom the mysterious ordinances of Providence have committed to our protection as belonging to the lowest rank in the scale of social and civilized man. A passage in the introduction to the work before us, explicitly declares the opinion of the author upon this momentous topic. Having emphatically dwelt upon the policy of preserving inviolably the law, municipal and religious, of the Hindus, he observes:

It is the duty, as well as interest of Britain, to foster those, whom it has become the unworthy fashion to abuse and undervalue. It were at least a more magnanimous course, *parcere subjectis*. Nor can it be a commendable one, in any point of view, to irritate, by insulting them. It is true, that works calculated to produce this effect, are not very likely to find their way to Hindu understandings. Yet they influence but too often the creed of those, by

* Hindu Law, principally with reference to such portions of it as concern the administration of justice in the King's Courts in India. By Sir Thomas Strange, late Chief Justice of Madras. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1830. Parbury and Co., Payne and Co., and Butterworth.

whom Hindoos are to be governed; and our tenure of India will be but little strengthened, by the conqueror, in the persons of the Company's writers and cadets, being taught to contemplate the conquered with horror, or to look down upon them with contempt. Reflections such as these, sufficiently warranted by the subjoined references, must carry with them increased force, should it become our policy (than which nothing is more to be deprecated), to extend our invasion of the native, by opening upon him the flood-gates of our population; with a view, under pretence of consulting his good, but in reality for our own benefit, to visit him, in the interior, with an "unrestricted settlement of Englishmen."—Forbid it, humanity!

In 1816, Sir Thomas Strange printed, at the Madras press, *Notes of Cases in the Recorder's and Supreme Courts of that presidency*, which, being a valuable repertory of several important decisions, proved to be of the greatest practical use to the profession. The volumes which are now in our hands, however, are a still more important accession to the slender helps, of which the English practitioners of Hindu law have heretofore been enabled to avail themselves. Halhed's work, though in many respects meritoriously executed, laboured under the disadvantage of a double translation, and has never been considered as an indisputable authority. Mr. Colebrooke's translation (commonly called the *Digest*) of the compilation of Jaggannatha Terchapanchanana, admirably as the task of the translation has been executed, is unfortunately so unskillful in its arrangement, and the commentary of the compiler abounds with so many frivolous disquisitions (not to mention the want of a careful discrimination of the different schools, which vary most essentially in their opinions), that its utility is almost disclaimed by the learned translator himself. But in the south of India it was almost worse than useless; for its doctrines being taken chiefly from the Bengal school, and not unfrequently being the fruit of the compiler's own suggestions, it enabled the southern pundits, like the oracle at Delphi, occasionally to *φιλίππιζεν*, that is, to adopt in their answers, when references were made to them, the opinion best accommodated to their own prejudices or feelings. In the peninsula, therefore, the *Mitacshara* is of paramount authority, in the Madras dependencies especially. But the *Digest* of Jaggannatha, however unfitted for professional use in Southern India, is "a mine," as our author justly observes, "of juridical learning." For this reason, Sir Thomas Strange makes frequent reference only to the texts of the *Digest*, and appeals but rarely, and not without much circumspection, to its commentary.

The sources from which the author has derived his work are, the printed books on Hindu law accessible to the English reader, and MS. papers, consisting of a mass of opinions upon points of Hindu law delivered by the pundits, on references from the several courts dispersed in the territories subject to the Madras government, and transmitted to him for his information by several of the Company's judges. These papers derived an augmentation of value from the comments of Mr. Colebrooke, to whose perusal they were referred, as well as to that of Mr. Sutherland, of Bengal, and that accomplished Hindu lawyer, the late Mr. Ellis, of Madras, whose respective remarks constitute the most important portion of the second volume.

Their law, civil and religious, is regarded by the Hindus as alike founded on a divine revelation, of which a part is preserved in the very words revealed, constituting the *Vedas*. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers, who have recorded holy precepts under the influence, and with the sanction, it is supposed, of a divine power. This is termed *Smriti* (recorded law), in contradistinction to *Sruti*, "audition" (revealed law). As the *Vedas* chiefly appertain to religion, the civil and criminal law is to be found in the *Smriti*, called also *Dharma Sastra*, in which alone what may be properly called forensic law is to be traced. All the rules by which the Hindu law is interpreted are collected in the *Mimansa*, which is considered as a sort of law-logic, being a disquisition on proof and the authority of precepts. But there are two sects of jurists, who having adopted for their guide a favourite author, have given a currency to his doctrines in particular parts of India. The most prevalent school, however, is that of Benares, the doctors of which expound the interpretation of the law by the rules of the *Mitacshara*, a copious comment on the Institutes of Yajnyawaleya. In the peninsula, although the *Mitacshara* retains considerable authority there, the *Smriti Chandrica*, the *Madhavya*, and other works bearing similar titles, are also of perpetual reference. Bengal gives its name to a distinct school of law, dissenting on many questions from the schools of Benares and the south. To the English student, therefore, the treatises on inheritance, translated from the *Daya Bhaga* of Jimuta Vahana, and the *Mitacshara*, are of the highest importance; the one being the standard of law in Bengal, the other being received through the whole range from Benares to the southern extremity of the peninsula. Sir Thomas Strange, accordingly, makes ample use of these authorities; the title of inheritance occupying a considerable portion of his first volume. Of the standard treatises on the law of adoption, translated by Mr. Sutherland, he has also copiously availed himself. Such are the principal materials out of which the author has constructed his work; and the diligence with which they have been collected, and the skill with which they are arranged, reflect the highest credit on his labours.

As the charters erecting the King's Courts in India strictly prescribe that, in all questions pertaining to inheritance and contracts, the natives shall have the benefit of their own law, and inculcate a special regard to the constitution and usages of native families, inheritance and contract, with their several subdivisions, are the two principal titles of the great body of Hindu jurisprudence. Sir Thomas Strange, therefore, with considerable judgment, follows as it were the natural history of a Hindu family; beginning, after a few introductory remarks on property in general (which we think, with deference to the learned author, ought to have been reserved for the subject of contracts, property being the first element of contracts), and then deducing from marriage, the source of all the domestic relations of social life, the power and obligations of the father, with the condition not of his children alone, but of other collateral and subordinate connexions. But marriage may not produce children. By the Hindu law, however, a son is *indispensable*, in order to perform the funeral ob-

sequies, and discharge the debts of his ancestor. This necessity led to the expedient of *adoption*; a most important branch of the civil law of Hindustan, and deeply affecting all questions of inheritance. Every Hindu family is presumptively undivided; nor is a partition ever to be presumed; it must be strictly proved. Supposing, therefore, the family not to have been divided by the father in his life-time, among his sons, descent and the rights and duties of the heirs follow next in the civil order; and such is the first outline of the law of inheritance, which the diligence of the learned author has successfully filled up. *Widowhood*, a special feature in the law of inheritance, is of course not overlooked; and Sir Thomas devotes a distinct chapter to the testamentary power, although, as it sufficiently appears, unknown to the Hindu law in its best ages, but evidently of English origin, and superseding the legal and rightful claims of domestic inheritance. Contracts are also treated of according to the usual divisions into which all jurists have distributed them.

The above is a concise analysis of the Elements of Hindu law. The work has been ably executed, nor is any thing presumptuously or dogmatically propounded. The perplexities and doubts that must necessarily beset every man who seeks to reconcile discordant opinions, to satisfy reasonable as well as unreasonable objections, and to clear away the obscurities that are inseparably incident to an oporose and complex system of jurisprudence, which, like the civil law of Rome in Cicero's time, might be described as *immensus aliarum super alias acervatarum legum cumulus*; such difficulties must necessarily chasten, and almost humble, the mind of every ingenuous inquirer. Hence the candid and unpresuming spirit of the work before us;—a spirit which certain judicial lucubrations, now upon our table, do not evince, we regret to say, in any rational proportion to the inherent uncertainties and distractions of the Hindu law.

In 1801, Sir Thomas Strange, being then recorder of Madras, had delivered a judgment in a Hindu suit involving that difficult and contradictory subject, the right of adoption. His opinion,* right or wrong, was the fruit of laborious investigation. It was elaborately argued at the bar, and anxiously considered by the judge; the decision was acquiesced in by the unsuccessful party, and no appeal proposed or even meditated. It embraced a variety of intricate questions on the right and mode of Hindu adoption. Two of the most material points were these: First, whether widows have a right to adopt? Second, whether the adoption was good? These points were ruled in the affirmative. But this judgment, unfortunately, incurred the displeasure of Sir Francis M'Naghten, who, in a work† that has slumbered for some years in unmolested obscurity, attacked it, in a tone and style of rebuke happily of very rare occurrence on this side of the Irish channel. Our limits forbid us from entering into the question. We shall only give, out of many, a specimen or two of the

* Veerapermaul Pillay, v. Narrain Pillay and others, executors, &c. 1 Notes of Cases in the Recorder's and Supreme Courts of Madras, 91.

† Considerations on the Hindu law, as it is current in Bengal, by Sir Francis M'Naghten, 1824. 4to.

animadversion of one judge upon the decision of another; and we purposely select the mildest. Sir Thomas Strange had cited a notion of Sir William Syer. Sir F. M'Naghten thus aims at Sir William Syer and Sir Thomas Strange with the same stone: "We are not told what notion of Sir William Syer was warranted by this opinion; but I very much doubt of its being a sufficient warrant for any notion that any man ever entertained. It (the judgment) strikes at the very root of justice, and lays the most solid foundation upon which interested iniquity can be erected."—"To sanction such a terrible usurpation, we may expect something better, I trust, than 'the form of a quotation.'"—"But this is a reason founded in the true spirit of the Hindu law! After its existence had been proved, it would have been time to speak in its commendation."—"But supposing this jargon not to have been of the Poonah manufacture," &c. &c. In this goodly phrase does Sir F. M'Naghten, himself a judge, rail against the decision of a brother judge.

Plain truth, dear Murray, needs no flowers of speech;
So take it in the very words of Creech.

It is certain that, if the opinions of Sir Francis are truths, he does not propound them with much of the polite circumlocution with which it would have been but decorous for one British judge to declare his dissent from another on one of the most disputable points of Hindu law. As a contrast to this style of sarcasm and rebuke, it is edifying to read the calm observation of our author, with which we close our article:

Without seeking to defend the judgment that has been arraigned, it must not be forgotten, that the law of adoption at Bengal (to which the work entitled "Considerations," &c. is confined) differs from the law on the same subject at Madras;—nor can any one have perused the chapter upon it, in the present work, without being struck with its uncertainty in general.—We have for this, indeed, the acknowledgment of the learned examiner himself, who takes for the motto to his book,

"Misera servitus, ubi jus est vagum, aut incertum."

It is moreover consoling, to him whom it concerns, under the ordeal to which his judgment, as recorder of Madras, has, by a brother judge, been subjected, that it was acquiesced in by parties deeply interested to have disputed it, and habitually litigious;—that it remained unappealed from by them, possessing competent advice;—the matter in dispute amounting in value to between two and three hundred thousand pagodas (or above £100,000 sterling)—where appeals were pretty much the order of the day, in a court then but recently instituted, and under the direction of a single judge.

Contemplating the censure of it, on the part of the learned person alluded to, in this point of view, though it be not meant to characterize his weapon as—*telum imbelles* (on the contrary, his pen is sufficiently caustic); it is, in this instance, however, for the reasons given,—*sine ictu*.

REMARKS ON THE REPORT RESPECTING THE JUDICIAL
SYSTEM OF THE MAHRATTAS.*

BY A CORRESPONDENT.

I. "The Hindu Panchayet and their mode of trial resemble our English jury."

It is probable that the writer of this official report, whose name is not stated, had resided so long in India as to have forgotten the nature of an English jury: the difference is indeed vast. The Hindu assembly of intriguing men, long before the case on which they are to decide is laid before them, know every turn and point in the dispute, with all its bearings, as well as, and better than, the litigants themselves. An English jury know nothing before they come into court,—and sometimes are not much wiser when they leave it.

II. "Under the peishwa's government, no regularity appears to have been observed, either in trying causes, or referring them to panchayets."

The writer might with truth have added, that the most gross corruption, and the most scandalous impositions and unheeded-of tyranny, were practised.

III. "The sirsoobahdar and his officers were too apt to treat the parties and matter in dispute as the cat did the mice and the cheese."

Nevertheless, the system was adopted, greatly to the disappointment of the natives, who, when they became our subjects, had at least calculated on a new system of justice.

IV. "No umpire or officer of government presided; but if opinions on each side of the question balanced, or if the point at issue was more difficult than usual, more arbitrators were called in to assist with their judgment."

Under our Government, however, an umpire was ordered to *superintend* the proceedings; but if opinions balanced, the use of the umpire I never could ascertain, as he was not suffered to have a casting vote: he was only to collect the arbitrators, in which office he failed invariably, as neither he nor any one else could ever get the panchayet to sit regularly, and their decision, when at length given, was generally made up at midnight, in the bazaar, over their chunam and betel-nut.

V. "Panchayets were usually held near the place where the disputes originated, and the village-peons, under authority of the potail or head inhabitant, summoned the members and the witnesses. As, however, they generally understood the affair before-hand, it was seldom necessary to send for them. When compulsion was necessary, the mamlutdar was applied to, and if either party failed to attend, after a panchayet had been agreed upon, the trial could proceed *ex parte*."

By this I understand, if, after the members had been dragged before the head-man, the plaintiff or defendant were not present, the case was decided *ex parte*. The British Government, although they insisted on all the difficulties of the panchayet system, as established in the Mahratta country, never allowed any *ex parte* settlements; so that their civil officer must be

daily labouring to collect members, witnesses, plaintiffs, and defendants, in perhaps a dozen difficult causes, and be prepared for a censure, if at the end of the month his file be not clear, although the clearing off the suits is not left in his hands, but in the power of others, who will neither attend nor decide.

VI. "I have not been able to discover any thing like a regular punchayet decree."

Exactly so: can regularity be expected where all is confusion and juggling?

VII. "There was seldom any difficulty in procuring the attendance of the punchayet. It was a duty which they owed to society."

This all reads very well; but let it be well remembered that, under the Mahratta Government, the authorities had perhaps only one cause admitted on their files in a month, owing to the difficulty the suitor had of access to the great man, who could not be approached empty-handed; whereas, under the English Government, every suit is ordered to be duly attended to, and a punchayet for each appointed; so that, as these suits amounted to about six or seven daily, or more, one-half of a town or city would be daily occupied in the settling the disputes of the other half: men of business and respectability soon backed out of this trouble, and the office was undertaken by a few worthless idlers, from whose readiness to be employed as arbitrators, they obtained a name and great consequence among the ignorant suitors and defendants, and were invariably nominated in every cause, for which no doubt they took care to be well remunerated by the parties, no pay or reward for loss of time being allowed by the English Government. I have known and experienced the fact, that five men of this description have had no less than twenty causes on their hands, two or three of which perhaps they came to a decision upon in a week: all this while, the civil officer, who is looked upon as the responsible person for whatever happens, is daily, nay hourly, importuned by the remaining unnoticed suitors, stating that their arbitrators will not settle their causes. Now, as it is utterly impossible that five men can determine twenty cases at once, and only get through three in a week, if so many, there remain seventeen undecided suits, seventeen dissatisfied plaintiffs and as many defendants, with perhaps seventy witnesses, many from a distance, all of whom are petitioning and praying to be allowed to return to their homes.

VIII. "The public opinion with respect to punchayets must be very favourable, as it is this opinion that has made them popular for so many ages."

The system must be popular among people who never knew any other; but those who have had *practical experience* can vouch for the earnestness with which the poor suitors beg and pray for *master's* judgment, and to be saved from being thrust into the corrupt vortex of arbitrators' cupidity.

IX. "When the arbitrators are chosen on the spot, so that they may not be taken from urgent business or ceremonies, their attendance is not felt as a grievance."

Persons on the spot, therefore, are not supposed by any possibility to

have urgent business of their own! I believe a shroff, or banker, would tell a different tale, if summoned to sit as a member of a punchayet. All respectable, well-informed merchants, the only persons fit for the duty of arbitrators, have always plenty of urgent business of their own to attend to, without wrangling about the affairs of others, whom they neither know nor care about. If their attendance, therefore, is enforced, it is considered a very great and heavy grievance. I have known many a man who, having had previous intimation that he would be nominated by a plaintiff or a defendant, mount his horse, and take the opportunity of travelling on business, taking care not to return until the cause had been settled.

X. "Habits of litigation have not yet been produced by punchayets, although their awards are gratuitous; nor do such habits prevail in any part of India, perhaps, where lawyers and vakeels do not live by them."

Because the poor people were never attended to: it required a rich man to get a punchayet ordered for him by the mamlutdar, or head person of the place. The awards of punchayets are so far gratuitous, that the Government never paid them for their time; but they took especial care to be well fee'd before they even looked at the case. It is easy to say, in proof of the writer's assertion, "look at the few cases and files of the Mahratta durbars, compared with ours." They admitted but one cause in about two months; we admit nearly seven every day. The difference of the system of the regular udaluts is this: one man will trust his neighbour, because he knows, if he deceive him, he can have redress, although perhaps he does pay an authorized vakeel (or pleader) a small and sanctioned fee for pleading his cause. In the irregular punchayet system, no one will trust his neighbour; because if he deceives him, he knows not when, if ever, his case will be heard, and when it is heard it is a chance if he obtain redress, although he may have been cozened out of his money by both his own and his adversary's arbitrators, to say nought of fees to clerks, suitors, and peons, who beset him on all sides.

The foregoing remarks are made by one who has had the misfortune to experience the consequences of the punchayet system of the Mahrattas, introduced under the British Government: a *system*, indeed, it can scarcely be called, there being nothing systematic in it, if we except villainy. It is, in fact, a mockery of justice, an insult to its sacred name, possessing every disadvantage to plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses, and affording much pecuniary advantage to the arbitrators and officers of the place.

With respect to the last extract quoted from the official report of the Deccan civilian, although he cannot, in his conscience, extol the punchayet plan, however agreeable it might have been to that high authority with whom he had the honour to correspond, yet he does not seem to approve of the old-established udaluts, by his expression concerning lawyers and vakeels, the existence of whom alone, he says, causes litigation and all its consequences. No experienced judge would have said this. Where a regular court is established, there may be seen confidence in the British Government; and where such confidence exists, increase of trade naturally follows. Hence arises many misunderstandings, disputes, breaches of contract, and

unpaid debts. These form the principal features of the suits admitted upon the files of the regular courts of justice, where native pleaders are appointed by Government, and where fees are settled and authorized by the same power. Such confidence have the clients in these men, that, having left their causes in their hands, they are at liberty to carry on their business, either at home or at a distance. Litigation, or the instituting of fictitious suits, will occur but very rarely: there is no system, however wise, and in whatever country, which is not liable to be taken undue advantage of by the ill-disposed and dishonest; but a discriminating judge, and a man known and respected for his upright and impartial conduct, will rarely be approached by these dishonest speculators, who attempt to pervert a court of justice into a lottery office, whence they *may* draw a prize. If, however, these speculators fail, considerable expense attends their nonsuit, and they are ever regarded with a suspicious eye. Until the wise introduction of stamps, fabricated bonds and promissory notes could be produced, and witnesses could easily be found to authenticate them, for perjury, amongst the natives of India, will and does exist, nor does the fear of punishment or the shame of detection prevent it. "The prevalence of the crime of perjury," says Mr. Justice Grant, in his charge to the grand jury of Bombay, "is at once the most frightful and the most disheartening thing in considering the state of this country. Not a single case comes on to be tried in which the judge feels that he can place implicit confidence in the witnesses. His occupation of mind is, how little to believe, what witnesses to disbelieve, and how much of the remainder he may safely give credit to." With this prospect before us, will the writer of the official report referred to assert, that there is a greater fear of perjury in the minds of witnesses before a punchayet, the members of which they well know are corrupt, than in the presence of three English judges in the King's courts, whom they equally well know are incorruptible, and in whose hands is the sword of justice, ready to fall upon them if they are detected? It is not intended, on the present occasion, to draw a comparison between the King's courts at the presidencies and the Company's udaluts in the interior; but most undoubtedly there is more perjury, more fictitious causes, and more juggling, in the former than in the latter. At the presidencies, the judges sit quarterly, and the suitors' and witnesses' characters they are strangers to; these witnesses, therefore, come boldly forward, knowing they are considered honest men, or that the bench know nothing to the contrary: hence their confidence and audacity. In the interior, the judge sits every day, and in his capacity of magistrate, experience informs him of the real characters of the place; his long residence in the country, together with his knowledge of the language, soon enables him to decide what degree of credit to attach to the assertions of men, who from time to time appear before him. The natives of India flock around the court-house as an establishment whence may be derived great profit, and enter greedily into the labyrinths of the law, therein differing widely from the English, who avoid rather than seek a court of justice.

But to return to the punchayet plan: it is good in theory, but not in

practice; and all the inconvenience I wish the upholders of it, and the high authorities who have written so much in praise of it, is, that they should be obliged, for one year, to undertake the disheartening office of admitting every suit in any city in the Deccan, and submitting them to trial by arbitration. They would then experience the impossibility of giving satisfaction, either to the suitors, the defendants, the witnesses, or the arbitrators, and the mortification of receiving censure after censure from the Government, for not clearing off their long files of undecided causes.

To conclude: I would wish it to be understood, that there are certain cases which a punchayet alone can decide, and these are disputes of caste and religion, where their customs are concerned, and in which it would be immense presumption in any English judge to attempt to decide.

Be it remembered, that in the courts of udalut the judge's decision is not final; an appeal lying to the Sudder Udalut, or superior court, and from thence again to the King in Council in England. The complaints are received, in the first instance, by paying to Government a fee, by purchase of stamp paper on which the cause of action is briefly drawn up; the petitioner is then heard in his turn, and he nominates his own pleader, or may himself conduct his cause. He may then appeal from the decision in the manner above stated.

CIVIS.

FROM THE PERSIAN OF KHAKANI.

Ah, who art thou, with roseate cheek,
 And bosom white as snow,
 With cold unyielding heart within,—
 Ah, tyrant, who art thou?

Ah, who art thou, whose arched brows,
 Like the young crescent's bow,
 With scornful aspect freeze my blood,—
 Ah, torturer, who art thou?

Ah, who art thou, with rose-bud lips,
 And eyes with heavenly glow,
 That spread'st thy snares and speed'st thy shafts,—
 Fell archer, who art thou?

A slave to thee, thou cruel fair,
 Before thy shrine I'll bow,
 And offer up my being there,—
 Then tell me, who art thou?

ON MR. MILL'S "HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA."

No. VII.

WHEN Mr. Mill informs his readers that the Hindus have never extended their notions of property beyond those which mark "the incipient state of it," the phrase, if it has any meaning, seems to imply that their ideas of property are so imperfect, as not merely to fall far short of those which are entertained by a civilized people, but that they are wholly unmindful of the means by which it is to be preserved and transmitted. But it would require no common effort of fancy to picture to ourselves a state of society, in which so rude a notion of a substance, which we are naturally eager to acquire and to secure, could be said to prevail; a notion which so wholly annihilates both the essence and character of property as that which attributes to the sovereign the whole proprietorship of the soil, upon which all expend their labour, and from which all derive their subsistence. At any rate, it would be folly to expect from a people so wholly divested of property, and so ignorant of its attributes, any, even the rudest, provisions or regulations, much less a nice and systematic contexture of legal rules, laid down with great precision, laboured with the most accurate ratiocination, and drawn from the most subtle analogies, both for its enjoyment and its transmission. Now the law by which property of all kinds is regulated through the vast territories of Hindustan, has subsisted from an immemorial antiquity, and seems to have been framed with as provident a circumspection, and as keen a jealousy to protect and perpetuate it, as the law of the most cultivated nations in ancient or modern Europe. A notion, which implies the complete non-existence of landed property; an operose and complex system of law, which regulates the security of property, its alienation, and its distribution, with a variety of rules for every act of transfer, purchase, or partition, are propositions which cannot co-exist in reason, for they suppose two states of society, which cannot co-exist in fact. Let the historian of British India reconcile them if he can. *Non bene conveniunt, nec uná in sede morantur.* A body of jurisprudence matured, comprehensive, and involving the most refined distinctions of artificial law for the regulation of landed property, in a country where the whole property in the soil resides in the king, would be an anomaly in the affairs of men, inasmuch as it would imply a law where nothing was to be regulated; legal securities where there was nothing to protect; forms and technical rules gratuitously devised for imaginary and unsubstantial objects. Whereas, had Mr. Mill taken the trouble of consulting a few only of the numerous texts and commentaries which constitute the law of landed property in India, he would have perceived that it was fenced round with rules, provisions, and doctrines cautiously and anxiously propounded, and bespeaking the extreme care and jealousy with which a nation, who in all ages have been almost exclusively agricultural, would naturally strive to secure that peculiar species of property, which in their eyes takes the lead of every other in dignity and importance. For the law relative to moveables and

personal property is comparatively an insignificant title in the law books of the Hindus. In Hindustan, land is the fund which supplies the maintenance of families; and to a property in land they have clung through succeeding despotisms with a tenacity abundantly evincing their conviction of an inherent and indefeasible right, and never quitting it so long as the exactions of power left them any thing approximating to a proprietor's share.*

It is true that, upon our first establishment in the Bengal provinces, where the merciless genius of the Mahomedan power had long extinguished every civil right, the ancient Hindu law concerning landed tenure was scarcely to be traced. The proprietor had degenerated into a mere cultivator,† retaining his right to cultivate, and entitled to a share of the produce; but that share subject to perpetual changes and arbitrary diminutions. Yet the right of cultivation was deemed to be both hereditary and transmittable, although by the intervention of the Mogul maxim, according to which the proprietary or absolute right was supposed to reside in the sovereign, it was held that he had no property in the soil. It was in this condition of property imposed by conquest—the law of that stern necessity which silenced the intrinsic protestations of nature against the oppression and the oppressor—that the spurious notion, mistaken by Mr. Mill and the writers whom he blindly follows for the ancient law of Hindustan, could alone have originated. But that hereditary and transmissible right of cultivation inseparable from the soil, which the unsparing sword of the Mussulman still left to the Hindu husbandman, includes all, or nearly all, that constitutes an inherent proprietary right, with the reservation only of the absolute dominion vested in the sovereign by what, correctly estimated, is nothing more than a fiction. It is much to be lamented; however, that upon our first territorial acquisitions in India, we seemed to have considered it as a practical instrument of fiscal policy; and like many other rules of the same character, it was experienced to be pernicious long before we suspected it to be absurd. At the period when the permanent settlement was forced, by the universal impoverishment of the provinces, upon the benevolent mind of Lord Cornwallis, who perceived that the denial of an absolute tenure in their lands to the Hindu natives, when carried into actual operation, was rapidly accelerating the extinction of all industry and production, he seems never to have dreamed that the maxim had no place whatsoever in the ancient law of the country. Nay, the settlement itself proceeded on that maxim, as if it had been a fixed and indisputable proposition. To correct the vices of the old system, therefore, he introduced a new body of proprietors, a landed aristocracy, as it was called in the fashion of that day, in total oblivion, unfortunately, of a truth ratified by the experience of every age and country, that an aristocracy is, in its nature, a thing of slow and gradual growth, and is not to be created at will. In short, in whatever aspect this harsh and unnatural principle be contemplated, whether we consider the deductions that may be legitimately drawn from it as they regard practice or speculation, they will be found,

* Elements of Hindu Law by Sir T. Strange, vol. 1. p. 13.

† *Ib.*, p. 12.

in default of every other refutation, to demonstrate its absurdity. Nor is it in the least singular, that a doctrine so highly convenient as that of the Hindus having no property in their own soil, should have mingled itself in the fertile brood of schemes at this moment hatching for the colonization of India. To a thorough-bred political economist, in whose eyes the most ferocious means are consecrated by the wildest ends, no maxim could be more opportune. It is the key to unlock the gates of Hindustan to every British adventurer whom crime or poverty has rendered impatient of home. Accordingly, the doctrine of Mr. Mill has been greedily seized by Mr. Wheatley, an economist of many years' standing, whose writings, though they have indeed escaped the notice of an undiscerning public, have been honoured by the solitary suffrage and the flattering eulogy of Mr. Buckingham. Mr. Wheatley, writing at Calcutta, and in the midst of a Hindu population, in support of the expedience of opening the whole country to an unrestricted colonization of British subjects, asserts, with all the earnestness of conviction, and with the complacency which insane persons feel when they think they are convincing others, that the *occupation of Hindustan by British subjects, even without purchase*, could not be considered an act of injustice; because, *according to the Hindu law, the fee-simple in the soil of India does not belong to the natives*; and fixing his foot firmly upon this position, on which, as by a lever, he has all Hindustan at his command, calmly proposes that the permanent settlement in Bengal should be instantly abrogated, *the zemindars turned out of their estates*, and their places filled with British settlers, or, in the very words of the lunatic himself, *British zemindars*. Will it be believed, that the visions of this gentleman, in a comparison with whom Jacob Behmen was a matter-of-fact sort of person, have been swallowed for incontrovertible truths by many of those discerning and disinterested inquirers, who dream that India will be an inexhaustible load of wealth and happiness to British settlers? In truth, there is no doctrine, however extravagant, or however repugnant to common sense and common humanity, into which, when their theories accord with their imagined interests, men will not suffer themselves to be decoyed. The occupation by force (he must be a proverbial fool who supposes that any force can be commensurate with such an object) of the whole surface of India, the disruption of all civil and political unions, the dispersion of tribes and families, the extinction of an inveterately ancient system of property, for the sake of establishing in the country all the mercantile excretions and plebeian redundancies of Great Britain—these are trifles of no account in their calculations. They are a class of economists who are quite at their ease as to the consequences of the experiment. The sufferings of an immense population, the inevitable result of any scheme of colonization that human ingenuity can devise, give them about as much disquietude as the experimental philosopher is wont to feel for the animals that are struggling in the receiver of his air-pump. Yet allowing to these gentlemen their data, as is usually done with insane reasoners—conceding to them that the natives have no property in their soil, and that the British government may transfer it as

they please—it must be acknowledged that they argue consistently enough from their premises.

But Mr. Mill affects to rest this exploded, and, to use the phrase of the able historian of Southern India, this "pestilent doctrine," on the ancient law of Hindustan. Where is his authority? A passage in the Digest of Jaggannatha, to the following effect:—"By conquest, the earth became the property of the holy Parasu Ramah, by gift the property of the sage Casyapa, and committed by him to the Chsatryas for the sake of protection, became their protective property, successively held by powerful conquerors, and not by subjects cultivating the soil."* The commentator further remarks, that "subjects may acquire an *annual property* on payment of annual revenue, until a greater revenue be offered by another person." This most outrageous position, however, has no other support than the *dictum* of Jaggannatha; and it is with much propriety hinted by Colonel Wilks, that this industrious and intelligent Brahmin, through a courtesy not unusual with the expounders of Hindu law, was desirous of extracting from the ancient text-books a doctrine in harmony with the opinions then current in Bengal; opinions countenanced by such men as Orme and Dow, received as unquestionable, and constituting, in 1793, the basis of what is called the zemindary system—a system, the framers of which, pre-supposing the non-existence of a private property in the land, deduced from that assumption the right of creating an entirely new body of proprietors. Upon a subject so warmly controverted during the period of Jaggannatha's labours, it is not at all likely, therefore, that he was wholly free from a certain degree of deference to the authority of those under whose auspices he framed his compilation. But, admitting the good faith of the commentator to be beyond all suspicion, yet those who are in the habits of consulting his work, which ought not assuredly to have been called a *Digest*, must have remarked the chaotic accumulation of the contents of all sorts of books, without any discrimination of the several schools to which they belong, which is the most prominent feature of it. Jaggannatha, moreover, is a professed and systematic sophist, and omits no opportunity of exhibiting his proficiency in logic. For this reason he is often an unsafe and an erroneous guide. But although it is intimated by Jaggannatha that the same doctrine is maintained by former commentators, it is also remarkable that he adduces no text in its confirmation upon which any man of sound judgment can rely. A commentary necessarily supposes a text to be elucidated, and the value of the commentary must, therefore, be in proportion to that of the text. What, however, is the text from which Jaggannatha drew his conclusion? It is this: "Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe, Parasu Ramah gave the earth to Casyapa as a gratuity for the sacrifice of a horse," a text from which Jaggannatha's ingenuity might, with equal facility, have deduced a doctrine diametrically opposite. For, according to his own ingenious interpretation of the mythological mystery involved in the text, *viz.* that the earth created by God became the wife of Prithu, and if, as it is generally agreed, this Prithu was

* 1st Digest, p. 450.

the Hindu Ceerops, who first invented *agriculture*, the whole meaning of the fable is evident, and amounts to no more than that the tiller of the soil was its primæval proprietor. It is evident then that, *per se*, the text does not authorize the doctrine of Mr. Mill, though it is the only passage he has selected in support of it from the innumerable texts and commentaries of the Hindu law. But it is still more worthy of remark, that Jaggannatha, whom the historian of India implicitly follows, passes over in silence an important passage in the Institutes of Menu, of which Colonel Wilks observes he could not have been ignorant. "Cultivated land," says Menu,* "is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it." No commentator (and commentaries without a text are merely the *dicta* of jurists, and certainly not equivalent in authority to the *responsa prudentum* in the civil law, which were never held to be of more than secondary value) can deny that this passage distinctly establishes the existence of private property in land, and that an inherent indefeasible property, a principle the most consonant to the dictates of natural reason, and the early opinions and the simple feelings of mankind, was a practical rule of civil life at the period when that venerable text was compiled (for it is on all sides admitted that it was a compilation only from some antecedent code), which, without claiming for it an undue and extravagant antiquity, could not have been later than the eighth century before the vulgar era, or about five centuries before the expedition of Alexander.

Mr. Mill, relying only upon this most equivocal sentence of the Digest, has not deemed worthy of notice the numerous passages which, in the same work, assert the existence of a private property in land, nor cast so much as a glance on the six specified formalities for the conveyance of lands which it enumerates, *viz.* the assent of townsmen, of kindred, of neighbours, of heirs, the delivery of gold, and of water. These formalities are prescribed for the sake of publicity; the assent of neighbours, or members of the same township, for the sake of testimony, as well as of ascertaining *how much* is given. The text, indeed, declares that the *sale* of immoveable property is forbidden; that is, it is unlawful to sell that which constitutes the common fund of the family: hence the necessity of a sale of lands being clothed with the formalities of a donation, the delivery of gold and water; and the consent of the co-heirs is required, lest they should subsequently dispute it.† But hear Jaggannatha's commentary:‡ "The phrase 'there is no *sale* of immoveable property,' is intended to forbid such alienation of it. It is thereby intimated that a spiritual offence is committed by selling land, not that the contract is void. For property is equally divested by the voluntary act of the owner in sale as in gift, and it occurs a hundred times in practice. It should not be said that, because 'land is conveyed by six formalities,' real property is not divested *without* those ceremonies, since the *term land would otherwise be unmeaning*. To the question whether the gift is perfect without delivery of gold and water,

* Institutes of Menu, Sir William Jones' translation, c. ix. v. 44.

† Colonel Wilks observes that to these six formalities Jaggannatha adds a *seventh*, not mentioned in the text, the assent of the king, or the officer of the king residing in the town; but I cannot find the passage. It is quite sufficient, however, that it is not to be found in any text-book.

‡ 3d Digest, p. 432.

some lawyers reply, a gift accompanied with gold and the delivery of water are directed to confirm the sale, lest at any time the seller take *back* the thing on pretence of a fraudulent bargain; for sale, or other alienation of immoveable land, which is considered as the source of maintenance, is especially forbidden." * * * And again, "sale is incontestably effected by a simple act of volition; but formality is ordained for the sake of proof." In another place, Jaggannatha,* citing a text (Sri Bhagávatti) which describes the earth *as the abode of living creatures*, expounds it thus:—"The property is his who uses the land where he resides, and while he uses it; and thus, where *land belonging to any person is sold by the king, it is a sale without ownership.*" Captious disputants might endeavour to extort a usufructuary right only from the words *while he uses it*; but the phrase "belonging to any person," controls the former member of the sentence, which cannot imply a limitation to a temporary use only, since Jaggannatha evidently intended to discriminate property used, from property abandoned or derelict. Such are the recorded opinions of a jurist, upon whose authority it is attempted to be proved that subjects have no landed property whatever; while in innumerable places the same author has described, as incidents to Hindu landed property, every character that can be required to constitute, in its fullest extent, an indefeasibly hereditary proprietorship, wholly independent of the sovereign.

So much for the ancient law of Hindustan regarding the free tenure of lands. The Mackenzie Collection, though lamentably defective in documents illustrative of the three ancient dynasties of Cherun, Cholun, and Pandian, which at different periods were in possession of the greater portion of the countries distinguished by the names of Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, contains, however, a few detached fragments, from which clear historical inferences may be derived. Among these, the various kinds of sassanums, or grants collected in those territories, are worthy of attention. These, as we remarked in our last number, were chiefly engraved on stone and copper, or inscribed on cadjans. Many of them are gifts of land,† or of customs and privileges conferred by the sovereign or *by private proprietors*, whether to individuals or to religious charities and temples. Sassanums are the most solemn formalities which could be devised for the transfer of lands, as well as for the perpetuation of the testimony to the conveyance. They commence by a solemn adjuration of the deity. Then follows the genealogy of the sovereign or private grantor; and next, the occasion, the date, the time and place of the grant; the consideration for which it is given, the use to which it is designed, the name and style of the grantee; and if it be an *agraram* (grama), or gift to a village of Brahmins, the admeasurement or share to each family is specified with the utmost precision. The land is then described, with its boundaries and landmarks, natural or artificial, and the whole soil and its properties are technically ceded according to ancient legal forms, and *made over in per-*

* 1st Digest, p. 476.

† Most probably these royal grants were escheats. In Tanjore there are instances, where a whole township has been the property of an individual, of the escheat falling to the sovereign. In those cases, however, there were no heirs.

petuity. If the grant is a religious donation, it concludes with a terrific execration, forbidding, with an enumeration of dreadful penalties calculated to make a deep impression on the Hindu mind, all secret evasions, resumptions, or revocations of the gift. Upon the hypothesis that, according to the Hindu law, the property of the soil was exclusively vested in the sovereign, it would be difficult to account for the caution and solicitude which these conveyances bespeak to define the limits of the land and the duration of the estate. They mark, indeed, a strong reluctance to alienation, and "a more anxious attachment to landed property than can be found in the institutions of any other people, ancient or modern," to use the words of Colonel Wilks; who also, in speaking of the lands in Canara after the extinction of the Mysore dynasty, adds that "the high selling price of twenty years' purchase, which, according to their respective rates of interest, are as high as forty years' purchase in England, testifies the undiminished preservation of this sentiment to the present day."*

In 1805, Lord William Bentinck, in whose mind considerable doubts had arisen, not only as to the expediency of carrying the zemindary system into effect, but with regard to the assumption which was the basis of that system, circulated a series of questions, for the purpose of obtaining information for his guidance as to the settlement of those districts which had not yet been alienated. The result of this investigation, which was conducted with great diligence by several of the Company's civil servants most qualified for it by their experience and former researches, induced the Madras government to obtain the sanction of the Governor General for suspending the further operation of the zemindary system. It appeared that in those provinces which were furthest removed from the impressions of the northern conquerors, and which seem to reflect, as in a mirror, the ancient condition of Hindustan, and in Tanjore particularly, a principality which contained Combaconum, the capital of the Cholun dynasty, one of the oldest races in India, every character of an independent proprietary right in lands could be distinctly traced. Mr. Wallace observes,† in answer to the query proposed to him: "Without entering on the question who is the proprietor of the soil, I content myself with stating that immemorial usage has established, both in Tanjore and Trichinopoly, that the occupants, whether distinguished by the names of Meerasadar or Mahajanums,‡ have the right of selling, bestowing, or devising and bequeathing their lands, in the manner which is most agreeable to them. Whether this right was granted originally by the ancient constitution of the country appears to me not worth considering at the present day. I think it a fortunate circumstance that the right does at present exist, whether it originated in encroachment on the sovereign's rights, in a wise and formal abrogation of those rights, or in institutions coeval with the remotest antiquity. It is fortunate, that whilst we are consulting on the means of establishing the property and welfare of the numerous people of these provinces, we find the lands of the country in the hands of men who feel and understand the

* Hist. Southern India, vol. I. p. 160.

† Fifth Report, 8th September 1805.

‡ A Sanscrit term: *Maha magnus, Jenam gens.*

full rights and advantages of possession, who have enjoyed them in a degree more or less secure before the British name was known in India, and who in consequence of them have rendered populous and fertile the extensive provinces of Tanjore and Trichinopoly." Nor are the class of proprietors, specified in this report, merely the actual cultivators of the soil, which in the strictest sense of the term is *allodial*. They till their lands* by means of hired labourers; and those lands are infinitely divided and subdivided, from large proprietorships of four thousand acres to the humble possessions of a single one.

It were easy to multiply facts in refutation of the odious and unnatural maxim, that the people of Hindustan are by the laws and usages of that immense territory divested of all property in its soil. No frame of society, no civil order, no equitable system of laws, no civility, no refinements, could ever have arisen out of such a principle. These are the offspring of property, and the gradual growth of those institutions of which property is the parent. Property is the imperishable element of all the moral energies of a nation; and if the absurd maxim which negatives its existence throughout that large portion of the earth had been interwoven, as Mr. Mill supposes, in its earliest laws and usages, and uniformly recognized and acted on, the history of Hindustan would have been at this day a desolate blank in the annals of mankind, in which the eye of the philosopher and the historian would in vain seek for the slightest vestiges of civilization and culture, instead of discerning in every page of it, the noblest and most enduring monuments of wisdom, literature, and genius.

* Hist. Southern India, vol. I. p. 176.

BENGALEE RENDERINGS OF SCRIPTURE TERMS.

THE Rev. Wm. Morton, of Bishop's College, the author of a paper "On the Rendering of Scripture Terms," which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* for September last,* has completed the work of which that paper was a specimen, and which has been printed at the press of the College, with the sanction of the Syndics. From amongst the additional examples he has given of the almost insuperable difficulties attending the correct rendering of Scripture terms into the Hindu dialects, we select his observations on the term "Heaven," which is one of very frequent recurrence in the New Testament.

"1. This word having at least three distinct applications to denote,

"1st, The visible heavens or atmosphere, the expanse in which the celestial bodies move;

"2dly, The place and state of future bliss;

"3dly, The Supreme Being;

"No one term can be found in the Sanscrit or Bengali language which will exhibit these three varieties of meaning and application—varieties which yet involve so many important notions, and so materially affect seve-

ral sublime Christian truths, that the utmost precision is necessary for their distinct enunciation.

“ 3. It does by no means follow that as these three several notions are accurately conveyed in the use of one and the same Greek word *υπεραρος*, or the English ‘heaven,’ therefore no confusion will ensue in expressing them all by a single word in the languages of the East. For—

“ 1. In the former, those distinct senses are already and have long been affixed to the same term, and are well known; the connexion always, or most usually, with sufficient clearness, determining the application in any given passage, though still no doubt can be entertained but that in several very important passages of Scripture, a less verbal rendering, and the adoption of a word denoting specifically one or other of the several applications of this or any similar term, would tend greatly to elucidate the sense, and throw a greater precision into our conceptions of it.

“ 2. The idiomatical differences between the eastern and western languages—even those clearly derived, though at a great distance of time, from one common source—are so marked and peculiar, that what would be in entire accordance with the natural connexion and derivation of ideas, and the senses attached to the same word accordingly in the former, would often be in direct contradistinction therefrom in the latter. This arises partly from the physics and partly from the metaphysics of the east and of the west respectively.

“ 4. Now शून्य (shūnya) ‘vacuum, or the waste of space’—
 অন্তরীক্ষ (or *antarikshya*), the region in which the stars and planets are placed, आकाश (*acash*), or the expanded aetherial fluid, the medium of sound and vehicle of life, pervading all nature—may all well enough express the first sense of the word ‘Heaven’ above given, though a choice may exist in different connexions. But not one of them will adapt itself to an enunciation of the second, Hindoo philosophy and theology alike opposing; much less will they serve to exhibit the third notion of *υπεραρος* stated above, these people never allowing themselves such a latitude in speaking of the Divine Being as to designate Him specially by his works, even though, in their peculiar mixed theology and metaphysics, they consider Him as interfused through all nature, or rather as all nature in its reality and essence.

“ 5. To illustrate the necessity of this distinction being rigidly maintained in translation, if we would avoid either an entire obscuration of the sense of a passage, or a conception of it quite at variance with the doctrine intended to be expressed, I may quote the passage in Matthew, ‘Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away.’ This is rendered in the existing Bengali versions, স্বর্গ ওপৃথিবী লুপ্ত হইবে—*i.e.* ‘the place of future Heavenly enjoyment (or Paradise in the second notion of *υπεραρος*)—and earth also, shall suffer obliteration or disappear from existence’—in which rendering is a clear and undeniable expression of the Hindoo doctrine of successive periodical destructions of the universe,

earth and heaven, men and gods, all existence, animate and inanimate—whereas it is evident our Lord spoke simply of the visible material heavens,

আকাশ or অন্তরীক্ষ. Yet the notion taken up, that সুর্গ (which is properly Indra's Paradise, and never conveys any idea of the ætherial expanse) was a proper rendering for 'Heaven,' (as it is in one application of that word), has led to an indiscriminate employment of it, as well to the manifest perversion of Scripture doctrine as to the expression of clear absurdities.

"6. The only mode free at once from ambiguity and error, should seem to be, to employ the ideas rather than the verbal rendering. It is proposed, accordingly, to express the 1st notion of Heaven by শূন্য, আকাশ or অন্তরীক্ষ, 'the ætherial region.'

"The 2d by সুর্গ or পয়লোক 'the region of future bliss.'

"The 3d by ঈশ্বর or পরমেশ্বর 'God, or the Supreme.'

"7. সুর্গ (or Paradise) is properly one of the various Hindoo paradises—that of Indra; but as, short of absorption, there is no future condition, according to the Hindoos, but either transmigration into a material frame, or a temporary residence in one of the supernal regions—we must of necessity either coin a word to denote our notion of Heaven, or else

chuse among the current words, of which সুর্গ is both the best known and the most to our purpose. In this, as in the case of every Pagan people, we must often employ their own terms, however imperfectly expressing

Christian notions, and affix to them more refined and exalted ideas. সুর্গ is indeed properly, as is the Mahommedan paradise, a place of purely sensual delights—but altering merely the description of those enjoyments which the Christian doctrine promises hereafter, the term goes the whole length of denoting supernal and future felicity, and that too the reward of a certain conduct on earth. The case is quite different when an indigenous term is merely deficient in conveying our full ideas, and when it conveys to the native mind either no notion at all of what we intend or a contrary one."

A defence of the Serampore Mahratta version of the Scriptures, commented upon by Mr. Morton, with some remarks upon his Bengalee renderings, has appeared, and shall be noticed hereafter.

EAST-INDIA INDIGO AND SUGAR.

We mentioned in our summary of the proceedings of the last meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, that a paper on indigo, as an agricultural speculation, was submitted by Mr. N. Alexander; and one on the cultivation and manufacture of sugar in Bengal, by Mr. Henley, a gentleman of great experience as a planter in the West-Indies.

Indigo and sugar may be considered as the two great staple productions of India; the day has been that cotton might be added to the list, but for the last eight years the latter article has been anything but looking up. With respect to sugar, on the other hand, although the resources of this country are unrivalled, the influence of the West-India trade has hitherto prevented their proper development. Should, however, such modifications arise (which we have little doubt ere long will be the case) as may admit of a fair competition in the English market between the product of free and that of servile labour, the excitement which the resources of India would receive from such an equalization of the balance of trade may easily be imagined, nor are the moral effects of such a change to be reckoned its least valuable feature.

To those who take an interest in such questions—questions that affect the condition of large masses of mankind, and relate to the improvement of commerce and agriculture (that true vital principle of a state), an abstract of papers like those alluded to cannot fail to be acceptable.

The cultivation of indigo is stated by Mr. Alexander to have been unknown to the natives of India previous to its introduction through the enterprize of English merchants. The immense value of indigo speculations may be conceived from the simple fact, that the cultivation of the weed from which this most precious dye is extracted, covers a space of ground equal to about 1,200,000 acres, and gives subsistence to about 500,000 families, and is carried on at an annual outlay of about £1,600,000. It has occupied large tracts of land lying within the influence of the annual inundations of the Ganges, and has raised the value of land in the districts where it is cultivated at least 100 per cent.

The opinions of men in England, supposed conversant with the subject, differ greatly on the cultivation of indigo in Bengal. "By some it is considered the safest investment of mercantile capital; by others it is contended, that we are fast approaching the point where production will exceed consumption, and that then the speculation will be an unprofitable one. Those who entertain this latter view of the speculation, assert that we possess the means of unlimited cultivation of indigo in this country, and that we are annually increasing the quantity of our crops." Mr. Alexander proceeds to investigate the truth of this opinion, and to show the actual state of the indigo trade, and how far the increased production is met by an augmented consumption; for it is obvious, that if causes exist which restrain the cultivation of indigo, and that the average increase of production is equalled by a like increase of consumption, the speculation is in an equally flourishing state, whether the average crop be 100,000 or 500,000 maunds.

On the whole, Mr. Alexander sees no reason for fearing that the cultivation of indigo in Bengal is overdone, and proceeds, we think very successfully, to demonstrate that the theories from which a contrary conclusion emanate, are erroneously based. Some of those who have speculated upon the subject in England, have taken it for granted that we have the same indigo planters in India that we had seven years ago; all now become wealthy and independent

men from the large profits on the trade during that period. We are all aware, however (pursues Mr. A.), that during the last seven years numbers have annually retired with their savings, and without continuing interested in the concerns they have left. This annual secession of the wealthy leaves the general body of the planters little changed, and most of them are still dependent on the houses of agency for support. But even supposing that they were competent to proceed in their speculations without such control, and to greatly extend their cultivation, so as to have recourse to poorer and more expensive lands than those which formed the field of their former more profitable and limited cultivation, low prices would again force them back within their proper limits.

It has also been erroneously supposed that new indigo lands are easily procurable in Bengal: the very contrary, however, is the case; for if the speculator has sufficient influence to obtain leases of land, he must displace dry crops, which yield a large profit, and must pay in proportion. "Lower Bengal is far too populous to admit of lands remaining uncultivated, and procurable by any person who chooses to occupy them."

Mr. Alexander next gives the amount of indigo crops in Bengal for the last ten years, and divides the ten seasons into two periods of five years each. It being generally considered that in the season of 1823-24, the stimulus to increased cultivation was given; if over-production of indigo was ever likely to take place, the last five years was the period for it. How did the case stand then? In the first five years (dating from 1819) the difference of crops annually was as follows:

	Maunds.
1820 the crop was less than in 1819.....	33,000
1821 ditto greater than 1820	18,000
1822 ditto ditto than 1821.....	23,000
1823 ditto less than in 1822	33,000

This gives the greatest difference between any two years 33,000 maunds, and the average difference between any two years 27,000 maunds in round numbers.

For the next period of five years the difference of the crops, annually, was:

	Maunds.
1824 the crop was greater than in 1823.....	30,000
1825 ditto ditto than in 1824.....	33,000
1826 ditto was less than in 1825	53,000
1827 ditto was greater than in 1826	57,000
1828 ditto was less than in 1827	53,000

The greatest difference between any two years in this period is 57,000 maunds, and the average difference 45,000 maunds. By this comparison it would appear that the uncertainty of production is increasing faster than the increase of production, for if we take the average of the crops from 1819 to 1823 to be 95,000 maunds, and the average difference of good and bad seasons to be 27,000 maunds, and the average of the crops for 1824 to 1828 to be 1,22,000 maunds, the average of difference between good and bad seasons should be 33,000 maunds, instead of 45,000, as already shewn.

This being the case, there is no likelihood, it is urged, of the cultivation of indigo here being extended beyond the demand, but rather of its prudently following the increased consumption in Europe. Mr. Alexander deems it creditable to all concerned in indigo speculations, that during the last five years they have resisted the temptation of high prices, and have cautiously increased the cultivation with increased consumption. The inferior indigos, too, have disappeared, for the planters generally are paying greater attention

to the quality of their manufactures, which will have a very beneficial effect on the trade, and the stability of the speculation.

Sugar.—In the preparatory observations of his paper on the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, Mr. Henley attributes the impression of discouragement that appears to prevail in this country respecting speculations in this staple, to the absurdity of closely imitating the system of the West-India planters, and making enormous outlays, without a due calculation of the returns that were to follow. The majority of these expensive establishments merely professed to reboil the native jaggree, which was commencing at the wrong end, the article operated on being in a very impure state, and hardly admitting of such an increase of quantity, and amelioration of quality, by the European process, as would bear the difference of outlay for expensive buildings. The distillation of rum was, perhaps, the only saving clause which these establishments could have.

The works requisite for the manufacture of sugar, *exclusive of rum*, may be erected, Mr. Henley thinks, at a much smaller expense than is in general calculated upon. "There is no imperative necessity for buildings of extraordinary stability, merely because the article is sugar. We are satisfied to commit our indigo to a very humble shed, and there is no cogent reason why sugar should receive a more expensive accommodation; with the exception of the boiling and mill-houses, and cisterns, there appears but little necessity for pukka masonry. The curing and packing operations will succeed equally well in places built of good chopper work, on a brick foundation; and the curing or drawing house requiring an extensive range of covering, an obvious and considerable saving of outlay at once suggests itself. It is of importance that the latter building be so constructed as to exclude at pleasure 'the damp air in rainy or moist weather, as such certainly retards the separation of the syrups, and eventually dulls the sparkle or diamond of the sugar.'" It will, of course, be borne in mind, that in these observations Mr. Henley is treating of a matter in its infancy, and so far an experiment as to demand every attention on the score of prudence and economy.

Mr. Henley considers indigo and sugar operations not only compatible, but desirable. The latter ought to commence with the cultivation of the cane itself. "The cane might be obtained by advances to the ryots, but it is evident the contractor would not have the same security in this produce as in indigo leaf: the latter being totally useless to the cultivator, whilst, on the other hand, the sugar-cane would constantly hold forth every temptation to peculate." The contractor might oblige the ryot to plant the cuttings at proper distances, and make him desist from his ordinary practice of stripping the leaves of the growing plants, a practice founded entirely in error, and detrimental to the full development of the saccharine principle. The canes ought, if possible, to be at the mill within twenty-four hours from the time of cutting. "The high rent of sugar lands must always prevent the planter from cultivating indigo leaf to advantage; but there appears nothing more probable than that persons engaged in the latter cultivation (on rental lands of a good quality, and well situate for the carriage of a heavy article) would find it advantageous, to grow the cane, alternating their different crops as circumstances would direct. The provisions made in various ways for conducting the culture and manufacture of indigo, may, in proper season, be transferred to the culture of sugar-cane, the season varying opportunely for the different operations, and the contiguity of an indigo and sugar concern might appear not only compatible but desirable. This arrangement supposes nothing new, as it is only necessary to call to recollect-

tion that the indigo manufacture in the West-Indies was carried on upon the same estate with sugar, and would, perhaps, have so existed to this day, had not the heavy duties imposed by the mother-country, with subsequent circumstances, checked and finally ruined it.

The plants under native cultivation are invariably too much crowded, and the native practice of trashing, or depriving the growing plant of its leaves, has already been mentioned with disapprobation. The natives, too, either do not or cannot amass fattening heaps of manure, and they seldom or never take off a crop of ratoons.

The introduction of superior cane to the ordinary native plant, is an improvement of too much importance to be overlooked. The China, and Malabar, and Bourbon species, Mr. H. thinks present advantages, which at once ensure them a preference.

With reference to the manufacture of the cane, the native mill is rather objectionable from being too slow, for in the crushing process it is of great importance to avoid whatever has a tendency to produce fermentation. The native boiler seldom brings his gurrab of liquor to the fire except in a state of incipient fermentation, by which means the yield of sugar is diminished, the granulation impeded, and the colour (if for muscovado) injured. The refiners at home universally pronounce the Bengal sugars to be deficient in saccharine matter, and unprofitable for boiling, on account of the quantity of uncombined acid they contain, together with the adulteration of a matter like the flour of peas ingeniously beaten into the sugar, with the intention of improving the colour as well as increasing the weight.

The practice of boiling the cane-juice first into goor or jaggree, admits of a profitable improvement, by completing the manufacture at one boiling. Much time and money are lost by the native process of boiling the juice in narrow-mouthed pots, the form of which is altogether inconsistent with the European ideas of the process of evaporation.

By the simple operation of claying much time and labour are saved, compared with the country process of frequently strewing rank grass on the surface of the mass of sugar, &c.

Mr. Henley gives an instructive account of the methods practised in the West-India islands for obtaining sugar, which want of space precludes our more particularly adverting to.*

* From the Calcutta *Gen. Gazette*.

DILLON'S DISCOVERY OF THE FATE OF LA PÉROUSE.*

THE discovery made by Captain, or, as we must now designate him, the Chevalier Dillon, ranks amongst the most interesting of modern times. The anxiety which the lamentable fate of la Pérouse and his companions excited throughout the civilized world, seemed likely to be extinguished only by the rise of a new generation, to whom the event would become a mere historical fact. It was not curiosity, singly, which prompted inquiry, and induced the French government to proclaim a liberal reward for the discovery of the exact fate of the expedition, but the humane hope of relieving some of the survivors from a state of existence scarcely preferable, or preferable only, to death.

As this journal contains very copious details of this discovery, when it was first promulgated at Calcutta, and of the subsequent events of the expedition placed by the Bengal government under the direction of Capt. Dillon, who was thereby enabled to ascertain the full extent of the calamity which befel the French navigator, it is unnecessary for us to give more than a very succinct analysis of the work, a "simple and faithful narrative," as he terms it, in which the Chevalier records the occurrences on the voyage. The present publication possesses, indeed, an additional interest, derived from the sketches of savage history and character, with which it abounds. Capt. Dillon's intercourse with the South Sea islanders seems to have been so frequent and so intimate, that he became versed in their languages,† and familiar with all their wild habits and manners, of which cannibalism forms a prominent and disgusting trait.

The transactions which occurred at the Feejee Islands, and which immediately preceded, and perhaps partly led to, the discovery of the relics of la Pérouse's expedition, is a terrible illustration of the dreadful propensities of these islanders, and of the fate which awaits such strangers as unwarily place themselves in their power. As we but slightly noticed this affair in the account we gave of Capt. Dillon's discovery from the Calcutta papers,‡ we shall place some of the details before our readers.

In the year 1813, Capt. Dillon, then an officer on board the Calcutta ship *Hunter*, visited the Feejees, or Beetees, as they are properly named, not, however, for the first time, having, he says, remained among these islands for four months, in 1809, associating very much, during that period, with the natives. The policy of the traders who visited these islands seems to have been, to conciliate them, with a view of procuring good cargoes of sandal-wood, by joining them in their wars on each other, and assisting them in their work of mutual destruction and cannibalism. The captives were cut up, baken in ovens, and eaten; and upon the visit now spoken of, 1813, our author says, this operation took place in the presence of the

* Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the actual fate of la Pérouse's Expedition; interspersed with Accounts of the Religion, Manners, Customs, and Cannibal Practices of the South Sea Islanders. By the Chevalier Capt. P. Dillon. London: 2 vols. 8vo. 1829. Hurst, Chance and Co.

† Capt. Dillon tells us that he understands the Otaheitan, New Zealand, Feejee, and Tucopian languages. He is compiling a history of the Feejee or Betee Islands.

‡ See *Asiat. Journ.* vol. xxiii. p. 625.

commander of the *Hunter*. So much for the tendency of commerce to diffuse the blessings of civilization!

In one of the military expeditions of the natives of a place called Vilear, the commander and crew of the *Hunter* (including Mr. Dillon) accompanied them in armed boats, with a two-pounder, wherewith the natives belonging to a hostile tribe were mercilessly slaughtered, and their towns and plantations laid waste, the dead bodies being despatched in a fast-sailing canoe to be devoured after the following preparation, which Capt. Dillon describes, doubtless from the best authority, *oculis fidelibus*: "The dead bodies were placed on the grass, and dissected by one of the priests; the feet were cut off at the ancles, and the legs from the knees; afterwards certain other parts; then the thighs at the hip joints, the hands at the wrists, the arms at the elbows, the shoulders at the sockets; and lastly, the head and neck were separated from the body. Each of these divisions of the human frame formed one *joint* (of meat), which was carefully tied up in green plantain leaves, and placed in the ovens to be baked with the *tara* root."

Notwithstanding the assistance thus rendered by Capt. Robson, of the *Hunter*, to the islanders of Vilear, "whose stomachs he had so often helped to glut with the flesh of their enemies," they failed to fulfil their obligations, by procuring him a sufficient cargo of sandal-wood, on the plea that their forests were exhausted. Whereupon he took an opportunity to attack a fleet of their canoes, and killed a man. This outrage was repaid in a mode congenial with savage habits. A part of the crew of the *Hunter*, including Mr. Dillon, having subsequently landed, they fell into an ambush laid by the Vilear people, and most of them were despatched. Mr. Dillon and five men reached a rock, so steep that few persons could ascend it at a time, and high enough to be out of the reach of the slings and spears of the natives. This post they defended, by means of three muskets; Mr. Dillon taking the command, the chief officer having fallen.

The plain which surrounded the rock was covered with the armed savages assembled from all parts of the coast, amounting to several thousands, who had been in ambush waiting for us to land. This assemblage now exhibited a scene revolting to human nature. Fires were prepared and ovens heated for the reception of the bodies of our ill-fated companions, who, as well as the Bow chiefs and their slaughtered men, were brought to the fires in the following manner. Two of the Vilear party placed a stick or limb of a tree on their shoulders, over which were thrown the bodies of their victims, with their legs hanging downwards on one side, and their heads at the other. They were thus carried in triumph to the ovens prepared to receive them. Here they were placed in a sitting posture, while the savages sung and danced with joy over their prizes, and fired several musket-balls through each of the corpses, all the muskets of the slain having fallen into their hands. No sooner was this ceremony over, than the priests began to cut up and dissect these unfortunate men in our presence. Their flesh was immediately placed in the ovens, to be baked and prepared as a repast for the victors, after the manner already described; meanwhile we were closely guarded on all sides but one, which fronted the thick mangoe forest on the banks of the river. Savage proposed to Martin Bushart to run for that, and endeavour to escape to the water's side and swim for the ship. This I opposed, threatening to

shoot the first man dead that left the hill, and my threat for the present had the desired effect. By this time the fury of the savages was somewhat abated, and they began to listen attentively to our harangues and offers of reconciliation. I reminded them that on the day the fourteen canoes were seized and taken, eight of their men had been made prisoners on board the ship, where they were now confined. One of them was the Nambatey (or high priest) of Vilear's brother. I represented to the multitude, that if we were killed, the eight prisoners would be put to death on board; but that if I with my five companions were not sacrificed, we would cause the eight prisoners to be released immediately. The head priest, who is regarded as a deity by these savages, immediately asked if I was speaking truth, and if his brother and the other seven men were alive? I assured him they were, and that I would send a man on board to the captain to order them to be released, if he would convey the man safe down to the boat from among the multitude; this the priest promised to do immediately. As Thomas Dafny was wounded, and had no arms to defend himself, I prevailed on him to venture down the rock with the priest, and thence to the boat. He was then to inform Capt. Robson of our horrid situation, which may be more easily imagined than described. I also directed him to tell the captain that it was my particular request that he should release one-half of the prisoners, and show them a large chest of ironmongery, whales' teeth, &c. which he might promise to deliver to the remaining four prisoners with their liberty, the moment we returned to the ship.

This man proceeded as directed, and I did not lose sight of him from the time he left us until he got on the ship's deck. A cessation of arms took place in the mean time, which might have continued unbroken had it not been for the imprudence of Charles Savage, who put a greater temptation in the way of the natives than they could withstand. During this interval several native chiefs ascended the hill, and came within a few paces of us, with prostrations of friendship, and proffered us security if we would go down among them. To these promises I would not accede, nor allow any of my men to do so; till Charles Savage, who had resided on the islands for more than five years, and spoke the native dialect fluently, begged of me to permit him to go down among the natives with the chiefs to whom we were speaking, as he had no doubt their promises would be kept, and that if I allowed him to go he would certainly procure a peace, and enable us all to return safe to the ship. Overcome by his importunities, I at last gave my consent, but reminded him that I did not wish him to do so, and that he must leave his musket and ammunition with me. This he did, and proceeded about two hundred yards from the foot of the rock to where Bonasar was seated, surrounded by chiefs, who were happy to receive him, their secret determination being to kill and eat him. They conversed with him, however, for some time, and then called out to me in the native dialect, "Come down, Peter, we will not hurt you: you see we do not hurt Charley!" I replied that I would not go down until the prisoners landed. During this discussion the Chinaman, Luis, stole down the opposite side of the hill unknown to me, with his arms, for the purpose of placing himself under the protection of a chief with whom he was intimately acquainted, and to whom he had rendered important service in former wars. The islanders, finding they could not prevail on me to place myself in their power, set up a screech that rent the air: at that moment Charles Savage was seized by the legs, and held in that state by six men, with his head placed in a well of fresh water until he was suffocated; whilst at the same instant a powerful savage got behind the Chinaman, and with his huge club

knocked the upper part of his skull to pieces. These wretched men were scarcely lifeless, when they were cut up and put into ovens, ready prepared for the purpose.

We, the three defenders of the hill, were then furiously attacked on all sides by the cannibals, whom our muskets however kept in great dread, though the chiefs stimulated their men to ascend and bring us down, promising to confer the greatest honours on the man who should kill me, and frequently inquired of their people if they were afraid of three white men, when they had killed several that day. Thus encouraged, they pressed close on us. Having four muskets between three of us, two always remained loaded: for Wilson being a bad shot, we kept him loading the muskets, while Martin Bushart and I fired them off. Bushart had been a rifleman in his own country, and was an excellent marksman. He shot twenty-seven of the cannibals with twenty-eight discharges, only missing once: I also killed and wounded a few of them in self-defence. Finding they could not conquer us without a great sacrifice on their part, they kept off, and vowed vengeance.

The human bodies being now prepared, they were withdrawn from the ovens, and shared out to the different tribes, who devoured them greedily. They frequently invited me to come down and be killed before it was dark, that they might have no trouble in dissecting and baking me in the night. I was bespoken joint by joint by the different chiefs, who exultingly brandished their weapons in the air, and boasted of the number of white men each had killed that day.

Their determined resistance in the end was rewarded by liberation; only, however, through the decided conduct of Mr. Dillon, who seized one of the native priests, whom he carried with him through the crowd to the water side. The number of persons who fell a sacrifice to the cannibals, whose barbarous propensities were encouraged by those to whom they were an instrument of punishment, was fourteen.

Some circumstances arising out of this transaction led to a communication with Tucopia, where several articles of European manufacture were found, which had been procured from the adjoining island of Malicolo, or Vannicolo, where it was afterwards well ascertained that the unfortunate Pérouse and his companions were wrecked.

The particulars of this wreck at this distance of time (forty years) could not be accurately gained from the reports of the natives; few of whom, who were living at the time of its occurrence, having distinct recollections of the event. From a native of Tucopia, who had resided long at Mannicolo, he learned some particulars which that individual had gleaned from the natives of the latter island. They said that the two ships run on shore in the night, on reefs some considerable distance from the land; the one which got on shore at Whannow was totally lost, and such of the crew as escaped were murdered by the islanders, and their skulls offered to a deity. The other ship was wrecked at Paiow, and after being on the reef, was driven into a good situation; it was afterwards broken up to build a two-masted ship, in which all but two of the men embarked, and were never more heard of. The crews were often engaged in conflicts with the natives, and whilst employed in building the two-masted ship, they fortified themselves within a wooden fence or palisade, where they lived: several were,

nevertheless, decoyed out of the fence and murdered. The Mannicolans represent the crews of these vessels to have been *spirits*, not men; they say there was a projection from their foreheads or noses a foot long, and that they did not eat like other men, a small piece of food the size of a finger sufficing them, after taking which, they recommenced building their ships: the latter circumstance is, perhaps, capable of being explained by supposing the *food* they took in such small quantity might have been a mouthful of tobacco. Of the two men left behind, one is said to have died a natural death, the other to have quitted the island with some natives. A subsequent communication of Capt. Dillon with an aged Mannicolan chief, tended to confirm the foregoing account. He said that the ships were wrecked on two different parts of the coast of Mannicolo (at Whannow and Paiow); that there had been sixty skulls of white men in the "spirit-house" at Whannow, but that most of the men had been killed by *sharks*, only six having fallen by the natives. He added: "they were ship-spirits; their noses were two hands long before their faces; their chief used always to be looking at the sun and stars, and beckoning to them; there was one of them who stood as a watch at the fence, with a bar of iron in his hand, which he used to turn round his head: this man stood only upon one leg." The *long nose*, which Mr. Dillon concludes to be the French *cocked-hat*, we presume to think was probably the *sex-tant*; the bar of iron must have been, of course, the centinel's musket. All these circumstances are satisfactory attestations of the truth of the story, clothed as it is in the poetic garb with which the superstitious fancy of a Mannicolan naturally invests it.

A visit to Paiow and Whannow, by an officer and party, including M. Chaigneau, the French agent, brought no additional fact to light. The people at Whannow said they had heard of the wreck of a ship there many years back, and showed abundant proofs of the identity of the vessel with that of the French expedition, in various stores and relics, particularly a ship's bell with three *fleurs-de-lis* on it. At Whannow no person was alive who remembered the wreck; they had all heard of the occurrence, and that it had blown a dreadful gale, on the night of the wreck, which broke their great trees, destroyed their houses, &c. They affirmed that no person belonging to the ship was killed at Whannow, and that plenty of people were saved, who built a ship and sailed away, leaving two of their number behind in the neighbourhood of Paiow. These men were known by the name of Marrah; one died; the other escaped to some other island. They denied that heads of the people killed were offered to the gods in the spirit houses; no skulls were found in the temples. Nevertheless, from the guarded manner in which these people spoke, and from the testimony of the Tucopians, the officer states that he had no doubt of the guilt of the Whannow people. M. Chaigneau understood the people of Whannow and Amma, an adjoining place, to say, that one of the two white men named Marrah died about three *rackeys* (or annual returns of the N.W. winds) ago; the other escaped about two *rackeys* and a half ago. Here it was that the bell was procured, with the inscription "*Bazin m'a fait.*"

Not the least amusing part of the Chevalier's book consists of the altercations between him and Dr. Tytler, the surgeon and naturalist of the *Research*. The circumstances which arose out of these altercations ended, indeed, very disagreeably for Mr. Dillon, who was prosecuted, fined, and imprisoned at Van Diemen's Land, and narrowly escaped losing the fame of clearing up this curious problem in the history of circumnavigation. But the affair being over, Mr. Dillon relates the whole with so much pleasantry, that it is impossible not to laugh, though the terms in which he speaks of his supposed persecutor are sufficiently severe. Our readers are, of course, aware that Dr. Tytler, who had been appointed to the expedition at the instance of Capt. Dillon, entertained or professed an opinion that he was insane, and carried his proceeding so far that he was placed by his commander in arrest, on a charge of mutinous conduct, lest, as the captain tells us, the command of the vessel should have been taken out of his hands, which he more than insinuates was the object of Dr. Tytler. For this false imprisonment, or rather for its informality, Captain Dillon was prosecuted at the suit of the doctor, and sentenced to be imprisoned two months in the gaol of Hobart Town, and pay a fine of £50; the imprisonment was afterwards remitted.

The alleged persecutions of Dr. Tytler commenced as soon as his appointment to the expedition was known. Capt. Dillon tells us that he was attacked by a cold, when the Doctor called upon him, ordered his head to be shaved, took thirty-two ounces of blood from his arm, and reported that he was labouring under insanity, and incapable of undertaking the voyage, urging to the Marine Board, that another commander should be appointed to the expedition. All this Capt. Dillon affirms not to be true. From this time to the arrival of the *Research* at Van Diemen's Land, the broils continued; Dr. Tytler still insisting that the Captain was mad, appealing to several indifferent acts as evidence of his disease, such as *chewing chips*. In the mean time, some natives of the South Sea Islands, brought to Calcutta by Capt. Dillon, and carried out with him to aid the objects of the expedition by their conversancy with the habits and languages of the Feejees and Mannicolans (one of them a *prince*), so far disapproved of the conduct of Dr. Tytler, as to intimate their resolution to *eat* him as soon as they could get him in their power. This threat was probably not without its effect upon the Doctor.

After the trial, Dr. Tytler left the vessel, and took a passage at Sydney for Calcutta. Capt. Dillon revenged himself upon his persecutor by giving the name of Dr. Tytler to persons and objects which the Doctor would not be probably ambitious that it should be associated with. A quack of New Zealand he named "Dr. Robert Tytler," adding, that the name would be retained by the individual during life. To a shoal off the island of Mannicolo, he gives in his chart the name of "Tytler's Deceitful Shoal," &c.

Whilst engaged upon Capt. Dillon's book, we had an opportunity of perusing the paper read by Capt. Dumont D'Urville, commander of the

Astrolabe, despatched by the French government to the South Seas, in search of the vestiges of la Pérouse, which paper was read at the general meeting of the Geographical Society of Paris, on the 11th December last.

M. D'Urville's paper is very unlike the simple seaman-like composition of Capt. Dillon. Rhetorical flourishes, and passages written in a style to produce a *sensation*, abound in the former. M. D'Urville expresses the joy, surprise, and anxiety he felt on hearing at Van Diemen's Land, the success of Capt. Dillon, who however, he remarks, had alienated the opinion of the Tasmanian public by his conduct towards Dr. Tytler. From the "cold climate" of Van Diemen's Land he fled with rapidity towards the "burning atmosphere of the Torrid Zone," and the *Astrolabe* anchored before Ticopia (Tucopia), "an isolated islet, covered with verdure, which seemed, on the vast surface of the waters, like a clump of trees, thrown by chance in the midst of an immense pasture."

They sailed to Vanikoro (Mannicolo), at the aspect of whose summits, "our hearts were agitated by an indefinable emotion of hope and sorrow, of grief and satisfaction. We had at length before us that mysterious spot, so long concealed from France and from all Europe, where lay the relics of a noble and generous undertaking; we were about to tread its fatal soil, to investigate its shoals, and question its inhabitants."

After an eloquent description of Mannicolo, "completely clothed with a sombre forest, overlooked by lofty mountains, covered by a zone of clouds, with an immense chain of breakers on all sides extending a league from the coast," he landed on the island. Several of the persons belonging to the expedition made a complete circuit of the island, interrogating the natives, who, M. d'Urville says, "gave no satisfactory statements as to the spot where the wreck took place; refusing, through fear, to afford any distinct reply to the questions, judging, probably, of our characters and dispositions by their own, and thinking, therefore, that we came to take signal vengeance upon them for the crimes committed by their fathers." Subsequently, however, a piece of scarlet cloth overcame the scruples of one of the Mannicolans, and he conducted the Frenchmen to the reef opposite to the village of Payou (Païow), where they beheld, at the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, arms, cannon, balls, lead, &c. "At this spectacle," says M. d'Urville, "all our doubts were dispelled, and we were convinced that these sad relics were the sorrowful witnesses of the fate of La Pérouse." They prepared a cenotaph to the memory of their countrymen; the unhealthiness of the climate at the same time converting the *Astrolabe* into an hospital. Whilst in this enfeebled state, an attempt, according to M. d'Urville, was made by the Mannicolans to seize the vessel. "Our extreme weakness," he says, "had so emboldened these savages, that they conceived the audacious project of attacking us. They paid a visit to the ship, provided with arms; they took notice of the small number of men who were still in health, and seemed to be making preparations for an attack. Their scheme did not escape our vigilance. In a firm and severe tone I forbade them to come on board, and I directed the arm-room to be opened, which was usually kept carefully shut. The sight of a

number of shining muskets, the force of which they knew, alarmed them, and freed us from their presence." Perhaps the conclusions of the gallant officer are somewhat too precipitate in this matter. Capt. D'Urville draws the portrait of the Mannicolans in very offensive colours. We subjoin his description, and his conjectures respecting the exact fate of his countrymen, drawn from the scanty information he could collect; it varies somewhat from Capt. Dillon's account.

These islands form a sort of connexion with the archipelago of Santa Cruz and that of the New Hebrides, situated at some distance to the south. Their inhabitants belong to the same oceanic race, indigent, mean, dirty, disgusting, with dispositions naturally hostile to Europeans. No trace can be found amongst them of that kindness and hospitality which characterize many of the genuine Polynesian tribes, such as those of the Society Islands, the Friendly Islands, Roloumu, Tikopia, &c. The natives of Vanikoro shewed, upon our arrival, the most unequivocal signs of distrust. We could not, with all our presents, entirely dispel this feeling, and as we have just seen, they manifested upon our departure the utmost malevolence towards us.

It cannot be doubted that the unfortunate Frenchmen who escaped shipwreck, must have suffered greatly from the cruelty and cupidity of the barbarians, as well as from the destructive influence of the climate. In spite of their continual evasions, the natives who answered our repeated questions, confessed that there had been skirmishes between them and some of the foreigners, and that lives had been lost on both sides.

The most probable account which I have been able to glean from these narrow-minded and ignorant men is, that about forty years since, upon a very stormy night, one of the frigates must have struck upon the rocks at the south of the island. When exposed to all the violence of the waves it must have speedily sunk, with its crew and lading, except about thirty white men, who landed in a canoe on the adjoining coast. The next day the other frigate must have run aground to the leeward of the island, in a more calm situation, and under the wind, where it remained a considerable time. The crew went to the village of Payou, and joining those of the other frigate, they constructed a small vessel out of the wreck of the large one, and quitted Vanikoro in about seven or eight months. After that time nothing was heard of them.

If this statement is true, as all seem inclined to believe it to be, the unhappy creatures who escaped from battle and disease attempted to make to the Moluccas or Philippine islands, and there is reason to fear that their new vessel was lost upon the dangerous coasts of the Solomon Isles, then almost entirely unknown, and even at the present day very imperfectly explored. Perhaps at no very distant period, some happy chance like that which befel Dillon, may discover to us the scene of this last catastrophe; but the misfortune is that the inhabitants of these latitudes are almost as savage as those of Vanikoro, and as little capable of compassionating the miseries and respecting the lives of those whom a storm might put into their power.

REGENERATION OF EASTERN SOCIETY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: It being my intention to submit to Parliament, during the present session, some plans for the amelioration, or rather regeneration, of society in the East, I think it will be desirable to familiarize the public mind, which is lamentably prejudiced upon such topics, with the principles of my plan, prior to their full development in the East-India Committee. It was my first intention to have digested the elementary parts of my scheme into the form of lectures, from observing how readily any doctrines, however absurd they may be, are absorbed by Englishmen when administered in this form; but, upon consideration, as I am averse to any thing like artifice, and court rather than eschew discussion, I thought it preferable to adopt this mode of bringing the subject before the British public, being persuaded that you, Sir, would be eager to give all the aid in your power to a scheme which promises to effect so great a benefit for so large a portion of the human race.

The reform which I propose to introduce into Eastern society, is what may be termed radical; that is, it strikes at the root of all the vices of human institutions. The fundamental vice of these institutions is the rendering man accountable to laws of human invention, instead of making him responsible to his own conscience only. This is the great error, which has been the cause of all the misery in the universe. As soon as men find themselves enthralled by obligations which are not self-imposed, they regard themselves in the light of slaves, and seek every opportunity to elude the effect of those obligations. My plan proposes, in the first instance, to do away with all laws whatsoever, leaving man to do just as he likes, and my life for it, Sir, he will do what is right. This is the governing principle of my theory: man is by nature a just creature; he is rendered unjust by the effect of laws, which are absurdly called a system of judicature or justice.

I grant that circumstances render it difficult to overthrow the existing system of absurd trammels upon the human mind in Europe, because a great deal of mischief would accrue in passing from what is, to what ought to be; but I see no reason whatever against beginning in distant parts, and amongst people who have not advanced in what some people call civilization, but which I term vice and villainy. My design, then, is to commence an experiment (if it be proper so to term a plan which can be demonstrated to be sure) with the Hindus. They are, I am told, a very patient, timid, and subservient people, ready to submit to what is imposed upon them; and therefore they are the fittest people in the world for an experiment of this kind.

The patience and subservience of the Hindus, however, are confined, I hear, within certain bounds; they will not, it is said, tolerate any attempts upon their religious customs and prejudices. My plan does not in the first instance propose any such interference; so that the fears of nervous individuals need not be alarmed.

Considering what I have already adverted to, namely the difficulty of

dealing with the state of society when once established, and it being impracticable to introduce a system of reform gradually, I propose to destroy in the most merciful, but in the most expeditious manner, the whole existing generation of Hindus, saving a certain number to be bred from. By getting rid of the entire generation at once, we shall meet with no impediments whatever to the fruition of my plan for the amelioration or regeneration of the people. The difficulty which at first occurs, is that of choosing between the different modes of destroying the present generation. This will be matter of consideration; at present, the following modes offer themselves as the least objectionable.

First. We might import the plague amongst them, or take secret measures for propagating the cholera morbus. Recollecting the magnificent end which is proposed in this remedial plan, we must not be too fastidious about the means; of which some commercial writers seem convinced. However, if this mode be stigmatized as inhuman—what will not prejudice object?—I propose a

Second. It would be well to promote, by every means in our power, the resort of all sorts of adventurers and loose characters from Europe to India—that is to say, give way to the present rage for colonizing that country, provide shipping for the conveyance of colonists, and repeal all the laws and regulations which restrict their admission into the interior; and take my word for it, Sir, you will find they will soon make a clear field for my experiment. The colonists themselves will afterwards die off, *functi officio*, just like a swarm of plethoric locusts. Here would be a double advantage gained: we should be dunning both countries at once. Or,

Third. We might proceed more leisurely. Suppose we adopted the recommendations of some of the writers upon the India question, and made Hindustan a mere garden for producing raw materials for our own manufactures. We should thereby get rid of some millions of Hindu weavers, spinners, workers in copper and other metals, fabricators of stuffs, &c. Having advanced so far,—and be it recollected, that a great authority tells us, that the Hindus would not oppose this, and that it really would be doing them no injury to exterminate them thus,—we might then sily put some restraint upon the cultivation of rice (such as the obliging the people to sow more indigo, or cotton, or sugar), which is the chief aliment of these people. If they complained, they might be told to eat flesh. Now I would by no means recommend that they should be *forced* to eat meat—force I deprecate, being of opinion that force imposes a slavish motive upon the human race. If they refused, they would drop *stillatim*, one by one, into the grave, through the effect of starvation: if they complied, they would lose caste,—which would be something gained,—and, probably, their new regimen would disagree with them. Having disposed of the two great labouring classes, the agricultural and the manufacturing, I would then propose that we should avail ourselves of what I understand is the primitive law of India, namely, that the soil is the property of the state, and turn out all the native landed proprietors, the *fruges consumere nati*. As they desire to be governed according to their own laws, they

cannot complain of this. Of course, as they have no other sources of subsistence, and as, fortunately, there are no workhouses in India, to encourage laziness and vice, they must be starved to death. The only objection which I can conceive will be started against this proposal is, that it will be tedious, as it requires time. But we must sacrifice something to vulgar prejudices; and as this result is in reality the ultimate end of some of the schemes of Indian reform which are getting popular in England, we shall save a world of trouble, which would be consumed in convincing stupid masses of refractory men, poisoned by the present execrable system of education, that an abstract good is cheaply purchased by a great deal of practical evil.

Assuming, therefore, that the first step is gained, I would then proceed to my great scheme of regeneration.—This is founded, as I before said, upon the principle that all laws, save those of the conscience, are worse than useless.

As soon as the soil of India shall have been re-peopled, its inhabitants, being left to act just as they please, will inevitably perceive that they owe this country an enormous debt of gratitude for the stupendous good thus conferred upon them. Gratitude, even in our present vicious system of society, is, perhaps, the strongest obligation in nature. What must it not become under a system, wherein natural motives and obligations are cherished, instead of being superseded, and as it were smothered! I am entitled to assume, then, that the Hindus will be more strongly attached to England than ever, whilst the superabundance of their wealth will flow into our treasury, without any deduction for charges of government.

Amongst the plans which I have *in petto* for the reformation of human society in general, is one for the introduction of a new religion: for it is a lamentable fact, that most of the evils of our present system arise from the absurd notion that man is accountable hereafter for his actions upon earth. It must be evident that, if his actions are always good, there can be no need of accountability at all; and if it be true, as I contend, that, provided he acts conformably to his conscience, he must act rightly, then it is plain that by doing away with all the religious obligations of human laws, we refer mankind to a law which he is naturally prone to obey, and therefore will obey; and thereby we render any ulterior accountability superfluous. I can see no fallacy in this argument.

However, till the notions of religion can be completely extirpated throughout the world, I would adopt some of the forms of the Chinese, a very wise and very philosophical nation, who have not, and probably never had, any religion at all. They shew an external civility to the memory of their ancestors, and to that of some of their great men. I would, therefore, recommend that the regenerated Hindus should be allowed, not forced,—force of all kinds I abominate—to erect little arbours or verandahs, where the busts or statues of persons, who had been eminent in any particular, should be placed, and whither, in fine weather, on set days, the people might walk or ride, and salute the images *en passant*, by a salaam, bow, or any other

demonstration of respect; for I would not confine them to a particular form. By this means they would cease to regard religion as imposing any restriction on them, which is the case unhappily at present.

This, Sir, is the outline of my plan for the amelioration and regeneration of the Hindus. I reserve the details for a future occasion, and in the mean time, I hope to see some measure recommended by the Government, which will afford the means of acting in furtherance of it hereafter; such as the changing one class of labourers into another, which would have the effect of diminishing, *pro tanto*, the amount of the population, and consequently of the evil we have to deal with.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. O.

DEATH OF DR. SCHULZ, THE ORIENTALIST.

THIS accomplished young traveller has, it appears, met his death amongst the savage Kurds. This event is a serious loss to Oriental literature. He was, though a German, selected by the French government to travel into Asiatic Turkey and Persia, with a view of collecting the literary relics of those countries, especially in the Zend language, and he was instructed to take up his residence in the southern provinces of Persia, where followers of Zoroaster are supposed still to exist in considerable numbers. His instructions, which were furnished him by the Baron de Damas, the French minister for foreign affairs, directed him to explore monuments and copy inscriptions in his way; to make inquiries into the language, literature, antiquities, and sciences of Oriental nations; and, in short, to render all the aid within the power of an active, enterprising individual, well versed in the Oriental tongues. His journey was expected to last four years. He accordingly set out from Paris in 1826, visited Constantinople, and was permitted to examine the contents of the libraries attached to the mosques with remarkable liberality: he drew up a catalogue of the contents of the sixteen principal libraries in that city, comprehending several works unknown or supposed to be lost. He then endeavoured to penetrate into Persia, but the war in that quarter rendered this attempt ineffectual; and M. Schulz returned to Constantinople in Nov. 1827. He made, however, during his stay in Armenia, some curious discoveries, of which an account may be seen in the *Asiatic Journal* for Dec. 1828.* He resumed his journey towards Persia; and the calamity, which has bereaved the world of a traveller possessed of all the ardour and enterprize of Burckhardt, and more than his learning, happened when he was near to the goal. We subjoin the account of his death which has been published:

“A letter from Tiflis of the 1st January, announces the assassination of Dr. Schulz, professor of the University of Giessen, who had been sent out at the expense of the King of France, to visit Asiatic Turkey and Persia for scientific and literary purposes. The melancholy event occurred in Kurdistan, on the frontiers of Inal-Huerile, between the villages of Bash Kullah and Perihan Nishin. Two servants, a soldier, and a Persian serjeant, who accompanied the unfortunate traveller, were likewise assassinated. Col. Macdonald, at whose house the doctor had received the warmest hospitality during his stay at Tabreez, immediately sent off a confidential person, for the purpose of collecting, if possible, the papers and effects of M. Schulz, and, in concert with the Russian ambassador, took the earliest steps towards the discovery of the assassins.”

* Vol. xxvi. p. 657.

ZEMINDARY AGENCY IN THE COMPANY'S JAGHEER.

THE following are extracts from the conditions of sale under which the villages comprising the East-India Company's jagheer lands, in the vicinity of Madras, were sold on zemindary tenure, in June 1802.

Art. 6.—Zemindars and proprietors of land shall enter into arrangements with their ryots, either for a rent in money or in kind, and shall within a reasonable time grant to each ryot a pottah or cowle, clearly defining the amount to be paid by him and explaining every condition of the engagement, and the zemindars shall grant regular receipts to the ryots for all discharges in money or in kind. If, after the execution of the engagement, the zemindar shall neglect or shall refuse to comply with the demand of the under-farmer or ryot for the pottahs above-mentioned, the zemindar shall be liable to be sued in the Adalut court of the zillah, and shall also be liable to such damages as may be directed by the Adalut.

Art. 18.—All purchasers of land succeed to the seignorial rights which government exercise in their capacity of general landlords; but, in order to prevent abuse of the exercise of this right, government will frame regulations for the protection of the rights, prescriptions, immunities, and customary advantage of the lower class of people; in order, however, to prevent litigation on the part of the inhabitants, it is declared to all purchasers of land, that the inhabitants of the jagheer are not considered entitled to a higher rate of warum (share of the produce) than that inserted in the dowle (estimate) of Fusly 1210; nor is the purchaser entitled to a higher division of produce, as succeeding to the rights of government, than the rate therein specified as the government share.

Art. 23.—The purchasers of estates shall collect and pay to government the rents of the alienated land, *viz.* Shotrium, Mucta, and Enam villages within their respective estates, and shall be entitled to the customary assistance given by these villages on extraordinary occasions, such as the imminent danger of a tank; and the purchaser of an estate will be entitled to collect on his own account all the marahs, russions, and fees of the conangoes, poligars, and pagoda establishments, payable by these alienated lands. The shotriumdars and other proprietors of such alienated lands shall, however, have the option of commuting the amount of these marahs, russions, and fees, for the fixed money payment required by government to be paid by the purchasers, and the zemindar or proprietor shall be bound to receive such commuted amount in lieu of all demands on the above account.

The jagheer lands of the Company, sold under the preceding conditions of sale, formed a territorial cession by the Nabob of the Carnatic to the East-India Company in the year 1765, extending from the lake of Pulicat north of Madras to within a few miles of Pondicherry, a French settlement, to the south. The extreme breadth was nearly fifty miles, west of Madras, but narrower towards the northern and southern extremities. From 1765 to the invasion of Hyder Ally of Mysore, in 1780, the revenue derivable from this cession was rented out to a dependant of his highness the Nabob. During the invasion of Hyder Ally, whose troops plundered up to the very gates of Fort St. George, this territory was desolated, the villages burnt, and the inhabitants dispersed or carried into captivity.

On the termination of the war, in 1784, Lord Macartney, then Governor of Madras, rented out the collection of the revenue of this territory in large subdivisions, called *pergunnahs*, for a term of ten years, on a progressively increasing rent. The rent progressed too fast, and the renters failed, some sooner, some later; in 1795 only one remained.

As these decennial renters failed, their subdivisions were again let out on rents in smaller subdivisions. By July 1795 the term of all these rents had expired; the jagheer, then under two, was placed under one European collector, and the agricultural ryots of each village, commonly called the village inhabitants, or village merassidars, were *compelled* to contract for three years for an aggregate payment *in money*,* on an estimate formed by the collector of the value of the revenue of each village, from an examination of the accounts of the three preceding years.

It is not necessary here to enter into an examination of the injustice of this proceeding: it is explained in detail in the fifth chapter of Col. Wilks's *History of Mysore*, and was regretted by the collector who had enforced these compulsory contracts. The term of these rents expired in July 1798. Annual rents on an estimate of the actual produce, equally compulsory, were *forced* on the village communities in each year following, till 1802. At that period, under orders from England and Bengal, and preparations previously made, the villages composing the jagheer having been allotted into about sixty zemindaries, called estates, and the revenue to be paid in perpetuity determined, the estates were put up to sale under special conditions.† The sale took place about ten miles from Madras, and was numerously attended, both by persons desirous to become zemindary proprietors, and by those who would in future have to pay the revenue due from the land they cultivated to such proprietors; that is, the ryots. Although, at the time this sale of zemindary rights was made, no zemindars of extended territorial possession existed in the jagheer, yet the principle of zemindary superiority was familiar to the ryots and to all present at the sale. Lord Macartney's decennial renters were zemindars during the term of their rent-contracts, and from 200 to 300 villages were, at the time of sale and long prior thereto, in the possession of zemindars; that is, of superiors holding the rights of government by grant: many of these grantees being Sudra superiors of Bramin village-communities, and many Mahomedan superiors over Hindu communities. The 23d clause of the conditions of sale refers especially to such small zemindaries. There is not the slightest difference, in principle or fact, between the rights of zemindars of a single village, and the rights of a zemindar of 10,000 villages, or between the rights of the ryots of the villages in either case. The failure of most of these purchasers must be admitted: some, however, continue in the possession of their zemindary estates to this day. The chief cause of failure was an overrated permanent revenue.

Col. Wilks, page 187, vol. i. of his *History of Mysore*, in a note,

* The revenue was, by custom, leviable in kind on all land yielding rice-crops.

† No court of justice existed, nor had any regulation been printed and published, when these special conditions were framed; both were promised, and the pledge was redeemed.

asks, "What would the Noble Lord (Clive *) say to his English tenant, who should stigmatise as arbitrary claims his lordship's right to get the best rent he can for his land?" But may we not be allowed to ask Col. Wilks, why he should persist in making out zemindars to be actual freeholders because called "proprietors of land?" Why refer to English freeholders? Col. Wilks might have found, in manorial rights and copyhold tenures, proprietary rights with a limit. A lord of the manor, in England, cannot turn out his copyhold tenants, so long as they pay their customary quit-rents; but a lord of the manor is nevertheless a proprietor of land, and so is a tenant holding under copy of court-roll or by custom.

The index to Mill's *History of India*, under the head "ryot," has: "Handed over to the zemindars by the Anglo-Indian government" (page 274, vol. iii.); and, in that page, Mr. Mill admits "that the rules by which the payments of the ryots were determined, varied in various places; and so intricate did they appear to the Anglo-Indian government, that no little trouble would be necessary to make an assessment in detail. The ryots were, therefore, handed over to the zemindars in gross." Any ordinary reader would suppose that this "handing over in the gross" was a new plan of collection adopted by the Anglo-Indian government; whereas "the handing over in gross" had been the practice for centuries, and all that the Anglo-Indian government did was to fix permanently in "the gross" the amount of the payment to be made by the zemindary landholders, instead of leaving it open to annual settlement as before. The rates of payment by the ryots remained "question of private right." This explanation cannot be too often repeated, so little is the distinction understood between a permanent amount payable by a zemindar, and a customary rate payable by a ryot.

It will be admitted that the sale of the jagheer lands, in 1802, furnishes an extensive and comparatively recent example; and the grant of one or more villages on zemindary tenure, in a province under ryotwar management, to the native servants of the late Sir Thomas Munro (at Sir Thomas's request), affords further evidence of the principle of zemindary agency being familiar to the ryots, and their transfer in the gross to such proprietary agency acceptable to them.† No remonstrances were presented to the local European officers, or to the local government, against either the sale of the jagheer by estates, or to the grant of the villages to Sir Thomas Munro's servants. Be zemindary agency good or be it bad, as far as regards revenue, the fact is indisputable, that zemindary agency is the ancient mode ‡ of collecting

* The great Lord Clive became a jagheerdar (and in principle a zemindar) by a grant from the Mogul of the twenty-four pergunnahs around Calcutta; but his lordship never considered he had become a freehold proprietor of all the land within these pergunnahs. On the contrary, the Governor in Council of Bengal, in 1759, report to the Directors that the Mogul, having conferred on Colonel Clive the honour of Munsudary, had thought proper to confer a jagheer on him, and that in consequence they should in future pay the rents of these lands to Colonel Clive, instead of as heretofore to the Mogul. The Company were thus at this time no more than the rent-contractors, for the collection of the revenue. It was the land revenue, and not the land in freehold, which was granted to the Munsudary.

† The renters of the land revenue might have been guilty of various minor acts of oppression, but certainly they never compelled the village communities to rent the revenue of their villages on such terms as they, the renters, might please to dictate, depriving them of their lands and privileges on refusal. Can it then be matter of surprise, that the ryots saw themselves without regret handed over in the gross to these zemindars?

‡ See page 31, vol. ii. Malcolm's Central India; and *Asiat. Journ.* vol. xxvii, p. 405.

the land revenue, and is not liable to greater abuse because it is a native agency, with a prospective benefit, than the ryotwar native stipendiary agency without such benefit. In one case, the native stipendiary agency is under the control of the European collector, perpetually changing; while the native stipendiary agency employed by the zemindars, for no doubt they must employ revenue servants, is under the control of a master, a native of the same country, speaking the same language, and having a permanent interest in his benefice, with a full knowledge of the honest or dishonest character of his countrymen, and of the best means to secure the one or defeat the other, and with liberty to employ his relatives as his native agents.

If the opinions of Sir Henry Strachey, so often quoted, on the difficulty that an European must find from his ignorance of the manners and customs of the natives, in examining into and deciding on questions litigated between natives in courts of justice, be well-founded, may it not be assumed that the same difficulty must occur in conducting intricate revenue inquiries into the rules by which the payments of the ryots are determined by local usages and customs? If native judges be considered requisite to aid and facilitate the administration of justice in India, why should the ancient custom of zemindary agency, in the collection of the revenue, be rejected, and all the details of revenue management be confided to European superintendence?

If the assessment on the land is not to be a tax arbitrarily fixed at the discretion of the European collector, the customary dues payable by the ryots must be questions "of private right;" and whether such questions will be more equitably decided by collectors of the revenue, manifestly interested in the case, than by an independant judge (both experiencing equal difficulties in the investigation), ought to excite no doubt. "In questions of private right, the executive authority cannot interfere consistently with justice, policy, or its own interests," said the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley, in the celebrated letter to the government of Fort St. George.*

There is no denying that much diversity of opinion exists even among those well acquainted with the details of Indian revenue, as to the merits and demerits of the ryotwar and zemindary modes of collection. It must at the same be admitted by both parties, that in the extended discussions which this subject has undergone, the natives of India have had no share. Zemindary management has been attacked by Europeans, but has not been defended by zemindars. European agency cannot be attacked without numerous European advocates appearing to defend or explain.

R. R.

* Dated the 19th July 1804, when commercial ryotwar was about to be introduced at that presidency. —See *Selections*, vol. iv. p. 102.

THE INDIAN ARMY.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: As the India question is about to be inquired into, I would indulge a hope that the Committee of the House of Commons will at the same time take into their consideration the state of the army, as well as the more important subjects (to this country) of the tea-trade, finance, monopoly, &c. Memorials without number have been forwarded to the Hon. Company, from their military servants at Madras, praying that the arrangements of 1824 might be modified or altered, in such a manner that the promotion caused by that organization might have been more fairly conducted, and that the senior officers might participate in the advantages, at least in an equal degree with their juniors, who were mostly benefited by those arrangements. In order to prove how very disproportionate promotion has been in the Madras Infantry, and to point out the injustice done to the older officers by the system then adopted, and confirmed by the Court of Directors, a table is subjoined, which will show that, according to seniority, officers are by no means on an equality. Many of the junior captains have been longer in the service than some of the lieut.-colonels, whilst many of the majors are of the same standing as some of the fourth and fifth captains, and several of the first and second captains are many years junior, in point of service, to some first lieutenants.

The army, till lately, lived in hope that those ill-advised measures would have been cancelled, and in fact orders to that effect were transmitted to the government of Madras; but at *their* recommendation, and merely to save themselves trouble and the Company expense, the original arrangements have been confirmed—approved of they could not be—for the principle acted on differed from that established at Bengal and Bombay. The whole army is in consequence dissatisfied; their rights are withheld, their memorials remain unheard, and their grievances unredressed. An order has lately been issued at Madras, prohibiting officers from forwarding petitions on the subject; any one would be liable to a court-martial who disobeyed those orders; although we have the privilege of petitioning the Company, and the House of Commons, if justice is denied us elsewhere. The late reduction of two lieutenants and one ensign from each regiment has stopped promotion in the junior ranks: some of the ensigns are of six years' standing.

The Off-reckoning Fund allowance has been lessened one-fourth; twenty-five per cent. has been taken from those who have served more than half a century, and who had about £1,000 per annum; a similar reduction is made from those who only had £540 per annum, whose average service is thirty-seven years; the sixteen colonels have no share, and their average service is thirty-four years. The medical allowance has been abolished *in toto*. The full batta question, added to this list, has completely alienated the affection of the army from their honourable employers.

The subjoined table will show what chance of promotion a young man has in obtaining his company, and what he may expect, after a period of thirty years' service in India. Every one acquainted with the service will allow, that it is next to an impossibility for an officer to live, as befits his rank, on subaltern's pay, with the most rigid economy, and yet reduction is made of one-eighth of their scanty pittance!

I earnestly hope that you will insert this in your journal, and that it may be the means of attracting the attention of some in power, who will bring the

injustice, so universally complained of, to a fair and impartial investigation.

A MADRAS OFFICER.

This calculation is made from the Register lately published; the year of appointment is not included in the period of service.

Colonels with Off-reckoning.			Lieut. Colonels. Years.	Majors. Years.	1. Captains. Years.	2. Captains. Years.	3. Captains. Years.	4. Captains. Years.	5. Captains. Years.	1. Lieutenants. Years.
Full Share.	Half Share.	No Share.								
1 57	1 41	1 38	1 34	1 30	4 29	2 26	2 25	2 24	1 23	1 21
2 54	1 40	2 37	4 33	16 29	3 27	6 25	6 24	4 23	2 22	2 19
3 53	5 39	1 36	5 32	7 27	4 26	15 24	15 23	9 22	2 21	2 18
1 51	1 37	3 35	7 31	13 26	16 25	10 23	7 22	2 21	3 20	1 17
2 50	4 36	1 34	16 30	10 25	13 24	9 22	3 21	3 20	4 19	1 16
3 49	2 34	3 33	17 29	5 24	9 23	2 20	2 20	2 19	1 18	1 14
1 48	2 33	3 32	4 27	2 23	2 22	2 19	5 19	3 18	2 17	1 13
2 47	—	2 31	—	—	1 21	2 18	2 18	1 16	2 15	5 12
2 46	—	—	—	—	1 19	2 17	1 14	2 15	11 11	13 11
1 41	—	—	—	—	1 16	1 13	2 13	3 13	14 10	17 10
1 40	—	—	—	—	—	1 12	3 12	7 12	9 9	8 9
1 39	—	—	—	—	—	2 11	4 11	11 11	3 8	2 8
2 36	—	—	—	—	—	—	2 10	5 10	—	—
22	16	16	54	54	54	54	54	54	54	54

There are in the service 350 out of 1,000 officers who were in the army in 1814. Of those, thirty-four have retired on full pay,—fifteen lieut. colonels on £365 per annum, fourteen majors on £292 per annum, and five captains on £192. 12s. 6d. There have been fifty-two officers obliged to retire on half-pay, of whom one major has £174, thirty-eight captains on £127, and thirteen lieutenants on £73 per annum. The remaining 564 have died or relinquished the service without any benefit.

PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL RI TO MIRA.

Escaped the eagle's claws, the dove
The sound of wings will always move;
The lamb will shun the lion's lair,
That once hath met his angry glare.
So I thy dangerous looks will flee:
In bondage once, I now am free.

S.

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR THOMAS MUNRO.

We resume this article, with the view of considering the third branch of the subject, the political sentiments and observations of Sir Thomas Munro, as expressed in the letters and documents to be found in Mr. Gleig's work. This examination it is unnecessary to carry beyond the date of evidence given by Sir Thomas before the parliamentary committees in 1813.

As it has been recently stated in one of the public journals, with an air of triumph, and for the sake of depreciating the value of all practical evidence, that the sentiments of Sir Thomas Munro underwent a change subsequent to his examination before the committee, it is necessary to give a brief extract of his opinions at that period, as they are to be collected from the minutes of evidence, on the subjects at issue between the Company and the free-trader.

I. On the probable effects of a free trade between this country and India, Col. Munro stated, that "an open trade, under the present restrictions, and supported by an act of the Legislature, and such a trade confined to the principal establishments, could not be productive of any consequences detrimental to the peace of the country."* With respect to the consumption of British manufactures, he did not think there could be any material increase of the demand now existing for them, if a free-trade were sanctioned. This he explains on the ground, that British manufactures could not be sold so cheaply as the Indian native fabrics. "If," he says, "we could furnish our woollen manufactures as cheaply as the natives can furnish their own, there would be a very considerable demand." Again: "His clothing (that of the Hindoo) is all the manufacture of his own country; we cannot supply him, because, whilst he can get it, not only better, but cheaper, at home, it is impossible that we can enter into competition in the market."† These are positions which no one can dispute; and at the period when the evidence was given, the facts were perfectly true.

But it has been asserted, that Col. Munro alleged the prejudices of the natives to have offered an insuperable bar to the extension of our manufactures amongst the people of Hindoostan. The assertion is positively untrue. In his evidence before the House of Commons, Col. Munro distinctly says: "It has been sometimes said, that the natives have a prejudice against the manufactures of Europe; the Hindoos have no prejudices against the use of any thing that they can convert to an useful purpose; whether European or native manufacture, it is pure as it comes from the hand of the workman to all Hindoos; but they have one prejudice, which I believe is a very common one in this country, against the paying a higher price for a worse commodity; and *until we can undersell* them in such articles as they now require for their own use, we have no hope of extending the use of our own manufactures in India; *it is entirely a question of price*: whenever we can undersell the Hindoos in any article which they require,

* Evidence before the House of Commons, 12 April 1813.

† Evidence before the Lords' Committee, 7 April 1813; Evidence before the House of Commons, 12 April 1813.

it will find its way into the interior of the country, without much help from the British merchants; it will find its way into the interior in spite of all regulations to prevent it."*

After reading this, it must be evident that the whole tenour of Col. Munro's evidence has, like most of the facts in this question, been intentionally misrepresented. Mr. Crawford, in his pamphlet, which has now sunk to the level which it deserves, ridicules those who "in a tone of oracular authority," maintained that the trade with India and England could not be extended. But who said so? Not Sir Thomas Munro: he says it is entirely a question of price; and as soon as the conditions which he lays down were secured, the result, he admitted, followed. In other words, when our engines were able to manufacture cottons more cheaply, or the consignees of these goods were enabled to offer them at lower rates, than the price of the Hindoo articles, they were purchased. It is needless to say, that his subsequent writings afford no contradiction to his opinions on this point; on the contrary, these are (vol. ii. p. 255) reiterated.

2. With respect to the unrestricted resort of Europeans to India, Col. Munro stated, in 1813, that its effect would be to irritate the natives by such persons offering violence to their religious and civil prejudices; and that the European character, the high respect for which he considered one of the main pillars of our government in India, would suffer very materially.† He was of opinion that the power possessed by the local governments in India, of removing summarily Europeans from the country, should be continued.‡ Upon this head, there is nothing in Mr. Gleig's work which is in the slightest degree at variance with the opinions expressed by Sir Thomas in 1813.

3. With respect to colonization, Sir Thomas observed in 1813: "I do not think that the colonization of India, *under the existing regulations*, by which an European in India cannot become a proprietor of the native soil, is practicable; and supposing it to be desirable, and that law was repealed, I hardly imagine that even then they could colonize to any extent; they would be borne down by the superior population of the natives, more industrious and more economical than themselves."§ And again: "The people of India are as much a nation of shopkeepers as we are ourselves; they never lose sight of the shop; they carry it into all their concerns, religious and civil. It is this trading disposition of the natives which induces me to think it is impossible that any European traders can long remain in the interior of India; what the European eats and drinks in one month, would make a very decent mercantile profit for the Hindoo for twelve; they do not therefore meet upon equal terms."|| There is positively nothing at variance with this opinion in the the papers published by Mr. Gleig.

4. It is asserted that Col. Munro predicted the utter impossibility of carrying on a commerce with the Hindoos, because they were absolutely unchangeable. It is true he insists upon the wonderful permanency of their institutions, and the inflexible determination with which they adhere to their

* *Ut ante.*

† Evidence before Lords' Committee, 7th April 1813.

‡ Evidence before House of Commons, 12th April 1813.

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Ibid.*, 14th April 1813.

customs and tenets: and the fact is so. But he also said, that an open trade, restricted to the principal settlements, under proper regulations, would be productive of an increase to the country, but that it would be gradual; that commerce would be likely slowly to operate upon the manners and prejudices of the Indians, so as to improve their character. He added, that in many branches of civilization we were behind the Hindoos, and that "if civilization were to become an article of trade between the two countries, England would gain by the import cargo."* There is not a syllable to the contrary in the work before us.

We have no doubt but that the real effect of the evidence of Sir T. Munro has been so greatly misrepresented (by design), that the foregoing passages of it would have been esteemed recantations, had they appeared in one of his private letters.

We shall now proceed to place before our readers some of the opinions of Sir Thomas, upon other than commercial topics, from his more recent writings.

In common with other eminent persons, Sir Thomas Munro was adverse to the system of subsidiary alliances. In an admirable letter to Marquis Hastings, dated "Darwar, 12th August 1817," he gives his opinion freely in regard to this point, with reference to the prospective settlement after the great Pindarry war. Whilst our empire was weak and circumscribed, and surrounded by powerful Native chiefs, the system of subsidiary alliances, he admits, might have been necessary; but there are many objections to the employment of such a force. It has a natural tendency, he observes, to render the government of every country in which it exists, weak and oppressive; to extinguish all honourable spirit amongst the higher classes, and to degrade and impoverish the whole people. By supporting the prince on the throne in spite of his people, it renders him indolent, cruel, and avaricious. A subsidiary force would be a most useful establishment, if it could be directed solely to the support of our ascendancy, without nourishing all the vices of a bad government: but this, he says, seems almost impossible. There is another and a more formidable objection which he raises to the system, namely, its inevitable tendency to bring every native state in which it is introduced, sooner or later, under the exclusive dominion of the British rule. He quotes the observation of a native minister: "That no native power could, from its habits, conduct itself with such strict fidelity as it seemed to demand." Now, he observes, if all India could be brought under the British dominion, it is very questionable whether such a change, either as it regards the natives or ourselves, ought to be desired. One effect of it would be, to deteriorate the military habits and discipline of the Indian army, which might turn against their European masters; and the complete establishment of our authority all over India, he thinks would injure the native character, to the improvement of which the British government, from its necessary policy, is not favourable. "The simple and direct mode of conquest from without is more creditable both to our armies and to our national character, than that of dismemberment from within by the aid of a sub-

* Evidence before House of Commons, 14th April 1813.

siiliary force. It acts, it is true, only by the orders of its own government, and only for public objects; but still it is always ready in the neighbourhood of the capital, to dictate terms to, or to depose, the prince whom it was stationed there to defend."*

On behalf of the natives, Sir Thomas Munro,—whom the scurrilous charges of a pamphleteer represented to be desirous of reducing them to animals with only two functions, pleads powerfully. He is for raising them into consequence, by giving them a permanent share of the government of their country, and by reducing their burthens. In the very letter just quoted, addressed to Lord Hastings, he says, "it is from men who either held, or are eligible to public office, that natives take their characters; where no such men exist, there can be no energy in any other class of the community. The effect of this state of things is observable in all the British provinces, whose inhabitants are certainly the most abject race in India. No elevation of character can be expected among men who, in the military line, cannot attain to any rank above that of subahdar, where they are as much below an ensign, as an ensign is below the commander-in-chief; and who in the civil line, can hope for nothing beyond some petty judicial, or revenue office, in which they may, by corrupt means, make up for their slender salary." In a late letter to Lord Hastings (1818), he urges the same topic at great length.

I was anxious to give what assistance I could in carrying into effect the orders of the Court of Directors, for employing the natives more extensively in the internal administration of the country. Their exclusion from offices of trust and emolument has become a part of our system of government, and has been productive of no good. Whenever, from this cause, the public business falls into arrear, it is said to be owing to the want of a sufficient number of Europeans; and more European agency is recommended as a cure for every evil. Such agency is too expensive; and even if it was not, it ought rather to be abridged than enlarged, because it is, in many cases, much less efficient than that of the natives. For the discharge of all subordinate duties, but especially in the judical line, the natives are infinitely better qualified than Europeans. I have never seen any European whom I thought competent, from his knowledge of the language and the people, to ascertain the value of the evidence given before him. The proceedings in our courts of judicature, which, in our reports, make a grave and respectable appearance, are, I know, frequently the subject of derision among the natives.

But it is said that the natives are too corrupt to be trusted. This is an old objection, and one which is generally applicable, in similar circumstances, to the natives of every country. Nobody has ever supposed that the subordinate officers of the Excise and Customs in England are remarkable for their purity. But we need not go home for examples. The Company's servants were notoriously known to make their fortunes in partnership with their native agents, until Lord Cornwallis thought it advisable to purchase their integrity by raising their allowances. Let this be done with regard to the natives, and the effect will be similar—though not perhaps in a similar degree, for we cannot expect to find, in a nation fallen under a foreign dominion, the same pride and high principle as among a free people; but I am persuaded that we shall meet with a greater share of integrity and talent

than we are aware of. While we persist in withholding liberal salaries from the natives, we shall have the services of the worst part of them: by making the salaries adequate to the trust, we shall secure the services of the best. Natives should be employed in every situation where they are better calculated than the Europeans to discharge the duty required. In all original suits, they are much fitter to investigate the merits than Europeans. The European judges should be confined almost entirely to the business of appeals. In criminal cases, the fact should be found by a native jury, who are much more competent than either the European judge or his officers to weigh the nature of the evidence.

Our Government will always be respected from the influence of our military power; but it will never be popular while it offers no employment to the natives that can stimulate the ambition of the better classes of them. Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none has stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion; and nothing can more certainly produce this effect than our avowing our want of confidence in them, and, on that account, excluding them as much as possible from every office of importance.

Again, in a minute, dated 1827:

The employment of natives in high offices will be as much for our own advantage as for theirs; it will tend both to the economy and efficiency of the administration of public affairs. Every time that a native is raised to a higher office than had before been filled by any of his countrymen, a new impulse will be given to the whole establishment; the hope of attaining the higher office will excite emulation among those who hold the inferior ones, and improve the whole. But this improvement will take place in a much greater degree when the office is one of a high and independent nature, like that of a judge. The person who is appointed to it will be conscious that he enjoys some share in the administration of the affairs of his country; he will feel that his own rank and character have been elevated by his having been selected for the high office which he holds, and his feelings will pervade every class of the department to which he belongs.

The opinion of Sir Thomas respecting the Indu-British class, is delivered in a minute, whilst Governor of Madras. We subjoin the passages:

I have already stated my sentiments on the allowance to half-caste women and children. The measure would in time lead to so much expense, and produce so much distress, and is altogether so extravagant and impolitic, that I should consider myself as wanting in my duty, if I did not recommend to the Honourable Court not to sanction it in any shape, or in any degree, but to reject it entirely. In speaking of the half-caste population, I have chiefly spoken of them as depending on us, not as what they would be if left to themselves, but as what they are made by our injudicious interference. If we limit our care of them to the support of schools, and leave them in every thing else to their own exertions, they will become a numerous, industrious, and useful race of men; but they must expect, like every other great population, to have among them every gradation of condition, from independence and affluence, to poverty and hard labour. They are at present, as far as regards the means of living, in better circumstances than the people

of England. Comparing them with an equal number of the people of England, there are among them a smaller proportion subjected to extreme poverty, and a greater who live comfortably. This may last while their number is small, and employment easily found; but it must gradually cease as they become numerous; and they must then, like every other great community, have their full proportion of poor. There is no cause why they should not by their own exertions become a thriving people; they are not at present so well qualified as the Hindoos for hard labour, but they will gradually acquire the habit of labour from necessity; and they have the advantage of having fewer prejudices, and a better education, and this advantage of education will always continue.

His sentiments respecting the press are well known; he considered the freedom of publication in India as not only unnecessary, but absolutely incompatible with the continuance of our authority in India. There is an admirable minute of his, dated in April 1822, wherein this conclusion is made out in so masterly a manner, that we regret that its extreme length forbids our inserting it at length:

“Those who speak of the press being free in this country,” he observes, “have looked at only one part of the subject; they have looked no further than to Englishmen, and to the press as a monopoly in their hands for the amusement or benefit of their countrymen; they have not looked to its freedom among the natives, to be by them employed for whatever they also may consider to be for their own benefit, and that of their countrymen. A free press and the dominion of strangers are things quite incompatible, and which cannot long exist together; for what is the first duty of a free press? It is to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, and to sacrifice to this one great object every measure and consideration; and if we make the press really free to the natives, as well as to Europeans, it must inevitably lead to this result.

“The advocates of a free press seek, they say, the improvement of our system of Indian government, and of the minds and conditions of the people; but these desirable ends are, I am convinced, quite unattainable by the means they propose. There are two important points which should always be kept in view, in our administration of affairs here. The first is, that our sovereignty should be prolonged to the remotest possible period. The second is, that whenever we are obliged to resign it, we should leave the natives so far improved from their connexion with us, as to be capable of maintaining a free, or at least a regular government amongst themselves. If these objects can ever be accomplished, it can only be by a restricted press. A free one, so far from facilitating, would render their attainment utterly impracticable; for, by attempting to precipitate improvement, it would frustrate all the benefit which might have been derived from more cautious and temperate proceedings.

“In the present state of India, the good to be expected from a free press is trifling and uncertain, but the mischief is incalculable; and as to the proprietors of newspapers, as mischief is the more profitable of the two, it will generally have the preference. There is no public in India to be guided and instructed by a free press; the whole of the European society is composed of civil and military officers, belonging to the King's and Hon. Company's services, with a small proportion of merchants and shopkeepers; there are but few among them who have not access to the newspapers and periodical publications of Europe, or who require the aid of political information from an Indian newspaper.

“Many people, both in this country and England, will probably go on admiring the effects of the Indian press, fondly anticipating the rapid extension of knowledge amongst the natives, whilst a tremendous revolution, originating in this very press, is preparing, which will, by the premature and violent overthrow of our power, disappoint all those hopes, and throw India back into a state more hopeless of improvement than when we first found her.”*

The whole of this minute deserves attentive perusal. Another is equally interesting, relative to the religious conversions of the natives of India, and which is dated the same year. It was written in consequence of an indiscreet display of zeal, or rather enthusiasm, on the part of a civil servant, who “indulged himself in a formal and most unprovoked attack upon the religion of the people, and placed upon record, within the reach of many of them, sentiments highly offensive to their tenderest prejudices.” The conduct of this individual led the governor to point out the mischief likely to arise from “official interference” with the religion of the natives. The missionaries, he says, pursue their labours without the smallest hindrance, and are well received because they have no power; a contrary policy would excite discontent and disturbance, and eventually defeat the very object for which it is designed. “In order to dispose the natives to receive our instruction, and adopt our opinions, we must first gain their attachment and confidence, and this can only be accomplished by a pure administration of justice, by moderate assessment, respect for their customs, and general good government.”

Mr. — promises to be guided by the orders of government, in his conduct to the natives; but I fear that he is too much under the dominion of his own fancies to be controlled by any legitimate authority. He has already shown, by his declining compliance with the directions of his immediate superior, Mr. Campbell, how little he regards subordination, when opposed to what he believes to be his higher duties. He appeals to government; and while he professes his readiness to conform to their decision, he desires that his opinions regarding the natives may stand or fall, “according as they are supported or contradicted by the word of God,” as contained in certain passages of Scripture forming the appendix to his letter. This is an extraordinary kind of appeal. He employs his official authority for missionary purposes; and when he is told by his superior that he is wrong, he justifies his acts by quotations from Scripture, and by election, a doctrine which has occasioned so much controversy; and he leaves it to be inferred, that government must either adopt his views, or act contrary to divine authority. A person who can, as a sub-collector and magistrate, bring forward such matters for discussion, and seriously desire that they may be placed on record, and examined by government, is not in a frame of mind to be restrained within the proper limits of his duty, by any official rules.

It was never intended to employ collectors and magistrates as teachers of morality and religion; and of course no rules have been framed for their guidance in such pursuits. Every man who has common sense, knows that they are contrary to his duty, and that no safe rule can be laid down but by absolute prohibition. We cannot allow Mr. —, or any other public officer, to act as a missionary, merely because he supposes that he abstains from “obnoxious interference.” Every man has a different opinion regarding the

obnoxious limits, and each would fix them differently, according to the standard of his own zeal.

It is the declared intention both of the Legislature and of the Hon. Court of Directors, that the people of India should be permitted to enjoy their ancient laws and institutions, and should be protected against the interference of public officers with their religion. This system is the wisest that could be adopted, whether with regard to the tranquillity of the country, the security of the revenue, or the improvement or conversion of the natives. Mr. —'s is the worst. It is dangerous to the peace of the country and the prosperity of the revenue, and is even, as a measure of conversion, calculated to defeat his own designs. If I were asked, if there would be any danger from leaving him at Bellary, I could not positively affirm that there would—there might or might not; but if any mischief arose, it would be no excuse for us to say, that it was so unlikely that it could not have been expected; for we had ample warning, and ought to have provided against it.

In every country, but especially in this, where the rulers are so few, and of a different race from the people, it is the most dangerous of all things to tamper with religious feelings: they may be apparently dormant; and when we are in unsuspecting security, they may burst forth in the most tremendous manner, as at Vellore: they may be set in motion by the slightest casual incident, and do more mischief in one year, than all the labours of missionary collectors would repair in a hundred. Should they produce only a partial disturbance, which is quickly put down, even in this case the evil would be lasting; distrust would be raised between the people and the government, which would never entirely subside, and the district in which it happened would never be so safe as before. The agency of collectors and magistrates, as religious instructors, can effect no possible good. It may for a moment raise the hopes of a few sanguine men; but it will end in disturbance and failure, and, instead of forwarding, will greatly retard, every chance of ultimate success.

In another place, he says:

A rude ignorant people relinquish their superstitions without much difficulty, in exchange for the religion of other nations, whilst a civilized one preserves them with most persevering obstinacy. The Turks of Europe have attained a considerable degree of civilization; but their intercourse with Christian powers has not abated their faith in all the wild visions of their prophets. The change, if ever it is effected, will be extremely slow, and will not even begin until, by the improvement of the country, India shall abound in a middling class of wealthy men, secure in the possession of their property, and having leisure to study our best authors, translated into the various languages of the country.

Again, in a letter to the Right Hon. J. Sullivan, dated October 1820, he writes:

I should expect more benefit from the circulation of short tracts by the natives, or of translations of short European tracts by natives, than from translations precipitately made of the Bible, or any great work, by the missionaries. I have no faith in the power of any missionary to acquire, in four or five years, such a knowledge of any Indian language as to enable him to make a respectable translation of the Bible. I fear that such translations are not calculated to inspire becoming reverence for the book. In place of translating the Bible into ten or twelve languages in a few years, I would rather see

twenty years devoted to its translation into one. If we hope for success, we must proceed gradually, and adopt the means by which we may be likely to attain it. The dissemination of knowledge is, I think, the surest way; and if we can prevail upon the native princes to give it the support you propose, it will be a good beginning.

In writing (1826) to Mr. Wynn, the late President of the Board of Control, Sir Thomas thus speaks of the unavoidable tendency to augmentation of territory to which our Indian empire is subject :

Whatever rules we may prescribe to ourselves for the limitation of our territory, they can never be absolute, but must always, in some degree, yield to circumstances. A civilized and warlike nation, surrounded by half-civilized neighbours, must necessarily, in spite of itself, extend its empire over them. It is the natural progress of human affairs, and the march of civilization over barbarism. All that we can do is not to precipitate, but to retard events as much as possible; and rather to be forced on them than to cause them, lest we should produce anarchy, by advancing faster than we can consolidate our power, and establish order and good government in the countries we subdue.

In a letter to Mr. Canning, dated 1823, he throws together his opinions upon several points, the latter of which has become of rather permanent interest. "Our power in this country is now very great, and, I think, is in no danger of being shaken, if the local governments are enabled to keep the press and the missionaries within proper bounds, and if the Legislature will, by limiting with more distinctness and precision the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, effectually prevent it from extending its cognizance, by fictions of law, to matters with which it ought to have no concern."

In the same letter, he speaks with very just indignation of the accumulation of useless writing in India, which will, if not arrested, become a complete nuisance. "I never had a very high opinion of our records; but it was not until my last return that I knew that they contained such a mass of useless trash. Every man writes as much as he can, and quotes Montesquieu, and Hume, and Adam Smith, and speaks as if we were living in a country where people were free and governed themselves. Most of their papers might have been written by men who were never out of England, and their projects are nearly as applicable to that country as to India."

Sir Thomas has delivered an opinion upon the allowances to the officers of the Indian army, which will not probably have many eulogists amongst that gallant body.

Military allowances, both to European and native officers, ought to be regulated on the principle of holding out increasing advantages at every progressive step, and the means of realizing a competency after a certain period of service; but under no government will the public resources be adequate to this object, if the allowances to the inferior ranks of the army are too high. A subaltern upon half-batta may live not only without distress, but comfortably, in any part of India. It is not necessary that he should do more. It is even better that he should feel difficulty occasionally; but it is a bad training for an officer to place him in a situation where he shall always be at his ease, and scarcely ever feel the necessity of practising economy.

The Court themselves have been the great destroyers of discipline, by authorizing all subalterns of the army to receive full batta and command-allowance. The subaltern is never taught economy; he starts with extravagant notions, and never afterwards becomes sober. You may, in fact, pay as high as you please: if you pay upon a wrong principle, you will never have content or discipline.

To these opinions upon specific points, we subjoin a few casual reflections, which, at the same time that they communicate information, will illustrate the character of the writer.

There can be no doubt that a surplus revenue (in India) will gradually arise, and that it may in part be remitted to Europe without injury to India. A continual drain will not ruin a country whose continual surplus produce is greater than that drain.

No modification can make the Mohammedan criminal law good for any thing: it ought to be abolished, and our own substituted. For whom is this law preserved? There is not one Mohammedan to twenty Hindoos; nor was the law ever administered worse than among that small portion.

What India wants most is a free export of her produce to England, as is permitted from England to India. Admission to all our silks and coloured goods, &c. on moderate duties.

In recommending new systems, people are too apt to think that mankind are mere pieces of machinery, on which it is perfectly harmless to make experiments every day.

The way to make our administration efficient is to simplify it,—to employ our European and native servants on those duties for which they are respectively best adapted. Employ all civil servants at *first* in the revenue line, not merely to teach them revenue business, but because they will see the natives under their best forms as industrious and intelligent husbandmen and manufacturers—will become acquainted with their habits, manners, and wants, and lose their prejudices against them—will become attached to, and feel a desire to befriend and protect them; and this knowledge and feeling will adhere to them ever after, and be most useful to them and the natives during the rest of their lives.

After the Commander-in-chief, there is no officer it is of so much importance to uphold as that of the regimental commanding officer of the native corps; for on the respect which he can maintain, rests the subordination of the native army, and the very existence of our dominion in India. The authority he once possessed has, with the view of checking abuses, been so much divided, that there is too little left any where to command respect. Part of his former power should be restored to him; and he should receive such allowances as will enable him to make an appearance suitable to his rank, in the eyes of the natives and of the European officers.

Whatever plans may be adopted for accelerating promotion among the European officers, it ought to be accompanied by one for improving the condition of the native officers; and no room should be left for them to feel, that in every arrangement for the improvement of the army, their interests are neglected.

We now take leave of these Memoirs of Sir Thomas Munro, with a higher esteem for his character than we felt before, and with the conviction that they will be found to contain a store of practical knowledge on Indian topics highly valuable at the present juncture.

EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS.*

THE Greeks and Latins, with one consent, declare that the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians was symbolical or ideographical. From thence has been deduced a conclusion they by no means authorize, namely, that all the characters of this writing, indiscriminately, represent ideas. This is straining consequences greatly: for the dictum of the Greeks and Latins declared, indeed, that the principal ideas of a discourse were rendered symbolically, but not that it was the same with auxiliary ideas, such as grammatical forms, any more than with proper names and foreign words. But it is always thus: make one concession and more is assumed; and it rarely happens that a consequence is drawn exactly the length that it ought to be.

This conclusion, so vast, and so long regarded as incontrovertible, is not now so favourably received. Facts have demonstrated, in spite of theory, that it is not conformable to the premises. It received its first check from the decyphering of certain hieroglyphical groups, in which each character acted a part analogous to that of letters in oriental languages. These groups were proper names, so described as to render it almost impossible to misinterpret them. Here then were hieroglyphics employed as signs of sounds; a true hieroglyphical alphabet: this is what has been termed the alphabet of phonetic hieroglyphics.

This alphabet has one peculiarity; that the same sound is not always represented by the same hieroglyphic, but sometimes by one, sometimes by another. The number of these characters, which supply the place of each other, and thence are called homophonous, is however very limited.

Besides foreign proper names, written letter for letter, by means of phonetic hieroglyphics, M. Champollion has read national proper names, which are always significant. It appears to me natural enough that, in order to obviate confusion in the ideas which make up these proper names, and those ideas which compose the thread of a discourse, and which ancient authors say were always represented symbolically, a new method of representation was devised for the former, namely, the alphabetical mode.

Thus far, there is nothing at variance with the testimony of ancient writers respecting the nature of hieroglyphical writing: and observe that I have made a vast concession; for in these groups of proper names there are certain characters invariably the same, whilst their neighbours give place occasionally to those which are homophonous. Who can assure us that these unalterable characters were not ideographical, abbreviated by using only the first sound of the name of the idea which they represented? Many of these national proper names present characters which no one will deny to be symbolical.

M. Champollion says that he has discovered, in hieroglyphical texts, and particularly in the inscription upon the Rosetta stone, various grammatical forms, signs of gender, number, tense, &c., identical with those still found in the Coptic tongue, which is generally considered as constructed chiefly out of the relics of the ancient Egyptian dialect; which forms are expressed by phonetic hieroglyphics.

Without assenting implicitly to all M. Champollion's decisions, I admit, as a principle, that the accessory ideas of a discourse, I mean all the grammatical forms, comprehending conjunctions, prepositions, &c., which are obliged to remain, as it were, upon the second plan of the table, must be less perfectly

* This paper is translated from the *Gazette Littéraire* of Paris: it was written, we understand, by M. Dujardin.

developed by vocal expression than the ideas occupying the first plan. The name of each of the latter was expressed at full length by the single symbol, or by the group of symbols which figured it; whilst those characters which expressed grammatical forms, and which were few in number, and incessantly recurring, were named, in the vocal reading of the texts, after the initial sounds of their names only. What I here advance, however, is simply conjectural. I believe, moreover, and I hope, some time or other, to assign my reasons for this conviction, that the few characters denoting grammatical forms were originally, and for a long period of time, ideographical, but that the habit of meeting with them incessantly, and pronouncing only the initial sound of the name of the idea which they represented, rendered them, at length, phonetic; that is, in the sequel, when recalling exactly the modifying idea which they represented, the sight of them brought to mind merely such a simple sound as is joined to a word composed of one or more syllables, which served to denominate that of the fundamental ideas of the discourse which it was desired to modify.

Amongst the groups of characters which M. Champollion has endeavoured to decypher, is one which he places in the class of common names, but which appears to me to belong to that of grammatical forms. In fact, this group, which is read *ma*, corresponds with the Greek preposition *anti* (the Greek translation, instead of the preposition *anti*, has the preposition *para*), and signifies "instead of,—in the place of;" it is, therefore, not one of the fundamental ideas of the discourse, but an auxiliary idea.

Thus far, nothing contradicts the Greek and Latin authors, for nothing demonstrates that the leading ideas in a text are represented in any other manner than symbolically.

I shall just observe, by the way, that the preceding results elucidate a passage in St. Clement of Alexandria, which always appeared very obscure, I might even say unintelligible; otherwise it would have suggested some scruples respecting the important conclusion, of which I just before spoke.

I now come to a point upon which I cannot coincide in opinion with M. Champollion. He has read, in hieroglyphical texts, common names written phonetically: I believe he is mistaken. Let none be displeased at my frankness, for a very important point is here involved.

If hieroglyphical texts contain common names written alphabetically, it must follow that the Egyptians wrote at full length the names of those ideas which held the first place in discourse. But in that case, wherein would be the great distinction between hieroglyphical and alphabetical writing? As soon as the former rendered alphabetically common names, as well as grammatical forms, symbols would act but an auxiliary part; they would be nothing more than mere abbreviations, such as may be met with in every conceivable kind of writing; and yet the ancient speak of a radical difference. Diodorus Siculus is positive thereupon; and I believe he is right, as well as all other writers who maintain the same doctrine. I believe that hieroglyphical texts contain no common names written alphabetically.

Nevertheless, M. Champollion has read, by means of his phonetic alphabet, the words *father*, *mother*, *infant*, *son*, *daughter*, *brother*, *sister*, *king*. Let us examine successively these groups of pretended phonetic characters.

First, I assume the Coptic to be an Egyptian dialect, and that it is Coptic which these hieroglyphical texts represent: observing, at the same time, that this is not a theory which I wish to uphold; but, on the other hand, I avow that I know nothing which is opposed to the admission of the hypothesis.

Moreover, I look upon those groups as correctly decyphered which are not taken from the Rosetta inscription, though this is the only hieroglyphical text, the sense of which is known by a translation.

I will begin by the word *father*. In the Rosetta inscription there is a group corresponding apparently with the word "father" of the Greek translation. This group, explained by means of the phonetic alphabet, gives the term *toui*. M. Champollion reads every where *toui*, and *toui* alone, upon the monuments of the kings of Egyptian race, and those of Grecian race, and even upon the monuments of the Roman era, with which the Coptic of our day is connected.

But the modern Coptic renders the idea *father* by the word *iot*. Can it be supposed that so common an idea as father, translated during a long course of years exclusively by the word *toui*, should all at once, and exclusively too, be rendered by the word *iot*? I cannot believe this without some reluctance; I would rather think it probable that the group read *toui* was not pronounced in that manner, but that as it recalled the idea of "father," apparently in a symbolical manner, and as every one knew the word corresponding to this idea in the spoken tongue, every one, on seeing this group, pronounced the word *iot*.

I make the same remark with respect to the group which M. Champollion reads *souten*. This group recalled symbolically the idea of "king," which was invariably rendered by the word *ouro*, so that wherever it occurred it was pronounced *ouro*, and not *souten*, which in modern Coptic does not signify "king." I have, indeed, some slight objection to offer against the reading itself. The group in question is composed of two partial groups: the first containing a character supposed to represent a *plant*, which character, in proper names, stands for the letter *s*, and a *semi-circle*, which M. Champollion considers as a sign of the feminine gender, and which, in proper names, denotes the letter *t*. The second group consists of a *bee*, and another *semi-circle*. M. Champollion looks upon the *bee* as symbolical, which renders mute the *semi-circle* following it: nothing, therefore, is left to be pronounced but an *s* and a *t*, which at the most would make the word *sout*. I know, moreover, that other groups, not found in the Rosetta inscription, give instead of the *bee* and *semi-circle*, a character standing, in proper names, for the letter *n*, which completes the word *souten*: but then again comes the reason adduced above. "King" is no more expressed by *souten* than "father" by *toui*. I should rather think the entire group to be symbolical; that the complex idea "king" is composed of two simple ideas, the second of which, if we may credit Horapollo, was that of "people," "crowd." Were I even to admit the identity of the group containing the *bee* with that giving the entire word *souten*, I should still discover in the latter the same component ideas; for the character read *n* is invariably a symbol of plurality, or, if you will, a sign of the plural number, that is, symbolically considered, equivalent to the character *bee*.

It can readily be imagined, that when two ideas thus concur in forming one complex idea, the word pronounced on sight of the group may have no relation whatever to those which the component symbols would have recalled had they been isolated.

The mutual influence of symbols, according to their disposition, is a circumstance to which I think too little attention is paid. Each symbol seems to be regarded as representing, at all times and in all places, one single idea. For example: because in one instance a *circle* signifies the "sun," therefore, they say, it invariably represents the "sun;" the *scarabæus*, in one passage, signifies the "world," therefore it always signifies "world," &c. This is an error, and a very serious one, from which Horapollo should have secured us; for he

informs us that the same symbol may be the representative of six, seven, or even eight different ideas, from whence we may conclude that the same symbol may recal, in the reading of the text, six, seven, and eight words totally different; and it was, I think, position, context, antecedents, and consequents, which determined what idea it represented, and consequently by what name it was to be called.

Amongst the several possible senses of a symbol, there is always one which will be of more frequent recurrence than any other; so that occasionally a given animal, whose figure was frequently employed to represent a certain idea, received, even though considered as an animal and not as a symbol, the name of this special idea. Thus a hawk, constantly used in hieroglyphical texts to designate the "human soul," is called, even when considered only as a hawk, by the Egyptian word signifying "soul." But to return to my subject.

The group which M. Champollion gives as representing phonetically the idea "mother," is composed of a *vulture* and a *semi-circle*; but Horapollo tells us that the vulture is the symbolic representation of "mother;" and M. Champollion admits, as we have seen in the group "king," that the *semi-circle*, when accompanying a symbol, is simply a mute sign of the feminine gender: it seems to me merely symbolical. I know that in reading proper names, the appearance of a *vulture* gives the pronunciation *may*, which is an entire word corresponding to the idea "mother;" so that this character seems to act the same part both in proper names and in common discourse, that is, it seems always phonetic. Upon this point it is only necessary to understand one another: in proper names the *vulture* signifies only the sound of "mother," but in discourse it recalls at once both the idea itself, and the name of that idea. I add, that it does not recall the name till after it has recalled the idea.

Since an occasion offers, I wish to point out what appears to me an essential distinction between the characters concurring in the transcription of proper names. In default of doing this, M. Champollion contradicts himself, when, after having laid down, as a general theorem, that all characters used phonetically in proper names must always and every where be employed in the same manner, he is continually considering as symbolical in discourse those characters which in proper names are phonetics. The distinction which I propose to make is this: the characters serving to transcribe proper names form two classes; the first comprises those which, being intended to express what we have designated grammatical terms, are always phonetic. To these characters, which are fewer than the others, may, I think, be applied the principle laid down by M. Champollion. In the second class are contained all the characters commonly used as symbols, designating sometimes one idea, sometimes another, recalling, consequently, sometimes one term, sometimes another, and accidentally employed in the transcription of proper names, to represent the initial sound of the name of the idea, which it more commonly or directly signifies when it stands singly. Whenever the use of characters for the phonetic expression of grammatical forms did not furnish the required letter, it was supplied from this second class; or when it was desired to introduce an idea of praise or censure into a proper name, which is somewhat analogous to the process of the Chinese on such occasions.

This classification, which is, indeed, founded upon mere conjecture, will enable us to conceive how the *goose*, which in proper names stood for the letter *s*, might in the course of speech become symbolical, and represent the idea of "son," conformably to the statement of Horapollo, so that it compelled the pronunciation of the Egyptian word *seri*, and not *si*, as M. Champollion

reads, but which cannot be found in our Coptic dictionaries. As to the *little line* which sometimes accompanies the character *goose*, we cannot say whether this is or is not of a nature analogous to that of the *semi-circle*, so frequently joined to symbolic hieroglyphics.

I grant that in certain compound words, instead of sounding the entire word *seri*, the first syllable, or even the first letter only, was pronounced. That would prove, at the utmost, that the idea "filiation" entered into the grammatical forms, and was expressed in the same manner.

It remains for me to notice two groups, in one of which M. Champollion meets with the word *misi*, signifying, he says, "to engender," "generation;" the other which supplies the word *son*, and represents the idea "brother." The words *misi* and *son* are found in Coptic dictionaries with the definition here given. The only indication of an ideographical as well as a phonetic property afforded by the group *misi*, is the unchangeableness of the first of its two characters; in the group *son*, whilst the first of the two characters is unalterable, the second varies so slightly, as always to represent the idea of "plurality." These are cogent reasons for doubting that these groups were purely phonetical. Would not such a complex idea, resulting from the combination of two other ideas, have acquired a name composed of the initial sounds of each of the names of the component ideas? I have no doubt that denominations thus formed were given to new ideas; the groups which represented these ideas were then at once both ideographic and phonetic; but they were phonetic only secondarily, having been at first purely ideographic. I am sensible that the discovery of similar groups may easily lead into error, and from thence I think has arisen the mistake which I have been pointing out.

I ought not, I think, to insist much upon the groups corresponding with the ideas "daughter" and "sister," since the *semi-circle* only distinguishes them from the groups "son," "brother," and since this character is, as I have already stated, a mute sign of the feminine gender, indicating that "daughter" and "sister" were to be pronounced, not "son" and "brother."

I have now taken a review of all the common names which M. Champollion believes he has deciphered literally in the hieroglyphic texts, and the result seems to be this, that the alphabetical nature of the groups in question is nothing short of proved, and that, up to this time, no certain fact has occurred to invalidate the unanimous testimony of the Greek and Latin authors relative to the symbolical nature of hieroglyphical writing. Before the discovery of the phonetic alphabet, too large a province was assigned to the symbolical character; now too little is given it. The recent conclusion is, in my opinion, as erroneous as the old. Excess is always vicious. If M. Champollion believed that the phonetic character prevailed, he was led into this belief by a mistake against which it was perhaps difficult to guard. I trust that my observations will tend in some measure to restore the question of Egyptian writings to their legitimate basis. A contempt for the testimony bequeathed us by the Greek and Latin authors has appeared to me by no means seemly, and if monuments can, with the aid of written traditions, impart much light to us, they may also, if we persist in studying them alone, lead us over a deal of unnecessary ground. Thus far, I believe, written traditions harmonize with the monuments. He would compromise the success of his labours who neglected either. Egypt has been Greek, Egypt has been Roman; to judge of her we ought, therefore, at least, to listen to those who were her masters, who knew her living, and who lived with her.

PUNCHAYETS AND ZILLAH COURTS.

(Concluded from p. 160.)

MATTERS relating to caste or depending upon the customs of them, or of any particular trade or business, are far best settled by a punchayet composed of members chosen from the trade or caste. Indeed every decision upon such points must partake somewhat of the nature of a caste punchayet, for the evidence of the members of it is essential to enable the judge of the case to decide; and it would be more advantageous to have the opinions of the members or arbitrators full and free, as they would then be, than as evidences overawed and cramped of necessity, in delivering them before a judicial tribunal; whilst the oath, though it would make them speak the truth, would obtain nothing but the truth, that is, mere matter of fact, allowing for no contingencies or exceptions which the particular case might require. Decisions by members chosen from the caste too, are, in my opinion, more unbiassed than almost any other. For this reason I would recommend that where a punchayet is given on matter relating to caste as above, neither party should be allowed to claim choice of members out of it, unless he could prove that there was a general enmity to him in it. In the same manner where the customs of any particular class of men, not actually reckoned a caste, but pursuing some exclusive occupation, are concerned, the members might be chosen under the same exception from that body. Punchayets of the whole caste again, are much worse than no punchayets at all; it would be better to take their evidence, than let them sit as members. There is no end to the dinners (pan suparee), and other good things, which the caste expects at every meeting, whether for prayscheat, marriage, punchayet, or any other matter. The promiscuous assemblage of persons then collected, not one-tenth of them attending as judges of the dispute, but as members of the whole body, and therefore bound to appear at a general meeting of it, cannot further, and most necessarily retard, the proceedings, as it is always found to do. The difficulty of collecting all of the caste, and then of getting a decision from them, must be known to all who have tried the experiment.

In suits for debts of old standing, which are generally very intricate and difficult to decide upon, and all intricate accounts, merchants are the most proper persons to sit as members. These ought to be chosen of the same caste or country as the parties, when both of the same, as mharwarrees, goojers, bohmas, &c. If the sur punj could be chosen from among the higher class of merchants, when the dispute is more about a particular kind of transaction, as insurance, commission, &c. than between men of the same kind respecting common accounts, it seems a great object to be obtained.

Common accounts and obligations, whether bonds or other, are seldom so difficult as not to be better decided by an aumeen or single person, who would come to a final decision before either party would have named members to litigate in a punchayet. In this case, where it is frequently obvious that one party merely demands a punchayet to gain time, the superintendent might have authority to refuse one, the nature of the dispute speaking for the reasonableness of the denial.

In cases of wuttun, a punchayet before the got, or people of the same employment as the parties in the same or other parts of the district, is good; but in cases where there have been three or four punchayets formerly without producing any positive decision, and which have been still contested with various

success, a new punchayet would appear almost hopeless. The members, who are only cultivators, are perplexed with the contrariety of the decision, and seldom succeed in settling the dispute. Then European agency is perhaps the best means of passing a final and full decision, particularly when the chief evidence is documentary, upon which the got are not properly competent to decide.

Suits for maintenance are properly made the subject of punchayets; but cases have arisen wherein the punchayets have decreed the division of property over and above the maintenance to which the plaintiff is entitled. Yet a punchayet, under certain restrictions to prevent any thing of the kind occurring, is the fairest as well as most delicate mode of procuring a due subsistence for the plaintiff; for an inquiry into the circumstances of the opposite party and the family is necessary, to enable them to decide the proportion to be given, according to the rank and circumstances in life of the parties.

The cases in which punchayets might be considered the legal and fixed mode of decision, are therefore, 1st, points of religion; 2d, customs of the country, of caste, or trade; 3d, division of property; 4th, old and intricate accounts; 5th, cases of wuttuns and hucks; and 6th, disputes for maintenance.

In these the advantages of a punchayet are, I think, very apparent.

The disadvantages of punchayets are slowness and unskilfulness, partiality and corruption.

The former is inherent in the formation of one and its forms of proceeding. Much more time is lost in choosing a sur punj than the members on each side, who are mostly appointed without much trouble. It is always found difficult to choose an umpire, because upon him alone the casting vote, the whole decision, depends. Neither party finds it difficult to name friends, and no rule now exists to prevent a person from sitting who has been chosen by either, or both the parties. Whether professional punchayets or not, they are generally, with few exceptions, mere pleaders for their own client. But an umpire is the judge, and if either party knows that the person named for it is acquainted with his adversary, it is sufficient reason for him to object to him. The remedy used here is to bind them down to a certain number of days, and if the time is exceeded, to name one from government, generally an aumeen. This has the effect desired, and an umpire is named within the time. Besides the known habits of the natives which are a check to a speedy decision, and the interest which one party often has to protract it, by inducing his members to absent themselves, the forms under which a punchayet is carried on cause great delay. After the answer of the defendant has been obtained, the punchayet puts a number of poorish, or questions to either party for their own information, on any particular points; and very often a member of the opposite party takes this opportunity of cross-questioning the other by questions to the points of the parties' cause, which give an opening for it; if not, upon any other irrelevant matter he can find, as suits his purpose. Any unfortunate observation of one of the parties, perhaps relating to any thing rather than the matter in dispute, is met by his opponent or one of his members by a thep, which is equivalent to a challenge to prove the assertion thus hazarded, under a penalty of losing his suit if he does not. It is accepted often by way of bravado, to shew that he has no objection to fight the other upon any subject he may choose; and a refusal to accept this challenge and write the thep, is too often construed by the punchayet to the disadvantage of the person refusing. Failing to prove the thep, though it may not in the least affect the pending dispute, is equally prejudicial to the party: not but what this thep is sometimes bene-

ficial when it is demanded upon an assertion made to invalidate the other party's cause, or defeat any manifest falsehood connected with it; but it is unfortunately often converted into a means of injustice, or delay at any rate. The same system of poorish and thep is employed in the examination of the witnesses, whose evidence is generally taken by the poorish, and any discrepancy settled by thep. This is rather the effect of unskilfulness than of partiality, but is made subservient to the purposes of the latter.

Unskilfulness has been noticed above as one of the causes of the slowness with which decisions are arrived at, and has been attempted to be shewn in the nature of their proceedings. The unskilfulness of the mode of proceeding is taken hold of by those who are more cunning than honest, to distract the attention of long and irrelevant discussions from the matter in dispute; and what with the ignorance of some and the over-wisdom of others of the members, a dispute, simple in itself, is frequently rendered so confused as to require more time to unravel than it would to decide two original ones of the same nature. The voluminous proceedings are no doubt frequently caused from a desire in the punchayet to give the losing party, particularly when a violent or litigious and dissatisfied man, every opportunity of establishing the justice of his case, and perhaps more frequently to leave him no handle for crying out, as a native will always do, against the justice of their proceedings, but it causes great delay in the decision of the suit on which they are sitting.

The third objection, of partiality, must, I think, exist as long as the parties are allowed to choose their members as they please. Compulsion used towards the parties to make them name them, can only have the effect of making them produce them the sooner. Friends would still be chosen. The Mahratta custom was to make light of those members who appeared to act as lawyers for one party, rather than arbitrators between both, and to give a decision upon the other side, or call upon the same number of persons as were so convicted of partiality, to give their opinions on the case. The remedy, perhaps, is to allow of a stricter scrutiny into the dispute itself when finished, than is now permitted, and a power during the proceedings to check it by threats of changing the members if they persist in open partiality.

The last objection is corruption. This is a point difficult to prove, for two or three established cases will not be allowed as even presumptive proof of general corruption. But it seems strange, if it is not generally practised, that a set of men can sit for five, six, or seven months on a punchayet, subject to the open abuse, as is sometimes the case, of the parties whose suit they are trying, without getting anything or asking for remuneration for all their trouble. In the paper appointing the punchayets, they are expressly told that if they will unanimously apply for remuneration, they shall get it, though not more than three or four instances have occurred wherein such has been asked for. Natives say that members sit because it is the custom of the country, and that they look forward to having their clients possibly as members on a future punchayet of their own, on the principle that one good turn deserves another. But it was, and is the custom of the country, and is almost inherent in the native character, to give presents, and this was a more natural inducement for them to sit in a punchayet now than under the former government; but if the remuneration they had been used to expect and receive were done away, it is natural that there should be. Did they not enjoy the same sources of emoluments as formerly, I suppose that no person would willingly sit unless called upon by government, which is now seldom obliged to exert its influence to procure a man to sit. No other reason can, I think, be found to account

for a number of persons devoting their time to sitting on punchayets, which many now do. A man may have no objection to devote some part of his time to one, but it is otherwise unaccountable that men of such indolent habits as natives should accept of the situation in two or three punchayets at a time, and for a continuance. It may be said that he does it not actually because he is corrupt, but for his trouble or for livelihood; but the man who undertakes a punchayet for a livelihood must sometimes, at least, submit to take the wrong side of the question, and the object of his sitting will not allow him to distinguish between good and bad, or to vote contrary to his interest. This becomes, therefore, in the end as bad as corruption.

A punchayet is often demanded by one of the parties for the evident purpose of protracting a decision. In intricate disputes, of whatever nature, it is not so easily perceived, nor is it of much consequence that it should be, when a punchayet is best qualified to give a good decision, as in those upon simple contracts, debts, and common suits of all kinds, where the cause of action shews there is no need of one. Under the present rules it is not allowable to refuse one; but with the exception of those suits formerly specified, it were perhaps as well that the parties should, unless unanimous in calling for a punchayet, be obliged to abide by the decision of a court or aumeens, unless they choose some common friend or tirayet, who may be more easily stimulated by the superintendent, is more easily induced to carry on his proceedings in the cutcherries of the government officers, and is a very useful instrument of justice on many occasions; a decision is also more easily and quickly obtained from them in almost all suits.

With reference to the advantage which may result to the file from giving punchayets, it does not appear that it would be kept down thereby, unless, indeed, a suit referred to one is considered as struck off from the date of a punchayet being appointed. This plan would not be practicable, consistent with the supervision which punchayets are to receive, for no proper record would remain for the superintendent to judge by, and the diminution of the file would be more imaginary than real. It would be an incongruity to strike them off as referred to punchayets, and yet to have the superintendent constantly sending for the parties, and in fact still carrying on the suit in court. This plan was most probably therefore never intended. Then if they remain on the file, it is to be seen whether one whereon the greater number are suits referred to punchayets would not accumulate much faster than the common adawlut one. I suppose that no one gentleman devoting his whole time and attention to the superintendance of punchayets, could bring more than fifteen per month to a conclusion; but the same person could decide between forty or fifty per month in the first instance. If this is the case, an accumulation of the file must ensue whilst punchayets are considered as the first and regular decision. If the limitation of punchayets to certain intricate and fixed cases is allowed, punchayets will become the exception to a general rule, whereas they now form the rule to which the decision by aumeens and others of suits in the first instance forms an exception nearly as limited as that of punchayets would then be, for many suits which they are empowered to try under 200 rupees are now referred to punchayets, because the parties demand one.

Considering a punchayet, when demanded by either or both of the parties in a suit upon any of the six points above-mentioned, as the mode by which they should have their disputes settled, I would recommend that the superintendent should have the power to refuse one (unless both parties are unanimous in demanding it), in all common suits, if he sees either that it will cause

needless delay and loss to either party, that it is merely demanded with a view to delay, or even under those six heads that the subject-matter is not intricate, or such as to require any very laborious investigation. The punchayets will thereby be restricted to those suits only in which they are really of great use; the file of causes will more likely be well kept down; the superintendent having fewer punchayets to attend to, will bring them to a speedier decision; parties will not run the risk of having their suits delayed as they often must be, by a reference to punchayets; and if the suspicion is true that punchayets are corrupt, many persons will be relieved from a tax which is unwillingly borne by them, but which they are obliged to pay in many instances with a really just view of defeating the object of their adversary, to cause delay, and of saving themselves much trouble and loss of time and money, by a little expense opportunely incurred to stimulate the punchayet to come to a decision. Punchayet being less made a trade of, one may be given on occasion with more hope of success, for professional and interested men having less opportunity of engrossing all sorts of judicial decision, will be discouraged and kept down, and a door will be open, with more success, for calling upon respectable men to give their services to government. They will run less risk of being confounded in men's minds with the interested and litigious men who now compose the generality of punchayets (encouraged by the facility which is given to their sitting upon all sorts of disputes), and the duty of a punchayet will be more respectable and perhaps more easy.

SUTTEES.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: It would be gratifying to your readers if you could say whether any foundation exists for the statement, published in the London newspapers, that the suttee sacrifice has been abolished by Lord Wm. Bentinck.

Your's &c. E. P.

* * There is no foundation whatever for the statement that this rite *has been* abolished by the Bengal government. The statement referred to by our correspondent is said to rest upon a letter from a missionary at Benares, dated 13th February 1829; but it ought to have been evident, that if such an order was known at Benares in February 1829, the knowledge of it must have reached England before February 1830. Too many instances prove that sanguine men often assume surmises for facts. The subject is under the attentive consideration of the local government, as it has, indeed, been for many years. We observe in the last *Missionary Register* the following extract from a letter from one of the Baptist missionaries at Cacutta:

The missionaries in Calcutta and its neighbourhood have recently addressed the Governor-General, Lord Wm. Bentinck, on the subject of burning of widows, and the loss of property experienced by the natives on becoming Christians. *We have reason to think that the first question will soon be put to rest, and the rite abolished.*

Miscellanies, Original and Select.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.—Saturday, Feb. 6th.—A general meeting was held this day at two o'clock; Sir George Staunton, Bart., Vice-president, in the Chair.

The minutes of the preceding meeting were read and confirmed.

The chairman presented twelve articles of Chinese costume, comprising, among others, a richly embroidered silk stage dress; the habiliments of a mandarin of civil rank, including the cap, satin boots, and embroidered stockings; various silk articles, and two straw hats.

Donations were also presented

From Colonel Broughton (acting secretary), a manuscript vocabulary of the Brij B'hakha dialect, some images, and *sāligramas*.

From the Royal Irish Academy, a complete set of its *Transactions*, 15 vols. 4to.

From the Geological Society, some parts of its *Transactions*.

From Mr. Greenfield, his Defence of the Serampore Mahratta version of the New Testament.

From T. H. Baber, Esq., a copy of Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro.

From Captain Pogson, a copy of his History of the Boondelas, &c. &c. &c. James Ewing, Esq. and John St. John Long, Esq., M. R. S. L., were elected resident members.

The Chevalier Benjamin Schlick was elected a foreign member; and Captain Benjamin Blake, elected at the last meeting, was admitted a member of the Society.

A paper, by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, of the Bombay army, descriptive of the Banians' hospital for animals at Surat, was read.

The materials for this account were obtained by the personal inspection of the author in 1823; at which time the inmates of the hospital, or "*Pinjra Pol*," were principally buffaloes and cows: there were also sheep and goats, cocks and hens; some of the latter had lost their feathers. There is no restriction upon the admission of animals into this institution, either as to species, number, or the place from whence they come. The most singular object in this establishment is a sort of wooden house, about twenty-five feet long, on the left hand in entering, having a boarded floor elevated about eight feet from the ground, and this space serves as the depository for the grain which gives birth to and supports a host of vermin, so dense that the contents of this receptacle have no longer the appearance of grain but that of a living mass, comprising all the various genera usually found in the abodes of squalid misery. The persons belonging to the hospital strongly deny the fact, so generally believed in Europe, of pious Hindoos devoting themselves voluntarily to afford a night's entertainment to these delightful guests; and a medical gentleman, who accompanied the author during his visit, declared his conviction that no human being could survive for one night under the close and unremitting attention which he would be sure to receive in such a resting-place. Similar institutions, Lieut. Burnes states, are to be met with in almost all the large towns on the western side of India; and at Aryar, in Cutch, he saw an establishment of

rats, above 5,000 in number, kept in a temple, and regularly fed with flour procured by a tax upon the revenues of the city.

The thanks of the Society were ordered to be returned to Lieut. Burnes, for his communication.

A second paper was read, consisting of a portion of a MS. account of Butan, drawn up by the late Samuel Davis, Esq., who accompanied Capt. Turner on his embassy to Thibet; and communicated by his son, J. F. Davis, Esq.

The extract contained some notices of the inhabitants of Butan, especially the priesthood, with incidental remarks on their religion; many of the principles and forms of which are similar to those of the Hindoos, while many again bear almost as much resemblance to certain observances of the Romish church, such as the celibacy of the clergy, the monastic societies of each sex, their chaplets of beads, and the manner of chanting the prayers. Their system of the universe consists of the celestial regions, situated upon the summit of a square rock of immense magnitude and height, the sides of which are severally composed of crystal, ruby, sapphire, and emerald. About half-way down is the region of the sun and moon; beneath is the ocean, surrounding the whole, with seven stripes of dry land encompassing the foot of the rock, and some islands, the residence of mankind. The infernal regions are of course under the earth. The priests have no buildings erected purposely for the performance of religious ceremonies; but, in order to maintain a proper sense of religion, many small temples are built by the road side: they are usually of a square form, and contain either paintings or sculptures of the deity. There is besides in use at these buildings a sort of whirligig or barrel fixed upon a spindle. The inside is filled with a roll of paper printed all over with the word *omanipemehong*, the meaning of which is said to be, to implore a blessing, and they mutter it over as the Roman Catholics do their "Ave Maria's," slipping a bead of the chaplet at each repetition. The instrument thus equipped is so placed that each pious passenger may give it a twirl.*

The *gylongs* or priests are originally boys taken from the most respectable families in the country and the time of their noviciate is passed in the most dull and monotonous manner; nor are their tedious moments much relieved by sleep, if they pass the night in the posture stated to be necessary for every *gylong* to use; it is sitting cross-legged, with the feet brought to rest on the upper part of the opposite thigh. The body is stretched stiffly upwards, in order that the arms, without being at all bent, may be close to the sides; and the hands, with the palms upwards, rest also upon the thighs; the eyes are pointed towards the nose, to keep watch lest the breath should find an opportunity of wholly escaping from the body. A watchman goes round with a scourge and a light, to see that they are all in their proper places and positions.

The second order of the inhabitants are called *Zeen caabs*, and they are literally "servants of government." The third class, or cultivators, appear to enjoy a more rational and unconstrained form of life than either of the preceding; but the females, of whatever class, are in no part of the world worse treated than in Butan.

The reading of this paper being concluded, the meeting adjourned to Saturday, Feb. 20, when the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn, M.P. president, took the chair at the usual hour.

* A specimen of this praying cylinder, or *Muni*, is preserved in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society, to which it was presented by Mr. Hodgson, assistant to the Resident in Nepal.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Calcutta presented a copy of Vol. I. of its *Transactions*.

From Col. Broughton were presented, his Letters from a Mahratta Camp, and Selections from the popular Poetry of the Hindus; from T. H. Baber, Esq. a MS. translation of a Malabar play, founded on the adventures of Rāma; and from W. Marsden, Esq. the charts of Forrest's Voyage to New Guinea, with the names of places written in the Bugis character.

Archibald Leslie, Esq., elected May 16, 1829; Francis Warden, Esq., elected 16th of January last; James Ewing and John St. John Long, Esqrs., elected at the last general meeting; having severally made their payments, and signed the obligation book, were admitted members of the Society.

A second and concluding portion of Mr. S. Davis's account of Butan was read. It commenced with an examination of the government of the country, which would appear to be mild and equable, and well calculated for the race of people subjected to its sway; indeed, upon the whole, they may be considered, though a very poor, to be a happy people, neither in danger of experiencing any outrageous internal oppression, or invasion and conquest from without. The absence of all motives to ambition or personal aggrandizement at the public expense, in the class of persons to whom the administration of the government is confided, secures them from the first; and the natural obstacles of the country, and badness of the roads, protects them against the second. The paper next details some curious religious ceremonies witnessed at Tassisdon, particularly one which lasted twenty days. The first thirteen are occupied in prayer; the remaining seven in dancing, on which occasion the performers (gylongs or priests) appear in masquerade dresses; the masks representing animals, skulls, the destroying power, and various other fanciful and singular objects. The extract terminated with some account of the natural productions of Butan.

The thanks of the Society were returned to Mr. J. F. Davis for his communication; and the meeting adjourned to Saturday, March 6.

Asiatic Society of Calcutta.—A meeting of this Society was held on the 2d September; Sir Edw. Ryan in the chair.

Among the members elected at this meeting were the following Hindu gentlemen:—Rajah Banwari Lall, Baboo Asutosh De, Baboo Rajchunder Das, Baboo Syamalal Thakur.

An account of a journey from Nepal by Tazedo on the frontier of China, by a Cashmeero-Bhotiah interpreter to the traders on that route, communicated by Mr. Hodgson through the Hon. W. B. Bayley, was read.

This itinerary was taken down from the dictation of a man about forty years of age, twenty of which he had spent in constantly traversing the road described in his journal, and of the general accuracy of the facts it records there is not, we believe, any reason to doubt.

The first stage of the journey is to Sankhoo, within the great valley of Nepal. In the third stage the stream Achatuga is crossed: its width is about forty feet and its depth about seven, and its course from north towards the east. The passage is effected in a large canoe managed by four men, provided for the purpose by the Nepal government. Along a mountainous track the traveller comes to Parabasi, the fourth stage, the way "being sprinkled with population." Parabasi is full of brahmuns, and there are many workers in iron at the village, which is the chief foundry of cannon-balls for the Gorkha

government. At Churker, the fifth stage, there is a stone-faced tank, ten paces broad and as many long, and in depth about four or five feet, the water of which is stated to be so hot that it will boil meat. It emits a most offensive sulphureous odour, and bathing in it is considered an excellent remedy for some cutaneous diseases.

The eighth stage which, like all the previous ones, is described to be a toilsome repetition of ascents and descents, brings the traveller to Dum; while travelling this stage, after a descent of three cos, he comes to a stream forming the boundary line between Nepal and Bhote. On the Nepal side of the stream is erected a stone pillar, upon which is inscribed, in Nagri, "*this is the end of the Nepal territory;*" upon the Bhotiah side is a similar erection, bearing the intimation "*here begins the territory of Bhote.*" From this stream, which is crossed by a huge plank thrown over to Dum, is seven cos. Dum is a village containing about 150 straw-built huts tenanted by Bhotiahs. Here is found the wood called zabiah, which is beautifully veined, and is used for making the little round cups out of which the people of Bhote drink tea.

Half a cos from Dum the traveller comes to a fearful spot, where a passage of forty paces is effected over planks only half a foot wide, laid upon iron spikes which are driven horizontally into the rock of a sheer precipice, and which precipice is thus passed. The passage is called "the Lama's iron road."

Kutti, the tenth stage, is described as a considerable town, where all things needful are to be had in abundance. The mass of the inhabitants are Bhotiahs, but many Cashmerians and Newars, and some Chinese, reside there for traffic. All the people wear woollens, and speak the Bhotiah language. Kutti is the boundary of Bhote, considered with reference to physical geography and the language of the majority of the people. 500 soldiers (firelocks and archers), several officers, and four pieces of ordnance, are stationed at Kutti by the ruler of Lahassa, and travellers, going from Nepal, produce their passports to the chief military authority at Kutti, who keeps them in his office, and if satisfied with the views and conduct of those who produce them, gives to them new passports, under his own hand, to the governor of Tingri.

Following the route to the tenth stage, the traveller arrives at the base of a huge mountain called Yelum Thungla, the ascent of which is five cos, and the descent as many more. The snow never melts on this mountain, and the wind is proverbially piercing and violent. Yaks, mules, and sheep, are the only animals that can pass this mountain, care being first taken to strew the pathway with ashes, to prevent their slipping on the hardened mud. To pass it costs a long day's march, and the traveller arrives at the base on the other side late at night, where he halts.

From Yelum Thungla, forwards, a fine verdant plain, enamelled with beautiful flowers, extends for a length of two cos. Over this plain numbers of very fleet animals, resembling the mule, and called by the Bhotiahs *king* (wild asses?), are seen scouring.

The thirteenth stage is Tingri, a respectable town of Bhotiahs, where commences a line of post maintained by horses, *via* Lahassa, to China. The winter is excessively severe at Tingri. The common food of the people is a mixture composed of sattu, barley, butter, and tea. It is eaten in a solid state, made up into balls, four times a day, and tea is drank with it: ponies, mules, and *camels* may be hired here by the traveller. The fourteenth stage is Shegar, a town of about 9,000 houses, inhabited by Bhotiahs; the Lamas here are very numerous. The town is built in tiers, from the base to the summit of a hill, which hill is deemed holy ground. There is a tale of the hill con-

taining a gold mine, to which admission is gained by a golden door, over which the Lamas always keep strict watch! A thousand soldiers are stationed at Shegar by the ruler of Lahassa. Sakyu, or the twentieth stage, is described as a great city, standing at the base of a mountain. The houses, from being washed with charcoal, look black; and the people wear black woollens. The rulers of Sakyu are two Lamas, whose lineage is traced to the same source with that of the present imperial family of China. These Lamas are esteemed divine, a character which they support by total seclusion from the world, and the practice of the most rigorous self-denial, and constant mental abstraction. At Sakyu there is an immense structure called ukar, or "the house of the dead," a vast cemetery, which superstition, as usual, associates with a number of awful circumstances: at the end of every year a register is taken of the dead, which is sent to Lahassa (Lassa), on which occasion there is a great festival, and a service "for the delivery of the souls of the dead." Lamas are of two kinds, one called Kumdamba, practising celibacy, and another sort called Tumzan. The great Lamas of Sakyu, who are of the latter persuasion, go once a year to visit Lahassa, which is twelve days' journey from the former place. They are on these occasions received with great deference and respect by the civil ruler of Lahassa, and go round the city of Lahassa, curing the sick, and doing other good works.

At the twenty-second stage the traveller, after crossing a stream that comes up to the chest in depth, and is forty paces in breadth, passes through a level and cultivated plain about six cos, and arrives at Natan, which is a large city, containing, it is said, 300,000 souls, who are chiefly of the Lama caste. The city is walled and has two gates, one to the east called the Bhotiah, and the other to the west styled Sharku. One cos from Natan is Tcshū Lhambhū, the especial residence of the great Lama, presiding over this part of Bhoté. There are hundreds of gumbas, or convents, and some houses of Cashmerians, Newars, and Chinese in the place. There is a good bazar, which is open from daylight till noon, when it is closed at the signal of a bell tolling. Another cos brings the traveller to the city of Digurchee, which is of great size, extending chiefly from north to south. Here begins a new language (dialect?) which is called Changi. The houses are pukka built, and 3,000 Bhotiah and 2,000 Khatai soldiers are stationed in the town. Here the traveller usually hires fresh cattle if he continues his journey.

Leaving Digurchi for the twenty-fourth stage, the traveller, 200 or 300 paces to the eastward of the town, comes to a river named Churr Erku. Its course is from north to south, its width about 300 paces, and its depth great. It is crossed by an iron bridge of thirteen arches, built by some former lama, and is called Samba Ghur, or "the eastern bridge." From the river to Pina, the first stage beyond Digurchi, the road runs through a cultivated plain, till another river is reached, which is crossed by a bridge, when the traveller enters at once the town of Pina. It is situated at the base of a small hill, the top of which is occupied by a small detachment of Bhotiah and Chinese soldiers.

The whole way, during the next stage, lies through a finely cultivated country, producing wheat, barley, and pease. At Kyrangzhe, the stage town, a market is daily held in the middle of the town, from morning till noon, where the whole buying and selling of the place is transacted; it not being the custom to expose any thing in the shops. Several sorts of woollen cloth are woven here, and the dyers are very expert, being able, for instance, according to our traveller, to give a roseate colour to cloth, vying in splendour of tint with the rose itself.

The twenty-seventh stage is Laganché, a village of about 200 houses, inhabited by Bhotiahs and a few Chinese. South of the village is a vast lake, or rather inland sea, called Yamzú, where there are three rocky isles, on which herdsmen dwell, who tend large flocks of the Yak. The water, which is extremely salt and bitter, is full of fish, and many fishermen also tenant the isles mentioned, and their fishing boats are made of leather. Beyond Laganché the traveller passes over an uncultivated plain, extending all the way to the next stage, and abounding with deer, kings (wild asses?), and other wild animals, which the Bhotiahs of those parts constantly hunt for the sake of their flesh. The great lake of Yamzú accompanies the traveller to Pallé, which is but a small hamlet, affording however various articles of provisions that the traveller may require. A police officer here examines baggage and passports.

The first part of the twenty-ninth stage lies over a plain till the traveller comes to the base of a mountain called Kamba, the ascent of which is one cos and a half; on the top is a spring of excellent water. A descent of three cos leads to the village of Khamba, consisting of about 100 houses, tenanted by Bhotiahs. There are two Chinese soldiers to superintend the royal dāk.

In the next stage a large and impetuous river, nearly a cos broad, and called the Yekochango, is crossed either by an iron bridge or a ferry-boat; and for two or three stages the traveller passes through a country bearing various fruits, as apples, plums, &c., and occasionally sees the great river Yekochango. From the mountain of Lachain Lachuu, in the thirty-fourth stage, all is sandy plain; the stage town is Nitang, where there are plenty of Chinese shops, and the traveller may purchase dressed meats for dinner.

The thirty-sixth stage is the city of Lahassa; on the road is mount Putla, the monastic abode of the great. The convent stands on the hill-top and is very magnificent, the roofs being gilt, and the pillars of silver; the slopes of the hill are well cultivated and peopled. Lahassa (Lassa) is a vast and splendid city, enclosed by a wall of stone. The chief ruler abides in the middle of the and the four functionaries next in rank to him, at the four corners. These five persons, with two others, called Tuzeen, whose ordinary official routine is the distribution of justice, form a council of state. Small offences are punished by fixing the offender, by the neck, in a kind of stocks, in the midst of the city, where he remains for four or five days, and is then flogged and dismissed. Murderers, after a trial before the two judges (tuzeen), are punished with decapitation. Grave political offences are reported to the emperor of China.

The city of Lassa has five gates, named the Nepali, Selungi, Ladakhi, Deejwani, and Chinese gates, all of which are cautiously guarded, especially the Chinese, or leading to China, to pass which costs the traveller a whole day of solicitation and bribery. The cold at Lahassa is, in winter, extremely intense, but in summer the heat is temperate, and there is always a breeze. The inhabitants are chiefly Bhotiahs and Chinese. A cos beyond Lahassa is a river called Shanga, about 100 paces wide, which is passed by leathern and wooden boats; the former for men, the latter for cattle.

In progress to Shū-bū-dū, the forty-third stage (sixth beyond Lassa), the traveller comes to the river Kung-joo, over which is an iron bridge of twenty-five arches. A toll of twenty-five pice is exacted from passengers. The water of the Kung-joo is very dark, like charcoal, but good, and to its virtues is ascribed the freedom which those who drink of it enjoy from the goitre. Shū-bū-dū is a town of moderate size. The tails of the Yak sell here for two pice

a piece, and ghee also is exceedingly cheap. Notwithstanding, however, the low prices of the necessaries of life, theft and robbery are very common, and the thieves exceedingly audacious and adroit. The houses at Shū-bū-dū are mostly of wood roofed with stone.

The next six stages to Tazedo, lie through a fine level and richly cultivated country, abounding in grain, fruits of all kinds, and various vegetables, as also in thieves, who come to steal in all sorts of disguises, as that of a dog, &c. At Tazedo our traveller's journey terminates. Tazedo is a large city, and is the frontier town between Bhote and China; the inhabitants are of Khatai, Bhote, and China; the Khatai are Chinese Mahomedans, of very fair complexion and large stature.

The great numbers of monasteries referred to along the route is striking. It is to be regretted that the traveller was not a little more particular in describing the iron and other bridges which he crossed, and the nature of their construction; for though the word *arch* is used in the journal, with respect to these we have some doubts as to the correctness of its application.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.*

The Physical Committee of the Asiatic Society met on the 26th August, Sir Edward Ryan in the chair. A letter was read from Mr. Hodgson, dated Nepal, 23d July, accompanied by specimens of a certain earth, which Mr. H. states "to have been brought from a considerable distance in the mountains, and used in the khan khaneh to assist the fusion in some metals." The secretary (Mr. Ross) stated that on first inspection this earth appeared to him to be the bituminous marle, which is used as a flux for ores of copper in Thuringia, where it abounds, as a matrix for the ore, but the very small proportion of lime precipitated by means of oxalate of ammonia, from a solution of the earth in the muriatic acid, does not justify the conclusion of its being marle; but subsequent examination led Mr. R. to believe it to be earth, forming the bottom or sides of some of the natron lakes, which are known to exist in certain parts of the Himalayan range of mountains; a complete analysis of this earth is, however, promised for the next meeting.

A large collection of minerals, supposed to have been obtained from the vicinity of Simla, was presented by Mr. Calder, on the part of Dr. Govan, but no specific account of them has yet been received.

Mr. Calder also presented, on behalf of Mr. Hardie, some specimens of lias limestone, with organic remains, illustrative of his paper on the geology of Central India.

A letter was read from Captain Franklin, detailing the progress made by him in the prosecution of his interesting geological investigations, and what still remains for him to accomplish, stating as follows, in a letter dated Jubulpore, 12th July 1829:

"As I wrote to you from Sohagpore, informing you of my progress, and also of the probability of my being able to accomplish the object contemplated by my present trip, I have now very great pleasure in acquainting you that I have accomplished it, and that I am well satisfied with the result. I came upon the eastern limit of trap at the peak of Onexcutuc, and from thence I have traced it along the Mecala hills, until I brought it to join with the point where I left off last year, so that I have now to lay before the Society a delineation of the trap boundary, complete from the source of the Nermada river to Booradunger, where the late Dr. Voysey came upon it in his route from Agra to Nagpore.

"The boundaries of new red sandstone and of lias limestone were laid

down in my former map, and the new feature of my present survey is, the existence of the carboniferous series of rocks, as perfect and as well-marked by all the striking peculiarities of those rocks as they are in England; but of the three members of that series, the mill-stone grit is the most predominant, for whilst the mountain limestone only occasionally appears, and the old or primary red sandstone very rarely, the gritstone occupies vast tracts, and rises into the highest mountains, exhibiting also all those romantic appearances and wild scenery, which the same rock is known to do in England; its minerals also are the same; it contains thin seams of coal, the quality of which is invariably bad, bitumen is of common occurrence, and is found tinging the rocks very frequently. Mountain peat is often to be seen in glens where the water alternately stagnates and is absorbed, and hot springs are also to be met with. The rock itself is invariably a gritstone composed of quartz gravel united by an argillaceous cement, and in cases where circumstances have converted that cement into silicious matter, or rather where the clay has been silicified or hardened, the rock is used for hand millstones.

“The geological map and paper are now preparing, but in the mean time it may be useful to point out the parts where a continuation of the survey is required: in the first place, the trap boundary requires to be laid down from Onercutuc to Seonee, south of the Nerbudda, and from thence to the point where I quitted it last year, near the Mahadeo peak, and not far from Asseergurh; this would complete the survey of the whole boundary of the eastern trap, and it might be done in the course of one month: in the second place, the small space between Booradunger and Rampoora Banpooora requires to be examined and laid down; this would at once connect mine, the late Dr. Voysey's, and Capt. Dangerfield's surveys, and the trap boundary north of the Nerbudda would be complete, together with a considerable extent southward of that river carried on by me nearly to Beitoool.

“With regard to other points, the new red sandstone requires to be carried on from Taraghat, where I left it in 1826-7, to Rotasgurh, and the valley of the Soane river should be examined both geologically and with regard to its iron; the remaining desideratum in this part is to trace the outline of the mill-stone grit, for I passed nearly through its centre, and my ideas of its boundaries can only be conjectural, having no other foundation than my knowledge of the coal and physical geography of the tract where it exists; but as I have ascertained its boundaries in the Mahadeo hills, my observations regarding it apply only to the tract which is eastward of Onercutuc.”

The first chapter of the late Dr. Voysey's journal was read, comprehending his route from Madras to Hydrabad, in November and December 1818; but as the whole of this meritorious work will speedily appear in print, we need not trouble our readers at present with any detached portions.—*Ib.*

Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta.—At the meeting of the Society, held on the 6th June, Mr. Wilson, vice-president, in the chair; Mr. Ogilvy was duly elected president of the Society, in the room of the late Mr. Gibb.

A letter was read from Earl Stanhope, chairman of the Committee of Correspondence of the London Medico-Botanical Society, suggesting that a correspondence should be opened between the two Societies.

A treatise on inflammation of the veins, presented by Mr. J. Greig, was read and discussed.

After a few prefatory remarks, Mr. Greig enters into the details of its causes, symptoms, and treatment, subjoining some marked cases of the disease.

When the inflammation is not very extensive, the symptoms of phlebitis, he observes, are the same as those of local inflammation; but when it is extensive and pus is secreted in the cavity of the vessel, it is accompanied with a high degree of constitutional irritation, and with symptoms of a typhoid character. Cases, however, are adverted to, of patients having died of phlebitis, without either local or general symptoms that could have predicated the existence of the disease having been observed till after death, when, on examination, the veins were found in a state of high inflammation, and containing a quantity of purulent matter. The most frequent cases, however, are described as resulting from venesection, and the application of a ligature. During some four years, the writer stated that he enjoyed frequent opportunities of witnessing cases arising from these causes, all of which, notwithstanding the utmost attention, and the active application of the best supposed remedies, proved fatal. Sometimes the local symptoms are comparatively slight, and a cure may be effected; but this, according to the writer, is very seldom the case, the disease soon assuming a more formidable character. In that event, the lips of the orifice or wound inflame and become everted, the inflammation rapidly extends along the course of the vein, both above and below the wound, in many cases, even to the heart; there is great pain, aggravated by motion or the slightest pressure, with a sense of burning heat along the course of the affected vessel. These symptoms increasing, matter forms in the cavity of the vein, the surrounding integuments and cellular membrane participate in the inflammation, and symptoms of constitutional irritation ensue: as fever, pain in the head, back and limbs, shiverings, sickness, and great prostration of strength, &c.

This disease being of a highly inflammatory nature, the vascular system, from the second or third day, is found to be greatly deranged, and, after the disorder is fairly established, the pulse is never below 110; when fully formed, it is generally from 120 to 130 in a minute. In the more advanced stages of the disease, the pulse sometimes is not to be counted, becomes contracted and thready, and frequently intermits, and, towards the close, is, for a considerable period, so weak as to be scarcely perceptible. The skin is generally parched, and its temperature greatly augmented, particularly after the shiverings, and the respiration is much affected throughout—not, Mr. Greig conceives, from any morbid condition of the lungs, but from the state of other parts. The appearance of the countenance, and the uneasiness, tightness, and pain felt in the chest, and at the pit of the stomach, are well-marked and never-failing symptoms.

The period at which this very formidable disease terminates fatally, is somewhat uncertain, much depending upon the exciting cause, mode of life, and state of body. Many patients within Mr. Greig's experience, were cut off generally in four, six, or eight days, from the first appearance of the disease, while others lingered for twenty and thirty days, and even for weeks before death put a close to their sufferings. In those cases which prove so rapidly fatal, he inclines to the opinion, that death is not occasioned by the severity of the local affection, but from the effect produced on the nervous and general system by the matter, formed in the vein, mixing with the circulating blood. He considers it a mistaken idea, that in some cases of this disease arising from venesection, the inflammation only extends upwards. In every case witnessed by Mr. Greig, both the symptoms and appearances, on examination after death, fully proved the existence of inflammation below the wound in the arm, and in most cases extended even to the fingers.

Among the various causes which may produce inflammation of veins, are gun-shot wounds, compound fractures, splinters of bone, wood, iron, or other extraneous substances lodging in, or tearing the coats of the vessels—and the absorption of certain fluids. The most frequent exciting causes are, punctures with pointed instruments, and the application of a ligature.

This disease, though it often affects man, is still more frequently to be met with in the horse, it being well known that the integuments in this animal rarely, if ever heal, by what is called the first intention, after venesection. When death follows the opening of the external jugular vein in the horse, the membranes of the brain are found much inflamed. This being clearly a malady of a highly inflammatory character, what is called the antiphlogistic treatment is obviously indicated. The local treatment is external—cold applications, evaporating washes, saturnine poultices, and saturnine and opiate fomentations, leeches, and blisters. The general treatment comprises low diet, repeated bleedings, saline cathartics, the exhibition of calomel and diaphoretics, &c. When typhoid symptoms appear, the case, in general, may be considered as most imminently dangerous, and the plan of treatment of course corresponds to the new train of symptoms. On the whole, Mr. Greig's paper is a valuable and instructive one.—*Cal. Gov. Gaz.*

Medico-Botanical Society.—On the 26th January, a meeting of this Society was held in Sackville Street, the Earl of Stanhope in the chair, at which his lordship read a letter from Mr. Frost addressed to the council, in which he announced his intention to deliver up the signature-book, herbaria, library, official seal, and all the other property in his possession or power belonging to the Society. Conformably with this intimation, his lordship stated, Mr. Frost had attended the council that day, and delivered up the signature-book, seal, chain, and medal worn by the chairman at the meetings. The other articles, being too bulky to be brought that day, Mr. Frost had promised should be put in the possession of the treasurer and conservator on the 29th; the books and muniments of the Society were to be delivered to the librarian. Thus ends this strange and eventful history!

VARIETIES.

Mode of feasting amongst the Tibetans.—Father Hyacinth, the late Russian archimandrite at Peking, gives the following description of an entertainment amongst some Tibetans composing an embassy to Peking, in 1818, during his residence at that city. “In a square chamber were placed some tables, long and somewhat elevated, on each of which was a skin sack containing about fifteen pounds of *tsan-pa* (a compound of roasted barley-meal made into a paste with tea); quilts and felt carpets were spread before the tables. The guests arranged themselves according to seniority, seating with their legs crossed. As each arrived, he was presented with a dish of *tsan-pa*, in which pieces of butter were imbedded. The guest took a mouthful, spat it out, and then tasted another. When all had met, wine was offered, and then tea. Before eating they uncovered the head, and recited a short prayer; they then put on their hats again, and began to drink tea or eat *tsan-pa*. After the tea they went to wine. To each guest was then brought a bowl of oatmeal and rice, seasoned with butter and sugar. Another prayer was recited, and they began to eat with their fingers; and then returned to the wine. After this course was over the party took a walk in the court, from whence they returned in about a quarter of an hour, and seated themselves as before, when raw meat,

minced and seasoned with salt, pepper, and garlic, was served up: a bowl of this mess was put before each guest. At the same time there was placed upon every table several dishes filled with large pieces of raw beef and jelly. The guests, after reciting another prayer, drew knives which they carried about them, cut the meat into small bits and ate it, previously covering it with a highly seasoned hash. They then recommenced drinking wine, and afterwards took another walk. Returning to the apartment, they renewed their attack upon the wine. Soon after appeared a tray of *tooba* (a dish of oatmeal mixed with vermicelli and beef), of which a bowl was set before each person. The guests having repeated a prayer, took their little sticks, and began to eat. Last of all were brought small patties covered up in napkins, in order that they might be carried to the guest's houses. This concluded the repast, which lasted more than half the day. After walking about in the court, the party returned to the bottle. The entertainer and the guests, at this period, began to sing and dance: the Tibetan mode of dancing consists in leaping up in one place. In a short time supper was served up; it resembled the dinner, but was so not so long. The guests continued to drink till they were completely intoxicated: the inner doors had been fastened, so as to prevent any individual from stealing away before the end of the entertainment."

Interior of the Malay Peninsula.—The *Malacca Observer* of the 14th July, in an account of a trip to Assahan, in the interior, alludes to certain hot wells at a place called Ayar Panas, which it seems are becoming frequented for their beneficial effects in some disorders. On the 12th May the hot spring stood at 152° , the cold water immediately surrounding being only 74° . Further, observes the writer of the account, "the water of the small spring was 156° , or 44° above blood-heat, and the cold water 77° . I took some water from the spring, and put it in a coco-nut shell, when one minute out of the spring it sunk to 130° , when two minutes out it sunk to 112° , when five minutes to 86° , and ten minutes to 76° ; after this I did not try, but it may have sunk to 74° , the temperature of the surrounding water."

The writer gives some desultory details of the country and people, some of which we subjoin.

The road from Ayer Panas to Rheim is good, in fine weather, and the scenery diversified. Of the latter place, he says:—"When you come to Rheim, you are pleased with it as a large village, and more at the courtesy and willingness to oblige you; you enter a house remarkably clean, a ready welcome, and every request complied with for supplies such as they have in their power to offer (paying for the same of course), and as soon as you can desire. From this to Assahan the road is very bad; you travel through mud and jungle, small stagnated pools full of leeches, and nothing to diversify the scene. If you approach a house, your ears are assailed with the timid shrieks of the women, and the men are seen cautiously advancing; if at a distance you call to them 'tis the sign given for a clear deck, and as you approach for a coco-nut or information, nothing in the shape of life is seen, nothing heard but the noisy barking of the dogs."

Of the Malays, in this part, he says:—"When angry, Malays care little for life; they are civil, and to each other particularly ceremonious; they repay kindness for kindness, and seem very sensible of any shown to them; they are well versed in the art of trickery, and not unfrequently, if they find you want a thing, they forestall you. I once saw a dwarf Malay—appeared about twenty-eight years old, and was about four feet high: as he was very poor I gave him a few doits, he was very grateful and next morning brought me some

eggs; of course I paid for them, but had great difficulty in persuading him to take the cash. He still, however, persisted, and one day brought me some plantains; all I could say or do would not induce him to take the cash, and I at last received them; for this afterwards I was very glad, for he often brought me eggs, fruit, and other things, and never scrupled to receive their value. They are very fond of smoking, and a poor fellow, whom I greatly pitied on account of his being deaf and dumb, occasionally made signs for a cheroot; I never refused him, and to do him justice he did not often ask me; he generally brought me a coco-nut, and was very much pleased on being engaged as a cooly to convey two invalid sepoys to Malacca. He was by far the most unassuming man I have seen. I was one afternoon returning with my gun from the jungle, when I was much impressed at seeing a Malây at his prayers, or perhaps, more properly speaking, I was more surprised at his manner. His god seemed to be a tree! with his hands devoutly laid across his breast, he was fervently, to all appearance, engaged in prayer, and seemed perfectly unconscious of our presence. After remaining in a standing attitude a short time, he prostrated himself on the ground, kissing the trunk of the tree; this he repeated several times, alternately rising and prostrating, and at length sat on his haunches, where I left him.

Medical Anthropophy in China.—China is tolerably free from direct cruelty in her religious superstitions, at least she allows nothing at all that can compare with Hindoo suttees, except her horrible infanticide, which, by the way, is induced not by religious superstition, but by hard-hearted scepticism and the visionary dreams of political economy, which says the young stranger has no right to the board of privileged fathers, and therefore must be gone. But China has her *Anthropophagi Medici*: those who, for medical purposes, feed on various parts of the human body. The murder of a young lad at Macao, three years ago, was occasioned by the misbelief that a portion of human flesh would restore a dying man; and the executioner of ten thousand, mentioned in the *Canton Register*, exhibited for sale, the other day, the gall-bladder of a man he had cut to pieces, in which grains of rice were steeped, to be eaten daily in specified numbers. On turning to the Penal Code, it appears that a man of the Haong-shan district, named Lew, was on a former occasion brought to justice for procuring a portion of human gall at the price of one hundred and twenty taels of silver; and about the year 1811, a man in Che-Keang, named Chang, was convicted, who had, in the course of sixteen years, caused the death of eleven young girls that he might drink certain fluids to add vigour to his own constitution! The twelfth victim to his cannibalism escaped, to be a witness against him; and the “man in form, but brute in nature,” as the official document characterizes the atrocious criminal, was put to death by a slow and ignominious punishment. The wretch, when he died, was about seventy years of age. Sixteen families, who had suffered by his horrible propensity, were summoned to attend his execution by being cut to pieces. The popular idea and phraseology in China supposes a relation between animal courage and the quantity of gall. A large proportion of that secretion is found in bold daring spirits, and timid people have little or none; hence it is said a greater quantity is found when death is inflicted without causing previous bodily fear. To say a man has no gall, denotes he has no courage; and a blustering man will excuse himself for something cowardly by demanding if you imagine he has a gall-bladder as big as a firkin. The inference drawn from these opinions is, that a man can increase the quantity of gall in his own system by eating the gall of a fellow-creature.—*Canton Reg., May 2.*

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Consolations in Travel, or the last Days of a Philosopher. By Sir Humphry Davy, Bart. London, sm. 8vo. 1830. Murray.

This little work consists of dialogues upon philosophical subjects, between persons of science whom the author is supposed to meet in his travels. A variety of ingenious theories are discussed by them, each speaker developing his peculiar views. The traveller (Phalæthes) is led by a sweet and musical voice to take a survey of the progress of civilization, from man in a savage state of nature, to his highest degree of refinement. The speculations on spiritual being are curious,—they can be nothing more,—affording scope for fancy rather than reason. Disputations concerning the vision, or in regard to subjects springing from it, compose the second dialogue. The reasonableness of revealed religion is shewn from the early history of man. An excursion to the remains of the temples of Paestum brings a new character on the scene, of prepossessing exterior and corresponding intellect. The Unknown offers some excellent geological illustrations; different systems are discussed and interesting facts are stated. Phalæthes, being obliged to return to England, after a few months, again travels, accompanied by a friend “of very powerful and acute understanding, a severe thinker, with great variety of information, an excellent physiologist, and an accomplished naturalist.” He visits the alpine country of Austria, and near the lake of the Traun, meets with an accident which might have proved fatal but for the almost miraculous aid of the Unknown, who chanced to be fishing near the fall of the Traun. Accompanied by the Unknown and his friend Eubathes, he enjoys the romantic scenery of the Tyrol. The grotto of the Maddelena gives rise to a dialogue upon the reproduction of the *protæus*—the function of respiration—the immortality of the soul. In another dialogue, the Unknown delivers his own history as a chemical philosopher, and expatiates upon the qualifications of the chemist. The sixth and last dialogue is produced by a visit to Pola in Istria: the devastations of time are traced to the chemical agency of the elements,—of electricity—of gravitation. The work is of a very superior character, elaborately written, full of most ingenious thoughts, with some passages of great beauty. To the ordinary reader it will, perhaps, appear somewhat visionary.

The Cabinet Encyclopædia.—Domestic Economy; by Michael Donovan, Esq. vol. i. London, 8vo. 1830. Longman and Co. and Taylor.

A mass of really useful information, combining practical utility with the features which belong to a scientific treatise, is contained in this work. The first volume commences with a history of intoxicating liquors, and then proceeds to give a detailed account of malt, from the cultivation of the barley to its final conversion into the state adapted to the use of the brewer. Distillation, wine-making, vinegar-making, and baking, are the other subjects treated of. The several treatises are written with great care, and comprehend the latest improvements. Some amusing remarks are occasionally interspersed, which relieve the dryness of the details.

The Family Library.—The Lives of British Painters and Sculptors. By Allan Cunningham. Vols. I and II. London, sm. 8vo. 1830. Murray.

Mr. Cunningham's biography of British artists is one of the most valuable modern additions to that department of literature. It is written in a very pleasing and lively style, and the particulars of the history of men, whose character is frequently so eccentric, as that of artists, compose an almost inexhaustible store of amusement.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Dr. Morrison has now in the press at Macao, a vocabulary of the Canton provincial dialect in one volume octavo. It consists of three parts, 1. English and Chinese, 2. Chinese and English (both arranged alphabetically), and 3. a collection of words, idiomatic phrases, and proverbial sayings, collected and arranged according to subjects, by native teachers, and translated by Dr. M. As the mandarin dialect is confined to the learned, and is spoken or understood by few of the inhabitants of Canton, a vocabulary of the provincial language is absolutely requisite to establish a ready colloquial intercourse with them on the part of foreigners.

Captain Beechey is preparing for publication his voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, for the purpose of discovery and co-operating with the expeditions under Captains Parry and Franklin, performed in H.M.S. *Blossom*, in the years 1825, 26, 27, and 28; in which Pitcairn's Island, Tahite, Kamschatka, Loo Choo, California, and other places of interest in the Pacific, were visited.

Mr. William Greenfield, editor of Bagster's Syriac New Testament, and other works; has in the press a translation of the New Testament into Hebrew. The same gentleman is also preparing for publication, A Series of Grammars, consisting of the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persic, Greek, Modern Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Danish, Swedish, Russian, Dutch, Welsh, Irish, Anglo-Saxon, and English.

The following works are preparing for publication, to form a portion of "Constable's Miscellany"—1. The Achievements of the Knights of Malta, from the Institution of the Hospitallers of St. John, in 1099, till the Political Extinction of the Order, by Napoleon, in 1800; by Alex. Sutherland, Esq., in two volumes. 2. Life and Reign of Mahmoud II., present Grand Sultan of Turkey, including the Geographical, Moral, and Political History of that Empire; by Edward Upham, Esq., in one volume. 3. History of Modern Greece; and the Ionian Islands; with a View of the Decline of the Turkish Ascendancy on the Grecian Continent, and of the Revolutionary War; in two volumes.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

LONDON.

The Adventures of Hatim Tai; a Romance. Translated from the Persian, by Duncan Forbes, A.M. 4to. 16s.

Views of the Forts of Bhurrpore and Waive, by Lieut. George Abbott, 15th Regt. N.I. Drawn on Stone by Messrs. M. Gauci, P. Gauci, Harding, Lynch, Mackenzie, and Templeton, oblong folio.

The East-India Question considered, in a Series of Letters addressed to the Members of the two Houses of Parliament. By Henry Ellis, Third Commissioner of the last Embassy to China. 8vo.

A Brief Vindication of the Company's Government of Bengal from the Attacks of Messrs. Richards and Crawford. By R. D. Mangies, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. 8vo.

Memoir of the Life and Public Services of the late Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, F.R.S., particularly in the Government of Java and Bencoolen; with Details of the Commerce and Resources of the Eastern Archipelago. By his Widow. 4to. 42. 12s. 6d.

The History of Java. By the late Sir T. S. Raffles. Second Edition. 2 vols. 8vo. £1. 8s.—Also, Ninety-Six Plates, illustrative of the above, £2. 2s.—Also, Map, for ditto. folio. 6s.

Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. Vol. I. 8vo. 10s. (Imported from Calcutta.)

A Map of the Western Provinces of Hindoostan, constructed from the most recent Surveys, and inscribed to Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., K.L.S., &c. On four sheets of Atlas, £1. 11s. 6d.; or on cloth, in a case, £2. 2s.

Portrait of Charles Wilkins, LL.D., &c. &c., engraved in Mezzotinto by J. Sarcaim, after a Picture by J. D. Middleton. Size 11 inches by 14 high. Prints 10s. 6d.; proofs, 15s.

Remarks on the Civil Disabilities of the British Jews. By F. H. Goldsmid. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World, and its Traditions referred to in the events in Paradise; proving the Temptation and Fall of Man by the instrumentality of a Serpent. By the Rev. J. G. Deane, M.A., late of Pembroke College, Cambridge. 8vo. 12s.

British Colonial Slavery compared with that of Pagan Antiquity. 2s.

Preparing for the Press.

Travels in Poland, the Crimea, and various Parts of the Turkish Empire, by the late James Webster, Esq., of the Inner Temple, in two volumes, 8vo., with numerous plates and vignettes.

Personal Memoirs of Captain Cook, written by Himself; in two volumes small 8vo.

The Life of Sir Joseph Banks, K.B., late President of the Royal Society; with Selections from his Correspondence in the Archives of the Royal Society, the British Museum, &c.; by a Member of the Royal Society. In two volumes 8vo., with a Portrait.

The Political Life of the Right Hon. George Ganning, from his Acceptance of the Seals of the Foreign Department, in Sept. 1822, to the period of his death, in August 1827; by his late Private Secretary, A. G. Stapleton, Esq. In 3 vols. 8vo.

Travels among the Bedouins and Wahabees, by the late John Lewis Burckhardt, Esq. In one volume, uniform with the Travels in Arabia.

The Pictures of India, exhibiting in a brief, yet clear and graphic manner, the Geography, Topography, History, &c. of that most interesting portion of the Earth; and an impartial View of the India Question, with reference to the impending Discussion of the Renewal of the Charter. In 2 vols. 8vo.

CALCUTTA.

Objections to Phrenology; being the substance of a Series of Papers, communicated to the Calcutta Phrenological Society; with additional Notes. By David Drummond, of the Durrumtollah Academy. 8vo. 8 Rs.

A Dictionary, Persian and English; compiled chiefly from the Boothan Quatia and Moontahool-Loghat, and carefully compared with the best Dictionaries of the Language. By Ramdun Sen.

Regulation X. of 1829, being a Regulation for consolidating into One Regulation with modifications, the existing Enactments relating to the Collection of Stamp Duties. Passed by the Governor-General in Council on the 16th June 1829. 4 Rs.

Outline of an Essay on the Principle of Annuities for Single and Joint Lives, with an Appendix on the present State of the Bengal Military Fund. By a Bengal Military Fund Director.

A Map of the Country to the North West of India, or the Himalayah Mountains, from recent Surveys; being a portion of the Map compiled and published by Colonel Hodgson. Four British miles to an inch. 10 Rs.

Poems. By Capt. Wright, of the Bengal Army. 4 Rs.

A Treatise on the Polynomial Theorem. By Mr. Masters, of the Calcutta Parental Academic Institution. (Lithographed.)

The Kaleidoscope, No. 1. To be continued monthly.

The Calcutta Commercial Guide to Imports and Exports. By Mr. John Bell, of the Custom House. (To be continued monthly.)

THE SUTTEE PRACTICE.

A MORE important event connected with the government of British India, it has seldom fallen to our lot to announce, than that which is communicated in the latest intelligence from Calcutta contained in our present number, namely, that an order to put an immediate stop to the practice of suttees passed the council of the Supreme Government of Bengal towards the end of November last.

That the subject has occupied the close, unremitted, and painful attention of the local government, at the urgent desire of the Court of Directors, we were well aware, and that its attention has been stimulated, moreover, by the anxiety and impatience manifested by a very considerable portion of the public in England, and by the solicitations of the missionaries in India. The progression towards what we hope may be called a favourable decision, became perceptible to those whose inquiries were directed to the subject on the spot; and hence, probably, it is, that the rumour was circulated, that the practice had been interdicted in February 1829, to which an allusion was made in our last number.

It will be observed, that although the newspapers of the presidency state in positive terms that the practice is to be immediately abolished, no official intimation upon the subject had appeared, at the beginning of December, which is the date of our last advices from Calcutta; and no communication, as far as we can learn, has been received by the home government, which authorizes us to assert, what we nevertheless imagine there is no ground for doubting, that *the suttee rite no longer exists*.

We have lately been in the habit of receiving many letters and disquisitions upon the subject of this rite, and upon the practicability of abolishing it without risk to our authority in India; but as we could not perceive that these points were placed in a new light, or that any new fact was adduced which could in the slightest degree elucidate the question, we have forborne to encumber our pages with the *decies repetita* respecting the horrors of the rite, the language of the Hindu authorities, and the other data which constitute the materials of the conflicting arguments. The question, in truth, lay in a very narrow compass, whether the peremptory abolition of this custom would or would not be regarded by our Hindu subjects as an invasion upon their religious rites, and a dereliction of that pledge, upon which the security of our government is mainly built, that we would not intermeddle forcibly with the religion and prejudices of the natives of India. This question could only be solved by a careful, minute, comprehensive, and deliberate investigation, such as a government alone could institute. The calmness and circumspection requisite to deal with such a peculiar subject as this, which is embarrassed by more difficulties than any political question which it is possible to conceive, where feelings are necessarily excited, passions called into play, and inordinate prejudices are concerned, even the government was bound to pause, to hesitate, and to distrust its own judgment, lest it should be unconsciously actuated by those

emotions which, though honourable in the individuals composing the governing power, ought to be forgotten, or carefully suppressed, in its concrete capacity.

For a long period has this investigation occupied the serious consideration of our Indian government. The copious evidence periodically laid upon the table of the House of Commons, on the subject of the immolation of Hindu widows, amply attests the solicitude of the East-India Company's government to put a stop to the practice, as well as the extraordinary and perplexing discrepancy of opinion which has prevailed amongst their servants, equally qualified by talent and by local experience to speak as to the probable consequences of an authoritative prohibition of this abominable custom. It is well observed, in one of the Calcutta papers, that "while we exult over the measure (the abolition of suttees), as reflecting the highest honour on the administration of Lord William Bentineck, it ought not to be forgotten, that former governments were indefatigably employed in paving the way for it, and in ascertaining the obligation of this practice, as a duty enjoined by the Hindoo laws. The accumulated evidence of years of caution and deliberation has established the fact of the practice being a corruption as much of the spirit and doctrines of the Shasters, as it is an outrage on humanity, and on the ground alike of humanity and good faith, the abolition has at length been resolved upon."

Whatever may be the true origin of this strange and barbarous custom, whether the report which is given of its motive by the classical writers of Greece and Rome, that it affords a guarantee against domestic treason, be true or not, this inference cannot but be admitted, that it must have taken its rise from some very powerful consideration, and must have connected itself with some of the strongest prejudices of the human mind, to have become popular, or even been tolerated, amongst a people proverbially remarkable for their tenderness towards animal life in all its forms.

One of our most indefatigable correspondents upon this subject is Colonel Macdonald, who has at different periods favoured us with his sentiments on it, at considerable length. In the *Asiatic Journal* for March 1822,* he investigated, with an industrious degree of research, the Hindu laws respecting the burning of widows; and the result of this investigation led him, a decided enemy to the atrocious custom, to conceive that it might be overcome by obliging the unfortunate victims to conform to the strict letter of the law, and mount unassisted the pile whilst in flames, concluding that it is not in human nature to suppose that five out of five thousand would encounter death in this tremendous form. We have before us a recent letter from this gentleman, wherein he reiterates his hypothesis. He says:

It is certainly not advisable to put a stop to the destruction of life, in the terrific form of burning alive on a funeral pile, by a positive mandate of Government, legally justifiable as that might be, while the same end can be obtained by executing the law *in its very letter*. If an infatuated Hindoo widow shall distinctly declare before the constituted authorities, that, un-

* Vol. xlii p. 220.

intoxicated with drugs, she is determined, alone and unassisted, to *mount a raging pile*, she may safely be permitted to make an experiment which one out of a thousand will not be found equal to. The natives, interested by avarice in the death of the widow, will not, it would appear from recent instances, persevere, when all that is unlawful in the apparatus of the self-immolation, is distinctly proved to be inadmissible: because they are aware, that without the aid of the frame, of the ligatures, of the piles, and of stupefying drugs, they could not accomplish their nefarious purpose. As a proof of this, they have relinquished their plan of murder, on being informed of what they well knew, *viz.* that the act, by the law of the country, must be perfectly voluntary.

How far such a regulation would be justifiable, considering that it is admitted that the *law* of the Hindus, properly so called, contains no express command of the suttee rite, which is a long-continued custom, and customarily performed, not in the manner that regulation would require, or would be consistent with our rule of non-interference with the religious customs of the Hindus; and how far such a regulation would be commendable on the score of humanity, since it precludes all hope of escape to the wretched female, it is unnecessary, in the present circumstances of the question, to decide. We quote the opinion of this gentleman, as a single evidence, and others might be adduced, of the contrariety of sentiment which has prevailed amongst even the warmest advocates of abolition, as to the means whereby that object might be best attained.

We subjoin an extract from another communication which has reached us, regarding the expedients which might be adopted for the prevention of the practice. The introductory passage has no necessary connexion with the subject of suttees, but it is curious:

The question seems to be, whether or not our possessions in the East would be endangered by our interference in putting down this inhuman practice; and if no danger be apprehended, by what means is the practice to be abolished becomes the next question. It is my intention here to relate in what manner I was once fortunate enough to save an unhappy widow from the flames prepared for her by the relentless Brahmins. The Northern Concan being ceded to the British government, it fell to my lot to take charge of it. The insolence of the Mahrattas towards the British officers, as they travelled through the Concan to Guzerat, was well known, and as great inconvenience and delay not unfrequently arose, the cession of this part of the country was particularly agreeable to every officer, civil and military. I found the inhabitants sullen, gloomy, and morose, whilst the killedar of Bassein (the principal place, and my head-quarters), to save himself the mortification of delivering up the keys of the fort, quitted the place on the instant he received orders from Poona. Anxious to enter the fort to take an inventory of stores, &c. which it might contain, I set out for the purpose, but to my astonishment found myself alone, not a single native following me. On inquiring the reason, I was informed that the fort was completely in the possession of an enormous snake, *covered with hair*, and that for years no one had entered the gateway. I went on, however, and threw wide the heavy gates, entering a perfect wilderness. The rainy season had commenced, and wading through long and wet grass, and weeds up to my knees, I found myself in an old building filled with rubbish. In a second I found matchlocks, powder-boxes, with several pounds of ammu-

nition, sponges, swords, and two old nuggarahs, or kettle-drums. On the second day Lieut. — offered to assist me by going to the fort and completing the inventory. A fever seized him on his return: he called for me, but I had proceeded to a village at some distance to settle some affairs connected with the revenue. On my return Lieut. — was dying: he seemed sensible, however, and was able to speak. "The fort," he said, "the fort contains—" here his voice failed him; but rallying again, he cried, "Oh, sir, I have in that fort discovered—" what never passed his lips, for death had placed his seal upon them. Whether the unhappy young man had found the hairy snake, or immense treasure, I never could make out; but certainly when I and others followed up the search, we discovered neither one or the other. From the anxiety of the natives to keep me out of the fort by endeavouring to create alarm by their report of the snake, I more than once suspected that treasure was to a considerable amount concealed within its walls: it may still be there.

Soon after my arrival it was reported to me that a suttee was in preparation. At this period no rules or regulations fettered us in the exercise of our judgment in such matters; and I therefore resolved to strive all in my power to dissuade the wretched woman from destruction. The task was attended with more difficulty than I could have imagined; burn she would, and no one should prevent her: these were the words she uttered over and over again. Crowds of persons surrounded her dwelling, and heaps of faggots were already piled upon the open esplanade near the sea. The Brahmins never quitted the woman's side, and I began to despair of success. At length she was left alone for a few minutes, and then I poured out all my arguments against the meditated immolation. The terrors of suffocation, the horrors of fire, had no effect; whilst the enormity and wickedness of the act was ridiculed, for she had been informed by her priests that the deed was the most praiseworthy, the most virtuous, and consequently the most acceptable to her God: still I persevered, and the woman seemed to waver a little. "Am I not now looked upon by every one as a goddess?" she said, "and, in consequence, above them all?" Pride was, I now saw, predominant, and for the sake of enjoying an imaginary superiority for a few moments, the deluded creature was ready to reduce her body to ashes, to be scattered before the wind. My plan was now formed: and when the Brahmins waited upon me to know if I intended by force to prevent the burning of the widow, I first inquired what the *Shaster* said upon the subject. They could not say the law commanded a widow to burn; but that it declared it to be praiseworthy so to do. Upon this the wily Brahmins, for the preservation of their own lives against poison from the hands of their wives, have upheld the practice. They awaited my decision. I again inquired how many Brahmins were necessary to follow the widow to the pile? they answered one or two, attended by the widow's relations. "I shall not prevent her burning," said I, "unless she herself declines doing so; no force shall be used against her on my part, nor shall any be suffered on your side, and I intend to be present." The Brahmins considered the day their own, and led forth the victim, who, finding herself attended only by two Brahmins and one relation, an old woman (the crowd having by my orders been dispersed), soon began to change her tone; she was no longer the worshipped goddess of the multitude, no longer the queen of the rabble, and in consequence refused to burn, and the disappointed priests in anger turned away, leaving the agitated woman at my feet shedding tears of gratitude, for she felt assured my interference had rescued her from the torments of the flames. How simple then is the prevention of a suttee?

no force did I use towards the woman, but I kept away the rabble, I suffered no drums and trumpets to drown reflection, nor permitted goseins or holy beggars to fall down and kiss the hem of the widow's garment. The pile was before her; that bitter pill, deprived of its gilding, could not be swallowed. I do not aver that every instance of determined sacrifice could thus be prevented, but I do say that four out of six might be thus put a stop to. Anxiously did I hope for a second opportunity to try my plan; but alas, ere it offered itself, government had issued regulations which authorized the burning of widows, provided they were not pregnant, and no compulsion was used towards them.

Since the promulgation of these regulations, suttees have certainly not been less frequent; for the very circumstance of the government-peons being on the spot, although for the purpose of preventing force, gives a sanction to the dreadful proceeding, and hundreds of young women annually fall victims to bigotry, superstition, and cruelty, no helping arm being outstretched to save them.

The natives of India soon become reconciled to the orders of their government, and I am at a loss to discover what disastrous events can arise from abolishing suttees, than followed the discontinuance of infanticide in Cutch, or the cruelties practised on the banks of the Ganges at Calcutta.

It is worth the reader's attention, to consider the effect which the bare promulgation of a serious design on the part of government to entertain the project of abolition has had upon the native mind, so far as its sentiments can be interpreted by the language of the newspapers published at Calcutta in the oriental tongues. We abstain from terming them native papers, because we have reason to think that one of them is, indirectly at least, under the control of European management. As this is a subject which comes directly home to the feelings of a Hindu, and is unconnected with those topics relating to the Company's authority about which there might be some suspicion of partiality and party bias, we may assume that the real native papers speak the genuine sentiments which would be suggested by a Hindu mind on this subject. The *Chandrika* has appeared as the champion of the practice about to be abolished; the news of which event, the editor tells us (with the help of his translator), occasioned him to be seized with such alarm, as to make him believe that the Hindu religion is now on its last legs. "At this awful intelligence," he says, "we have trembled from head to foot, and are distressed, terrified, and astonished." It is observable, that the writer does not attempt to justify the practice, except by alleging that it is a "holy rite," sanctioned by the *Shastras*, and by offering, very fairly, to put the question as to the abolition of it upon the issue, whether the practice be grounded upon the *Shastras* or not. "Let this question," he says, "be put through the whole extent of the British dominions wherein the Hindu *Shastras* prevail, and let the answer be brought forward: if it be stated that Suttees are not according to the *Shastras*, do your desire, and we shall feel no anxiety." In the adverse event, he affirms, that "the soul of the Hindus will be distracted." The arguments against the abolition, on the part of the editor of the *Chandrika*, are deduced *ab inconvenienti*. He urges, the tolerance of this practice by the Mussulmans, and that the British government stand pledged to their Hindu subjects to leave it un-

touched. He seems to consider that an oath to this effect was taken by the British.

The arguments of the *Chandrika* are combated in another paper, the *Sumachar Durpun*, with a degree of logical precision, and with a freedom from prejudice, which would be surprising, could we be assured that the article was the composition of a native. In short, it is a concise and convincing summary of the European arguments against the practice. The writer begins by a statement, shewing that the rite is not sanctioned by Menu; that, as a religious act, self-immolation ranks the lowest of the three acceptable acts which win favour from heaven. He then points out the disuse of this rite in many parts of India, and also the occasional interference of relatives to prevent the sacrifice of a widow, which they would not do, if the rite were commanded, as an essential part of the Hindu religion. With respect to the obligation imposed on the British government, to abstain from interference with the religious observances of the Hindus, the editor's remarks are shrewd and sensible:

Respecting the oath the English are said to have taken, on the subject of Hindoo observances, when they acquired the country, we are somewhat incredulous. Where is it? In what public document is it recorded? The British conquered the country from the Musulmans, not from the Hindoos, and it is not probable that they would have given any such oath, except to the Musulmans. But if it be said, that they granted a general promise to the Hindoos, that they should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, this promise did not include the permission of any rites, or the gift of any privileges, contrary to equity or the dictates of humanity. For instance, the capital punishment of Brahmins is forbidden in the Hindoo shastras, yet the English have found it necessary to subvert the Hindoo law in this respect, and subject them to a like punishment for similar crimes with the Soodra. The exposing of children at Sagor, was an act said to be sanctioned by religious authority, yet the English Government has abolished it altogether. This promise, therefore, if it ever was given, did not extend to the permission of acts which appeared either unjust or cruel. If any Hindoo imagines that the prohibition of suttees arises from a disposition on the part of government to subvert the Hindoo religion by force, he is much mistaken. Government has no such object in view. The act will be forbidden not because it is esteemed religious, but because it is considered cruel, and inasmuch as it is contrary to British equity to allow of the destruction of life, where there has been no crime. Certainly the perfect toleration of the Hindoo religion for the last sixty years, ought by this time to have convinced the natives that government is incapable of entertaining such an idea. After suttees shall have been abolished, there will not be one Brahmin, one temple, one festival, less than before the prohibition. How then can it be said, with any degree of truth, that the abolition of suttees will be the subversion of Hindooism?

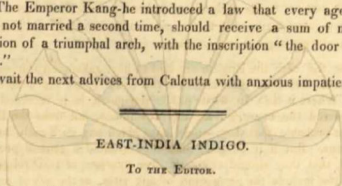
If these are the sentiments of a Hindu, and if there is any considerable portion of the native community who participate in them, there is no ground of apprehension as to the result, and it fully explains and justifies the measure of the Bengal government.

On the other hand, we find it stated in the *Chandrika*, that a petition of the

natives is to be presented to the government against the abolition, by individuals who are said, in that paper, to comprise "the learned, the wealthy, the virtuous, the noble, the polite, and the mild." This petition, however, we learn from one of the European papers, receives no support from the respectable members of the native community. The truth, probably, lies in the medium: that there are respectable Hindus who view the suttee rite with aversion is notorious; it is equally notorious, on the other hand, that there are some respectable natives whose sentiments are decidedly in favour of it. Among the latter is the well-known Radhaeant Deb, a person of high respectability, an excellent English scholar, and who lives on terms of unusually close intimacy with Europeans.

The expedient of rewarding aged widows, adopted by the Chinese government, might reconcile those of Hindustan to the tedium of widowhood. The Emperor Kang-he introduced a law that every aged widow, who had not married a second time, should receive a sum of money for the erection of a triumphal arch, with the inscription "the door of chaste longevity."

We await the next advices from Calcutta with anxious impatience.



EAST-INDIA INDIGO.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR: In an article in the *Asiatic Journal* for the present month, entitled "East-India Indigo and Sugar," extracted from the Calcutta *Government Gazette*, notice is taken of a paper on indigo, which is said to have been submitted to the Bengal Agricultural and Horticultural Society, by Mr. N. Alexander, and in which he is represented to have stated that the "cultivation of indigo was unknown to the natives of India, previous to its introduction through the enterprize of English merchants."

Unless I am much more misinformed upon this subject than I am willing to admit, I cannot compliment the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal on the accuracy of their correspondent.

I have always understood that, before the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, Europe derived, through the former channel of intercourse with the East, the whole of her supplies of indigo from these very countries, where we are now so confidently informed that "its cultivation was unknown to the natives previous to its introduction through the enterprize of English merchants."*

Referring to a later period, I have traced an authentic statement of the quantities of indigo imported by the old London East-India Company (who never cultivated it on their own account) between the years 1665 and 1694, after they had established their chief factory at Surat, to which place, and

* Indigo was well known to the ancients as an Indian production. Pliny (lib. xxxv.) describes it, under the name of *Indicum*, and mentions, in two places, that it was brought to Europe from India. He confesses his ignorance of its nature, but supposes it to be a kind of mud sticking to the foam of reeds: "*arundinum spume adhaerente limo*!"—Ed.

to Bombay, they brought indigo from Agra and Scind, and also from Ahmadavad, for the London market. What quantities may have been imported into Europe by the French, Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, I have no means of knowing. Neither can it now be ascertained what the quality of the Indian indigo then was, compared with the quality of the indigo of the present day; but, judging from the average sale prices, and making a due allowance for the difference of the value of money at that time and the present, and the little comparative demand for indigo for English manufactures, it may reasonably be inferred that the higher priced kinds of indigo were little, if at all, inferior to the indigo of the present day.

When different European nations had formed settlements in the West-Indies and on the continent of America, they gave such encouragement to the production of indigo in those countries, that it supplanted the importation from the East. It is probable also that the distracted state, into which the Mogul empire fell, tended to impede the procuring of indigo in India. The people of India, however, continued to manufacture indigo for their own purposes even in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. On the separation of the British colonies from this country, several persons manufactured indigo in Bengal with a view of supplying Europe. The success of their endeavours was, however, in a very languid state, and individuals lost large sums of money, until the distractions in the once flourishing French colony of St. Domingo, from which Europe was in a great degree supplied with indigo, again gave an opening for the sale of India indigo in Europe. The long wars of this country with Spain since 1780, the revolt of the Spanish colonies, and Spain still continuing her hostility to those colonies, tended to impede the importations from America.

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, I cannot avoid expressing my surprise, not only that any body who had turned his attention to the subject should make the assertion attributed to Mr. N. Alexander, but that it should be put forth, in connexion with the proceedings of a Society, which ought to have been better informed, without any apparent discovery of its incorrectness.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

INDICUS.

Statement of the quantity of indigo imported into England, by the London East-India Company, from Surat and Bombay, from 1664 to 1694:

Lahore or Agra.....	lbs. 1,241,967
Ahmadavad	do. 510,093