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The Gift of the Author in Dec: 1794.

INTERESTING
HISTORICAL EVENTS,

Relative to the
PROVINCES OF BENGAL,
AND THE
EMPIRE OF INDOSTAN,

WITH
A Seasonable HINT and PERSWASIVE

To the Honourable

The COURT of DIRECTORS of the
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

AS ALSO

The MYTHOLOGY and COSMOGONY, FASTS
and FESTIVALS of the GENTOOS,
Followers of the SHASTAH.

AND

A DISSERTATION on the METEMPSYCHOSIS,
commonly, though erroneously, called the
PYTHAGOREAN Doctrine.

By J. Z. HOLWELL, Esq;

PART I.

The Second Edition Corrected, with a Supplement.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, near
Surry-Street, in the Strand. MDCCLXVI.

To the Right Honourable

CHARLES TOWNSEND, Esq;

SIR,

LAST year you indulged me with an opportunity of communicating to you, some anecdotes (little known) relative to the Mogul Empire, and the state of our *East-India* trade;—in the course of that conference, you manifested to me such profound penetration, and such a ready comprehension of these subjects, that I could not resist cherishing a desire, to submit to the public my future labours on these interesting matters, under the auspices of
your

DEDICATION.

your name. I lately intimated that wish and intention, when you most obligingly and politely favored me, with your permission to dedicate to you *this First Part* of a Work, which at present employs my leisure hours: I now avail myself of the licence you have honoured me with; and beg leave to subscribe myself, with true respect,

S I R,

Your most obliged
and most obedient

humble servant,

Mount Felix in Surry,
August 21st, 1765.

J. Z. HOLWELL.

TO THE
P U B L I C.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

WHEN a man, excited by an irresistible and laudable impulse for the good of his country, *first speaks* before an August Assembly; he feels a certain kind of dread, awe, and trepidation, which he finds himself unable immediately to conquer; especially if he has not been much used to speak in public, or perchance possesses some share of modesty in his composition.—Thus, I conceive, it fares with every considerate author, on his first appearance before that *August Assembly* THE PUBLIC.

In this plight I felt myself in the year 1758, when I exhibited to you a scene of

unparalleled horror and distress, which I judged not unworthy a place in our annals; —justice, and the necessity of the times, lately urged my second appearance, and obliged me to draw my pen in defence of injured worth and character: but now, by use and indulgence grown bolder, (a very common case) I present myself before you of my own voluntary choice.

Independency, and a pleasing retirement, however *delectable* in themselves, have yet their seasons of *vacancy* and *leisure*, that may want filling up. —And happy! ought that man to esteem himself, who can employ those *voids* and *blanks* in time to the emolument, or even literary amusement of mankind.

Such is my situation, and such are my motives, for taking up the pen again; motives, so laudable in themselves, will, I trust, engage the candor and indulgence of my readers for any defects in the following performance.

The *East-Indies*, and particularly *Bengall*, are now become so important an object and concern to *Great-Britain*, that every elucidation thereof, must, I think, be acceptable,

that is founded on facts, just observations, and faithful recitals.

Through a course of thirty years residence in *Bengall*, my leisure hours were employed in collecting materials relative to the transactions, revolutions and occurrences of that invaluable country; and the religious tenets of its inhabitants, natives of *Indoſtan*; which I flattered myself, when reduced to form and order, might prove worthy your attention.

It is well known that at the capture of *Calcutta*, A. D. 1756, I lost many curious *Gentoo* manuscripts, and among them two very correct and valuable copies of the *Gentoo Shaſtab*. They were procured by me with so much trouble and expence, that even the commissioners of restitution, though not at all disposed to favour me, allowed me two thousand *Madras* rupees in recompence for this particular loss; but the most irreparable damage I suffered under this head of grievances, was a translation I made of a considerable part of the *Shaſtab*, which had cost me eighteen months hard labour: as that work opened upon me, I distinctly saw, that the *Mythology*, as well as the *Cosmogony* of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, were borrowed from the doctrines of

the *Bramins*, contained in this book; even to the copying their exteriors of worship, and the distribution of their idols, though grossly mutilated and adulterated. But more of this in the course of my present work.

I should in the compass of one year more, with the close application, I intended bestowing on it, have accomplished a complete translation of the whole *Sbaftab*; that would, I flattered myself, have been a valuable acquisition to the learned world; had not the fatal catastrophe of fifty-six put it totally out of my power ever to attempt it again.

From that change in our affairs abroad, a new chain of pursuits engrossed my time and attention; so that I could no longer devote either, to the studies I had before so much at heart——however, during the last eight months of my residence in *Bengall*, being freed from the plagues of government, (thanks to my *very honourable masters* for it) I reassumed my researches with tolerable success; which, joined to some manuscripts recovered by an unforeseen and extraordinary event (that possibly I may hereafter recite) enables me to undertake the task I now assign myself.

It is true I intended a much nobler entertainment for my readers ; but as that is now irrecoverably beyond my reach, without once more doubling the *Cape of Good Hope*, (to which I feel not the least inclination) we must content ourselves with the homely fare we have before us, ranged in the best manner our straitened circumstances will admit of——as it is essentially necessary at this interesting period, that we should be able to form some clearer ideas of a people, with whom we have had such important transactions ; and of whom so little is truly known.*

Having studiously perused all that has been written of the empire of *Indostan*, both as to its ancient, as well as more modern state ; as also the various accounts transmitted to us, by authors in almost all ages (from *Arrian*, down to the *Abbé de Guyon*) concerning the *Hindoos*, and the religious tenets of the *Bramins*, I venture to pronounce them all very defective, fallacious, and unsatisfactory to an inquisitive searcher after truth ; and only tending to convey a very imperfect and injurious resem-

* Here I would be understood to mean the *Gentoos* only, now labouring under *Mahometan* tyranny, but fated, I hope, soon to feel the blessings of a mild *British* government.

blance of a people, who from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation—if so much can with propriety be said of any known people upon earth.

All the modern writers represent the *Hindoos* as a race of stupid and gross *Idolaters*: from the ancients indeed these people met with better treatment; although they too, as well as the others, were equally ignorant in the subjects they treated of.

The modern authors who have wrote on the principles and worship of the *Hindoos*, are chiefly of the *Romish* communion; therefore we need wonder the less that they (from a superstitious zeal inseparable from that communion) should depreciate and traduce the mythology of the venerable ancient *Bramins*, on so slender a foundation as a few insignificant literal translations of the *Viedam*; and these, not made from the book itself, but from unconnected scraps and bits, picked up here and there by hearsay from *Hindoos*, probably as ignorant as themselves.

From such weak grounds and evidence as this, and by the help of a few exhibitions of the *seemingly* monstrous idols of the *Hindoos*, the *Papist* authors hesitate not to stigmatize

stigmatize those most venerable sages the *Bramins*, as having instituted doctrines and worship, which if believed, would reduce them below the level of the brute creation; as every reader must have observed, who has misspent his time in the perusal of them. In the way of their proper calling and function, they were however right; as having been appointed to propagate their own system of theology abroad; though strictly speaking, their own tenets were more idolatrous than the system they travelled so far to stigmatize. On this mistaken method and false zeal of propagating *any faith at any rate*, I beg to be indulged in making the following general reflections, which naturally arise from the subject before us.

In the first place, I observe, ignorance, superstition and partiality to ourselves, are too commonly the cause of presumption and contempt of others.—Secondly, That those whose knowledge of states and kingdoms extends no further than the limits of their native land, often imagine all, beyond it, scarce worth their thoughts; or at least greatly inferior in comparison with their own; a conclusion natural, though absurd.—Thirdly, If from clime and country, we proceed to individuals; we shall see the same unwarrantable prepossession, and preference to

self take place; and proceeding still further in our reflections, we may observe, the same confined way of thinking and judging, leads the multitude (and I wish I could say the multitude only) of every nation and sect, to arraign and have in utter detestation and contempt, the religious principles and worship of all that happen to be out of the pale of their own church, or mode of faith.

That every nation and *sect* should have a high and even superior opinion of the religious principles, under which they were born and educated, is extremely natural and just; provided they do not, from an intemperate zeal of religious vanity (now so much the fashion) presume to condemn, depreciate or invade the religious principles of others—this condemning spirit can proceed only from one of the three following causes; a defect in understanding; a want of knowledge of the world (in men and things;) or a bad (and restless) heart. The salvation of mankind, so much pretended, has no place in the wishes or labours of these zealots; or they would not go about seeking whom they can confound in spirit, destroying the peace and tranquillity of their *poor* fellow christians.

Men who have been conversant with foreign countries, and made proper and benevolent remarks on the manners and principles of their inhabitants; will not despise or condemn the different ways by which they approach the *Deity*; but revere it still as a divine worship, though they may piously lament it deviates so much from their own.

To rescue distant nations from the gross conceptions entertained of them by the multitude, of all other persuasions, is the true business and indispensable duty of a *Traveller*; or else his travels and remarks, can only amuse his readers, without conveying to them any useful instruction or solid satisfaction.

A mere description of the exterior manners and religion of a people, will no more give us a true idea of them; than a geographical description of a country can convey a just conception of their laws and government. The traveller must sink deeper in his researches, would he feast the mind of an understanding reader.—His telling us such and such a people, in the *East* or *West-Indies*, worship this stock or that stone, or monstrous idol; only serves to reduce in our esteem, our fellow creatures, to the most abject and despicable point of light. Where-

as, was he skilled in the language of the people he describes, sufficiently to trace the etymology of their words and phrases, and capable of diving into the mysteries of their theology; he would probably be able to evince to us, that such seemingly preposterous worship, had the most sublime rational source and foundation.

The traveller, who without these essential requisites, (as well as industry and a clear understanding) pretends to describe and fix the religious tenets of any nation whatever, dishonestly imposes his own reveries on the world; and does the greatest injury and violence to letters, and the cause of humanity—How far the productions of most travellers may justly fall under this censure, I submit to the public.

To the want of this attention and capacity in the traveller, we may ascribe in a great measure, the despicable, and I dare say unworthy notion, we too aptly entertain of most nations very remote from us; whereas were we better informed, we should find our minds opened; our understandings enlarged; and ourselves inspired with that benevolence for our species; without which, the human form becomes rather a disgrace than ornament.

I am sorry to say, that in general the accounts published of the manners and religious principles of *the East and West-Indies*, have been in the light and superficial way before objected to: but as my knowledge extends only to the former, I shall confine my remarks to them; and endeavor to extricate them in some degree from the gross absurdities we have conceived of them: confessing myself amazed that we should so readily believe the people of *Indostan* a race of stupid *Idolaters*; when, to our cost, in a political and commercial view, we have found them superior to us.

Having transiently mentioned the *Viedam* and *Sbastab* (the *Gentoos* scriptures) it is necessary, I should inform you—The book first named, is followed by the *Gentoos* of the *Mallabar* and *Cormandel* coasts: and also by those of the Island of *Ceylon*.—The *Sbastab* is followed by the *Gentoos* of the provinces of *Bengall*; and by all the *Gentoos* of the rest of *India*, commonly called *India proper*; that is to say—the greatest part of *Orissa*, *Bengall proper*, *Babar*, *Banaras*, *Oud*, *Eleabas*, *Agra*, *Delby*, &c. all along the course of the rivers *Ganges*, and *Jumna*, to the *Indus*.

Both these books contain the institutes of their respective religion and worship; often couched under allegory and fable; as well as the history of their ancient Rajahs and Princes—their antiquity is contended for by the partisans of each—but the similitude of their *names, idols,* and great part of their worship, leaves little room to doubt, nay plainly evinces, that both these scriptures were originally *one*.—And if we compare the great purity and chaste manners of the *Sbaftab*, with the great absurdities and impurities of the *Viedam*; we need not hesitate to pronounce, the *latter* a *corruption* of the former.—All that I need add here, is, that my remarks follow the *Sbaftab* only.

Taste, in reading, differs as much as in the choice of viands. What proves a delicious morsel to one, is disgustful to another. I was never invited to a feast in my life, that I did not regret the absence of a bill of fare:—Therefore to save you from the same regret, I here present you with a list of what is provided for your entertainment in the following Sheets, in eight courses; so that if your stomach does not stimulate you to taste the whole; you will be enabled to fall to, on that dish, which may best suit your appetite.

I. Under the First general head is contained—A short history of the succession to the empire of *Indostan*, from *Aurenge Zebe* to *Mahomet Shaw*.—This subject has been already touched upon by my ingenious friend Mr. *James Frazer*; but being foreign to his more immediate concern (*the invasion of Nadir Shaw*) he has touched it so slightly, as to convey a very imperfect idea of the *circumstances* attending the many astonishing changes that happened in this short and memorable period. These particulars I was favored with at *Patna*, *A. D.* 1733, by a sensible *Armenian*, who resided alternately at *Agra* and *Delby*, in a civil post of some trust, under the Emperors; during the course of these transactions.

II. Transactions in the subahdaary of *Bengall*; from the period that *Jaffier Khan* ruled these provinces, to the usurpation of the government by *Aliverdi Khan*; with the extraordinary circumstances attending the rise of this last mentioned *Scoubab*, and his brother *Hodjee Hamet**.

III. A

* The world has been already treated with this part of my subject, by a gentleman in his lucubrations, printed in *Edinburgh* 1761, under the title of
 “ *Reflections on the government of Indostan, and a short*
 “ *sketch,*

III. A summary account of the provinces of *Bengall*, (properly so called :) it's principal towns; their bearings and distance from each other, and from *Calcutta*; with an estimate of their revenues; and a seasonable and persuasive hint to the gentlemen in the *East-India* direction.

“*Sketch of the history of Bengall, from the year 1739, to 1756.*” This little piece fell into my hands, about a year and a half after it was printed.—On perusing it, I could not avoid being surprized at finding *The Author's* “*Short sketch, &c.*” was taken from part of *the Manuscripts* herein before-mentioned, and makes from page 33 to 50, of his second epistle—These Manuscripts were penned by me in the year 1750, in my passage to *Europe*, from materials collected abroad. I communicated them, during my short stay in *England*, to my friends, *Sir William Baker*, *Mr. Mabbot*, *Mr. R. Drake*, *Mr. Davis* and *Doctor Campbell*.—The original was lost at the capture of *Calcutta*, but after my second return in 1757, I learnt, a copy had been taken of it without my knowledge, by a gentleman to whom I lent it abroad—from this copy I was permitted to take another. How *the Author* of the *Reflections* came by it, he best knows—He honours me in transcribing from it, but he would have honoured himself more, had he acknowledged from whence he took it; and had not taken such fruitless pains to disguise his (yet obvious) plagiarism; by mangling, maiming and curtailing my subjects in the manner I conceive he has done.

IV. A summary view of the *fundamental*, religious tenets of the *Gentoo*s, followers of the *Shaftab*.

V. A short account, from the *Shaftab*, of the creation of the *worlds*, or universe.

VI. The *Gentoo* manner of computing time; and their conceptions touching the *age of the worlds*; and the period of their dissolution.

VII. An account and explanation of the *Gentoo* fasts and festivals; with a representation of their grand feast of the *Dru-gab*: comprising a view of their principal idols, and the genealogy of their *subordinate deities*. — If the fasts and festivals of any nation are once clearly understood; there wants little more to convey to us a distinct idea of their religious principles; the *one*, being the only true criterion of the *other*.

VIII. A dissertation on the *Gentoo* doctrine of the *metempsychosis*; improperly called *Pythagorean*, by all who have wrote on this subject, hitherto so little understood.

Having thus set forth my real motives for taking up the pen again, and opened the plan of my intended work; I shall here close this preliminary discourse: the favorable acceptance of my labors, by the candid public, is all the recompence hoped, or wished for, by their

Obedient humble servant,

J. Z. HOLWELL.

C H A P.

C H A P. I.

*The succession of the Mogull Emperors from
Auring Zebe.*

WHOEVER has attentively perused the histories of the rise of states and kingdoms, must have made this melancholy observation; that the approaches to usurped royalty, dominion and power, are generally founded, in the first instance, on the subduction of every virtue from the human breast; as, the sacred ties of justice, natural affection, gratitude and true benevolence. A few exceptions may possibly subsist in the course of many thousand years, against our conclusion; but they are so very few, that we think they cannot in the least invalidate our general assertion.

The glittering prospects of a crown, so dazzle and dim the eye of cool reflection and reason, that it becomes blind to every other consideration of humanity.

Ambition, or a restless thirst after power and dominion, has ever been the *bane* of the civil rights and liberties of mankind; and seems to be a passion implanted in the original nature and construction of man:—if otherwise, his conduct is wholly unaccountable: for we see that every individual of the species, in every rank and degree, is grasping and labouring to possess that which every individual is so materially concerned to prevent; *neither* of them adverting to this invariable truth: That *he* who invades the liberty, rights and property of *another*, gives, at the same time, a lesson and just cause for dispossessing *himself*.——Why this eternal warfare and contention for dominion between man and man, collectively or separately, (from his creation to this hour) was originally implanted in him, we may, in a future dissertation, attempt to solve: here we will only lament, that so it undeniably is.

The miserable effects of this fatal passion for *rule*, is no where more strongly exemplify'd, than in the short recital we are going to make of the successors of *Auring Zebe* to the throne of *Indostan*; to which he himself did not arrive without wading through a sea of blood, and a continued chain of almost unparallel'd religious fraud,

perfidy and cruelty: leaving on record a flagrant proof, That no ties, however sacred; can resist, or come in competition with, the charms of royalty. His bloody example was very exactly copied by his descendants.

Auring Zebe deceasing the 21st of February 1707, was succeeded in the throne by his second son *Mahommed Mauzm*; for, notwithstanding the positive injunction in *Auring Zebe's* last Will, in favour of his son *Mahommed Azem Shaw*, *Mahommed Mauzm* adopting the successful example of his father, disputed the crown with his elder brother; who, in battle near *Agra*, was defeated and killed. *Mahommed Mauzm* was immediately proclaimed Emperor, and assumed (amongst other titles mentioned by *Mr. Frazer*) the title of *Shaw Allum, King of the World*. I have, in my collection, two gold Mohurs struck in this Emperor's Reign, Anno 1709, and 1711; on the first is impressed *Shaw Allum*; on the other, *Babadr Shaw, The Valiant King*; which title he was, latterly, fondest of.

Anno
1707.

*Auring
Zebe.*

His reign, though extended to the term of six years, was unhappy and turbulent. The fortune of war gave him the succession to his father's dominions; but he succeeded

not to his capacity and fame : perplexed with the restless ambition of his *four sons* who in his life time shewed themselves competitors for his crown, he died of discontent and grief, *Anno 1713.*

Their names were, *Maux O'din, Mabommed Azim, Raffeeil al Kaddr,* and *Kbojista Akbter* : they had been some years Governors of distinct provinces, and were each, at the death of their father, at the head of a puissant army to support their several pretensions to the throne.

Mabommed Azim, being superior in force, wealth, and reputation, to the other three brothers ; they joined in league against him ; taking the most solemn oath on *Kboran*, to be faithful to each other, and to submit to an equal partition of the Empire, in thirds, as soon as they should defeat and succeed against their brother.

In consequence of this compact, the three brothers united their respective armies ; and a general battle ensued ; in the first heat of which, *Mabommed Azim* was killed by the shot of an arrow, as he was gallantly charging, on his elephant, the center of his brothers army ; which he was informed was

com-

commanded, in person, by his eldest brother *Mauz O'din*.

The treasures of *Mahommed Azim*, by the dexterity of *Zulfecar Khan*, an Omrah in the interest of *Mauz O'din*, fell into the hands of the latter ; with which having privately bought over most of the troops of his two remaining brothers, he attacked them on the field of battle, in violation of his solemn oath,

The brothers being no ways prepared for this sudden, unsuspected and perfidious stroke ; were capable of making but small resistance : the elder of the two, *Raffeeil al Kaddr*, was presently killed ; and, what is worthy remark, fell upon the body of his brother *Mahommed Azim*. *Khojista Akhter*, the youngest of the four, collecting some few of his own and *Raffeeil al Kaddr*'s troops, fled towards the province of *Deccan*, his government ; but being pursued and attacked by *Mauz O'din*, shared the same fate with his brothers.

Thus *Mauz O'din* became, like his father and grandfather, possessed of the throne of *Indostan*, by the perfidious destruction of his brothers ; one circumstance however might be pleaded in behalf of *Mauz O'din*,

which neither of the other two could lay any claim to,—for he was the legal heir to the crown: but it may also justly be said, that he had waved and given up his legal right, when he entered into the voluntary compact with his brethren. He was proclaimed Emperor by the stile and title of *Mauz O'din Jehandar Shaw, The King who possesses the World*; and appointed *Zulfecar Khan* his Vizir.

Shaw Je-
bandar,
Anno
1715.

Jehandar was a weak Prince; and very soon after he thought himself in secure possession of the throne, he sunk and lost himself in the luxuries and debaucheries of the Seraglio: so wholly devoting his hours to a famed courtesan called *Lol Koar*, (better known in *Indostan* by the name of *Loll Kooree*) that he neglected every duty which ought to distinguish the Man, and the King.

This courtesan was of exquisite beauty, and highly excelled as a dancer and singer, in which profession she was originally bred; besides these qualifications, it is said, her conversation was engaging and bewitching. The Monarch, intoxicated with her allurements, had no will but hers: by her influence she filled all places of the highest trust and honour, with her base relations. This infatuated conduct, brought the Emperor

peror and Empire into the lowest contempt; and gave universal disgust to all the Omrahs and great officers of the kingdom; who one by one, under various pretexts, withdrew themselves from court; and meditated a favourable conjuncture to depose their sovereign.

Amongst the disaffected, were two Generals and Omrahs of the court, of distinguished character and authority; named *Hossan Aly Khan*; and *Abdallah Khan*; brothers of the tribe of the *Seyds*, for whom *Mahometans* bear a religious veneration. These, in concert with others of the Omrahs, determined to raise *Mahommed Furruksir* to the throne; and suddenly, at the head of a choice body of troops, retired towards *Bengal*, where *Furruksir* then resided.

This young Prince was the son of *Mahommed Azim*, already mentioned, and nephew to the Emperor; he had resided some years at *Dacca*, (then the metropolis of *Bengal*) by the appointment of his grandfather *Shaw Allum*, where he was so much beloved, that the inhabitants of that city, to this day, in their common songs lament his fate, with tears; and celebrate his memory.

Anno
1715.

When *Furrukhsir* first received advice of *Shaw Allum's* death, and the fatal catastrophe of his father and uncles; he withdrew from *Dacca*; knowing his uncle, *Jebandar*, would never think himself secure on the throne, whilst so near a pretender to it was in being. Much perplexed, and irresolute what course to take, as he was at the head of an inconsiderable, but faithful body of horse, retiring out of the province, he was met by express messengers from the revolters; urging his immediate advance to *Patna* in the province of *Babaar*; where on his arrival he was received by *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*, *Seyd Abdallah Khan*, and other principal Omrahs and Officers; who instantly proclaimed him Emperor of *Indostan*.

On the first news of this revolt and competitor, the court was struck with a panick; but the Emperor, buried in the embraces of his beloved *Loll Kooree*, treated it as an impotent attempt hardly worth his notice; contenting himself with sending his son *Eas O'din*, at the head of 15,000 horse, to suppress him; with orders to bring the traitor's head.

Express after express arriving with intelligence that *Furrukhsir's* party gained strength

strength every hour ; and that he was in full march towards *Agra* ; the Emperor re-inforced his son with a large body of troops, under the joint command of his Vizir *Zulfecar Khan*, and his favourite *Gokuldas Khan* ; between whom there subsisted much private jealousy and enmity.

Furrukhsâr had by this time drawn together a respectable army ; and thought himself strong enough to quit *Patna* : which he accordingly did, and by forced marches advanced as far as *Chivalram* in the province of *Eleabas*, where he was met by *Eas O'din*, at the head of his 15000 horse. This young Prince, after a short contest, perceiving the superiority of the enemy's forces ; thought it adviseable to retreat towards *Agra*, which he did in good order ; and in a few days was joined near *Agra* by the troops, sent by the Emperor under the command of the Vizir and *Gokuldas Khan*, to reinforce them : here it was resolved to wait the approach of the enemy, for which they did not wait long ; and a general battle quickly ensued.

Anna.
1715.

The Emperor's forces, by the advice of *Zulfecar Khan*, were formed into three divisions. The center was commanded by
Eas

Eas O'din; the right by *Gokuldas Khan*; and the left by *Zulfecar Khan*.

Furrukhsir observed the like division of his forces. He gave the command of his center to *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*; the right to *Seyd Abdallah Khan*; and led on the left himself; preferring this, as the post of the greatest honor; because it was the post of greatest danger, as being opposed to *Gokuldas Khan*; who commanded the right division of the Emperor's forces; and was justly esteemed the most consummate general and intrepid soldier in the Empire.

Mr. *Frazer* in his short narrative intimates, that the Emperor was in person in this engagement; but herein his intelligence deceived him: for it is a known fact, that he was never roused so far from the lethargic pleasures he was immersed in, as once to quit the Seraglio; and indeed the flattering informations that were hourly conveyed to him of the defeat of the rebels, by *Loll Kooree* (who dreaded his absence) prevented his ever bestowing a thought that way; until it was too late to think of it to any purpose. But to resume our subject.

The battle was fought with great obstinacy and gallantry on both sides—Wonders are recorded of the spirited actions and personal bravery of *Eas O'din* and *Gokuldas Khan*; and not less reported of the valour of *Furrukhsîr*, and *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*; but the decisive stroke of victory was given by *Seyd Abdallah Khan*: this General, observing the *Vizir* draw off and retire with his division, wheeled and vigorously attacked *Eas O'din* in flank; whilst he was hard pressed in front by *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*, *Eas O'din* at the same time learning that the brave *Gokuldas Khan* was killed, and his right wing defeated by *Furrukhsîr*; a general rout soon followed.—*Eas O'din* escaped with difficulty from the battle; and by a change of swift horses reached *Delby*, where in the presence of his father, he died of his wounds in an hour.

Furrukhsîr prudently ordered the troops to be spared in the pursuit. This clemency, and the addresses of some emissaries sent amongst them, operated so strongly on them; that, to a man, they revolted from the Emperor; and joined *Furrukhsîr*: whose triumph, on this happy success, was greatly abated by the absence and supposed death of *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*. Short fought mortal! little didst thou at that time know,
that

that thou wert regretting the loss and life of the man, who in a very short period would deprive thee of thine own!—A large reward being promised by the Prince; and search being made; *Seyd Hoffman Aly Khan* was found amongst the slain with signs of life, and his recovery effected.

The treacherous conduct of the Vizir *Zulfecar Khan*, it was said, proceeded from cowardice, and resentment at *Gokuldas Khan's* being joined in the command with him (a source from which the greatest designs have often proved abortive.) When he retired with his division, he made the best of his way to *Delby*; where, soon after, the arrival of the unfortunate *Eas O'din*, too plainly spoke the destiny of the Emperor his Father.

Some feeble attempts were made to raise fresh troops, and put the city in a posture of defence; but the sudden approach of *Furrukhsir* put a period to every hope. The Emperor, his uncle, fell into his hands without resistance. His head was immediately cut off; and his trunk being fixed upon an elephant, was exposed round the city. His Vizir, *Zulfecar Khan*, was tied by the feet to the tail of the same elephant, and dragged until he expired: a death cruel,
and

and esteemed the most dishonourable that can be inflicted upon a criminal ; but scarcely severe enough for that minister who sacrifices the interest, and cause of his King, to his own private resentments. He was little lamented ; for by his mal-administration, whilst Vizir, he had acquired the universal hatred of the people.

Mauz O'din Jehander Shaw thus falling a sacrifice to love and indolence ; *Mahomed Furruksir* was proclaimed Emperor of *Indostan*, without opposition. The first acts of his government consisted, in rewarding those who had raised him to the throne. He appointed *Seyd Abdallah Khan* his Vizir ; and *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan* his Bukshi, or Pay-Master General, with the title of *Emir al Omrah* ; (*The Prince of Princes*) and bestowed upon him the government of *Deccan* ; suitably rewarding the other Omrahs that had rendered him service.

But before we enter on the reign of *Furruksir*, we beg to be indulged a few words on the late murdered Emperor *Jehander* ; whose character very minutely resembled that of the unfortunate and licentious Roman, *Marcus Antonius*.

He was thought by his father, *Shaw Alum*, the only General capable of repulsing the dangerous annual invasions of the *Boluccais*; which threatned the Empire on the side of *Persia*. Prince *Maux O'din* was sent against these warlike people, at the head of the choicest troops in the Empire; and in a continued campaign of five years, he had many and signal battles with the invaders; that gave him vast renown. In one of these, when the enemy was intrenched behind a strong and thick wood, on which side they could only be attacked, he cut a passage through the wood; forced their intrenchments sword in hand, and hardly any of the enemy escaped the slaughter. No sooner were the particulars of this action arrived at court, than the Emperor his father, gave him the title of *Prince of the Hatchets*; one of the *honorary titles* ever since given to the first Prince of the blood.

His disposition, before he came to the throne, was so engaging and amiable; that he became the idol of the whole Empire. This drew on him the jealousy of his father; who, to counterbalance his growing influence, heaped that partial power and favor on his second son, *Mahommed Axim*, (the father of *Furrukhsir*) which enabled him to make the stand he did against his brother's
 legal

legal right of succession; at the demise of *Shaw Allum*; as before recited. In short, if he could be defended from that perfidious stroke against his other two brothers; and had escaped the bewitching snares of that eastern *Cleopatra*, *Loll Kooree*; he most probably would have left a more shining character, (and a much more honorable one) on the records of fame, than that of his grandfather *Auring Zebe*.

Loll Koar had the honor of being condemned, for life, a prisoner in the royal prison, or castle of *Selimgur*. Some of her base relations, who had been raised to places of high trust, were cut off by the conqueror; and others degraded.

Farrukhsir having obtained the diadem; as before related, peace seemed to be settled in the Empire: but the evil destiny of that Prince forbid its long continuance. During this period, the power of the *Seyds* grew enormous; and left the Emperor the name and trappings of royalty only: for they disposed of all important posts by their sole authority; amassed immense wealth, and sequestered the public revenues to their own private emolument; securing thereby the attachment of the principal officers of the crown:

crown: who (with a very few exceptions) were intirely devoted to their interest.

Furrukhsir very soon saw, and felt his despicable state of dependance; but could not easily forget, how much he owed to the spirited conduct and friendship of these ambitious brothers. He patiently submitted to the many indignities he labored under: without meditating any thing against them; the life and crown they had given him, he knew, still depended too much on their will and disposal: he dreaded their power, which indeed was greater than any subjects in this despotick government can possess, with safety to their Prince; or than can be consistent with his honor.

Wearied at length, at finding himself this cypher of a King; he nobly determined to free himself from the shackles with which he had been bound so long; by having both the brothers assassinated at the same time: *Abdallah Khan* at *Delby*; and *Hossan Aly Khan*, as he was upon his march to his government at *Deccan*; where he was going to dispossess *Nizam al Muluck*.

A design, so complicated in its nature, could not be carried on without being communicated

municated to many; amongst these the Emperor chiefly intrusted and depended on the two Omrahs, *Kbondoran Khan*, and *Mbír Jumla*, for the execution of it; they being almost the only two officers about the court, who had been neglected by the powerful *Seyds*. *Kbondoran* was suspected of betraying the whole to *Abdallah Khan*: whether this was the fact, is uncertain; but it is very certain, both the brothers had early intelligence of the design against them; and determined to have the start, by deposing the Emperor.

The Vizir immediately withdrew from court; sent express upon express to recal his brother; and put himself at the head of a body of troops, whose commander he was by virtue of his post.

Furrukhsír finding his intentions against the *Seyds* discovered; had recourse to dissimulation: He sent his mother to the Vizir; charged with his solemn protestations of the falshood of the information the Vizir had received; and with professions of inviolable friendship and affection intreating, that he would return to court; and contradict any advices he might have dispatched to his brother.

The Vizir having no room to doubt of his intelligence of the Emperor's projected affaffination, returned for answer—That, as a mark of the fincerity of his professions, he should discharge his guards and servants; and submit to receive such as he, the Vizir, should think proper to place about him. This hard condition the Emperor abjectly and unadvisedly consented to; and the Vizir, contented with this security, waited the arrival of his brother, without proceeding further. These events fell out about the beginning of the year 1719.

Seyd Hossan Ali Khan returned at the head of a strong body of horse, immediately on the receipt of his brother's letters; and arrived at *Delby* the 14th of *February* 1719; where after a short conference with the Vizir, and *Ajeet Singh* (*Mahab Rajah*, and father-in-law to the Emperor) and with several principal Omrahs; they all proceeded to the apartment of *Auring Zebe's* daughter in the castle of *Selimgur*; and demanded the delivery of *Raffeeil al Dirjaat*, (son of *Raffeeil al Kaddr*, third son of *Bahadr Shaw*) a youth about 17 years of age; proclaimed him Emperor of *Indostan*; and swore allegiance to him.

Proceeding thence to the palace with their new King, as soon as they came into the presence of *Furrukhsir*; the *Seyds* upbraided him with perfidy and ingratitude; and *Ajeet Singh*, with the breach of his coronation oath; in imposing the *Jescrah* (or poll tax) upon the *Hindoos*: they then divested him of his sword, and ensigns of royalty: and, with little ceremony, informed him they had raised *Raffeeil Dirjaat* to the throne; to whom they forced him to pay obeisance; and then imprisoned him in a tower over the principal gate of the citadel.

Anno
1719.
*Raffeeil al
Dirjaat.*

The day after his imprisonment, he was miserably deprived of his sight. On the second, he attempted to finish his torments by a dose of poison; but it proved ineffectual; on the third day, the *Vizir* sent executioners to strangle him: but as soon as he felt the cord about his neck (still wretchedly desirous of life) he interposed his hands, and forcibly broke it; dragging on, thus, a miserable being, until the next day, the 24th *February* 1719; when he was at last strangled, after a reign of little more than four years. *Mr. Frazer* says, seven; but this cannot be; for, by his own account, *Auring Zebe* deceased in the beginning of the year 1707: his son, *Shaw Allum*, reigned six years; that is, to the beginning of the year 1713. *Fur-*

rukhsîr was murdered in the beginning of the year 1719; so that if his succession had been uninterrupted, it could have been no more than six years: but the intervening reign of his uncle, *Maux O'din Jehandar Shaw*, who sat on the throne 18 months, reduces the reign of *Furrukhsîr* to four years and six months.

The *Seyds* finding they had mistaken the genius of the young Emperor *Dirjaat*, (whom they had raised to the throne in preference to his elder brother *Raffeeil al Dowlat*, as judging his youth would be more subservient to their views) took him off by poison; when he had reigned about three months: and raised to the throne his eldest brother, just abovementioned, who assumed the stile and title of *Shaw Jehan*, (*King of the World*.)

Anno
1719.
Raffeeil al
Dowlat.
Shaw Je-
han.

The brothers, intoxicated with their excess of power, began by various acts of oppression to create themselves enemies from all quarters: the universal hatred of the people, for their repeated murders, co-operating with the envy of the principal *Kajaks* and *Omrabs*, (who could endure no longer to see the *Seyds* engross wholly a power and authority in the Empire, which they them-

selves

selves wanted a share in) a powerful party was now formed against them.

At the head of this confederacy were *Savejee Jeet Singh*, (more commonly known by the name of *Rajah Jaij Singh*) *Gopaul Singh Bowderee*, and *Chivalram Roy*; all puissant Rajahs. The first named being hereditary governor of the fortress of *Agra*.— Here it is apposite that we recite an anecdote of this empire, which is not generally known.

When the *Hindoo* Rajahs, or Princes of *Indostan*, submitted to *Tamerlane*; it was on these capital stipulations: That the Emperors should marry a daughter of *Rajah Jeet Singh's* house: that the head of this house should be, in perpetuity, governors of the citadel of *Agra*; and anoint the King at his coronation: and, that the Emperors should never impose the jesserah (or poll tax) upon the *Hindoes*.

These three powerful *Rhaafepoot Rajahs*, with some discontented *Omrahs*, withdrew themselves; and assembled together in the neighbourhood of *Agra*: and, on the first intelligence of the murder of *Raffeeil Dirjaat*, released (from a forty years imprisonment in the castle of *Agra*) *Nicosir*; a son

Anno.
1719.

of the great *Ekkbar*; and proclaimed him Emperor: and raised a respectable army to support their election against that of the *Seyds*, in favour of *Shaw Jehan*.

On the first notice of this formidable competitor *Seyd Hoffan Ali Khan* was dispatched at the head of forty thousand horse towards *Agra*; and was met, within four miles of that city, by *Nicosir's* forces, under the command of *Jeet Singh*: who putting himself at the head of his *Rhaasepoots*, intrepidly charged *Seyd Hoffan Aly Khan's* army. A long and bloody conflict ensued; wherein, at last, *Nicosir's* forces began to give way; when the *Rhaasepoot's*, by the example of their Rajah *Jeet Singh*, displayed the yellow scarf, (the *Rhaasepoots* signal for conquest or death) by which means the battle had a sudden turn. *Hoffan Aly Khan's* troops, struck with terror at seeing that dreaded signal, and the fury with which the *Rhaasepoots* returned to the charge, soon turned their backs and fled; disregarding as well the heroic example, as menaces of their General; who, finding all endeavours to rally them fruitless made the best retreat he could with them.

Shaw Jehan wisely profiting by the error which had proved fatal to *Maux O'din*; in a situa-

situation similar to his own; immediately took the field with the Vizir *Seyd Abdallah Khan*: and with a large and chosen body of men marched to support and re-inforce *Seyd Hossan Aly Khan*.

This General, in his retreat, or rather flight, had been vigorously pursued by *Rajah Jeet Singh*, and his nominal Emperor *Nicosir*; solicitous, if possible, to prevent his union with *Sbarw Jehan* and his brother; who were (they had learned) on their march to his succour.—In this judicious intention they failed; for *Hossan Aly Khan*, with his beaten troops, joined the Emperor before the Rajah could overtake him. Both armies being greatly harrassed with their severe marches, the decisive battle, which was to determine the possession of this mighty Empire, was delayed until the next day.

Hossan Aly Khan, it was said, selected the evening before the battle, a body of 2000 horse; composed all of subaltern officers; to whom he gave strict command, that they should pay regard to nothing else in the approaching engagement, but the cutting off, or taking prisoner *Nicosir*, or *Jeet Singh*.

The battle began soon after sun-rise the next morning; and was fought with in-

credible fury and obstinacy, for the space of three hours: but, at length, the party above-mentioned so well executed what they had in charge, that they took *Nicosîr* prisoner; which being immediately known to his party, they were soon after defeated, or rather put to flight: for in these eastern battles, if the principal on either side is killed or taken prisoner, there is an end generally to the contest.— The issue of this battle, which was fought about the middle of *June* 1719, on the plains of *Fatteabad*, put *Shaw Jehan* in tranquil possession of the Empire.

The Emperor gave *Nicosîr* the choice of death, or loss of sight: he preferred the latter; which was executed on him in the field of battle; and he then was conducted back to his prison at *Agra*; a melancholy victim to the ambition of others.

Savagee Jeet Singh, with a select body of *Rhaasepoots* by a well conducted retreat recovered *Agra*; and was soon after reconciled to the King and admitted to favour; conformable to the steady policy of this government: in keeping a good understanding with the principal Rajahs; and more especially with the *head* of this house; who is ever capable of raising and fomenting a very formidable party, upon any intended revolution

lution in this despotic and precarious monarchy.

Shaw Jehan lived not long to enjoy his high dignity; for he died a natural death, soon after his return to *Delby*, towards the latter end of the year 1719. Happy! we may say, in having made this quiet and easy exit; for had he discovered a wish to make himself a *King, indeed*; it is more than probable, he would have shared the same fate with his three predecessors.

His death, for some days, was concealed by the singular address of the *Seyds*; and *Hossan Ali Khan*, on the night that *Shaw Jehan* deceased, privately set out with a small, but select party of horse for *Agra*, where he published his death: and, with the participation of the *Mhaabah Rajah*, *Savajee Jeet Singh* immediately proclaimed *Mahomed Shaw* Emperor of *Indostan*; who was by the *Rajah* anointed accordingly. *Mahomed Shaw* was the only son of *Khojistab Akhter*, before mentioned; the youngest son of *Shaw Allum*. Soon after, the *Vizir* and the other great officers of the crown arrived at *Agra*, to pay their submission to the new Emperor; and were all confirmed in their posts.

Mabommed Shaw, was soon convinced, by the first movements of the *Seyds*, that though he was raised to the possession of the ensigns and exteriors of royalty; he was in effect little better than a prisoner of state; whilst the two brothers exercised the uncontrouled authority they had so long and successfully usurped. He did not want courage; but plainly saw their power was too great to be attacked by open force: he therefore wisely, for some time, dissembled his sentiments and resentments; until he could form a proper judgment who, amongst the *Omrahs* and officers, were trust worthy; and in whom he could with safety to himself put a perfect confidence.

It was not long before his penetration pointed out the persons he sought for. *Mabommed Amin Khan*, *Heydr Kuli Khan*, and *Kondoran*, all *Omrahs* of the first rank, he was well assured, were inveterate, though concealed enemies to the *Seyds*: to these *Omrahs* therefore he ventured to open himself, about the middle of *September* 1720; and most pathetically lamented his abject dependant state, under *the tyranny of the Seyds*; imploring their assistance to extricate and free him; themselves; and his people from their usurped power.

This overture from the Emperor met with a warm reception from the Omrahs; they swore fidelity to him; and he, on his part, swore that *Mahommed Amin Khan* should succeed to the Vizirut; *Khondoran* to the *Mbir Bukhspi*; and be created *Embir al Omrah*: and that *Heydr Kuli Khan*, (who was at this time General of the Ordinance) should obtain the Soubahdary of *Abmedabad*.

These preliminaries settled; and the fidelity of these Omrahs secured, more by making it their own interest, than from any attachment to the royal family; a favourable occasion was only wanting: and the *Seyds* themselves contributed in some degree to their own downfall,—for now the measure of their iniquity was full,—too long had they reigned the oppressors of their Kings, and of the people.

The first act of the *Seyds* power, after the accession of *Mahommed Shaw*, was to oblige him to declare *Nizam al Muluck* a traitor; and demand his appearance at court.

Nizam had been long obnoxious to the *Seyds*: the insurrection raised by *Rajah Jeet Singh* in favour of *Nicosir*, had prevented their

their looking towards him sooner ; but now, having fixed *Mahommed Sharw* on the throne, they determined to suppress him.

Nizam well knowing there was no medium between death and the jealousy of the *Seyds*, in place of paying obedience to the royal mandate, killed the gursburdars (messengers) that brought it: advanced from his government of *Malva* to *Eugon*; where he seized the royal treasure: from thence he penetrated into *Deccan*, the government of *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan*; attacked the capital of the province and took it; assumed the Soubahship; and sending his *Niabs*, or deputy governors to every part, displaced those of *Hossan Ali Khan*; and treated even his women with great indignities. After these exploits (to which it was said he was privately instigated by the Emperor purposely to exasperate the *Seyds*) he wrote the most submissive letter to the Emperor; extenuating and palliating the necessity of a conduct, to which the tyranny and injustice of the *Seyds* had drove him.

On news of the outrages committed by *Nizam* in the *Deccan*, the Emperor put on a well dissembled rage; and swore by *Mahomet*, he would take the field against the rebel himself. This resolution was the result
of

of a private conference with his associated Omrahs; it being judged, the first necessary step for the reduction of these *dangerous brothers* was, to separate them: accordingly the Emperor ordered the Vizir *Seyd Abdal-lab-Khan* to return to *Delby*, to superintend the civil administration; and preserve the peace of that city during his absence: and himself, with *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan*, and the rest of the Omrahs, took the field on the 28th of *September* 1720, with a royal and powerful army, for the pretended reduction of the rebel *Nizam al Muluk*.

The Emperor made a long march that day towards *Deccan*, and encamped late in the evening. Here the means for assassinating *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan* were adjusted by the three Omrahs, to whom the King left the execution of this important event: they found it necessary now to discover their design to several other Omrahs, who they knew had been deeply injured by the *Seyds*, and were as inveterate as themselves. Amongst these, one *Hyddr Khan*, a small Munsubdar of distinguished courage, was pitched upon to perpetrate the deed; and as the attempt must be attended with apparent hazard to *Hyddr Khan*, *Mahommed Amin Khan*, and *Heydr Kuli Khan*, to encourage him they solemnly engaged to be at hand
with

with a select party to rescue him from the rage of *Hoffan Ali Khan's* followers.

Early the next morning the signal was made for decamping, and *Seyd Hoffan* went into the Emperor's tent to pay his obeisance and receive his orders: all the Omrahs and officers, as customary, were round his tent: *Hyddr Khan* placed himself at the door with a petition in his hand: as soon as *Seyd Hoffan* came out of his tent, and had seated himself in his pallenkeen, *Heyddr Khan* presented his petition; and whilst *Seyd Hoffan* was attentively perusing it, the assassins stabbed him with his kunjaar (dagger) between the neck and collar bone, of which wound he instantly expired.

Notwithstanding the solemn engagement to rescue *Hyddr Khan*, it was judged expedient to sacrifice this daring man, that his death might blunt and satiate, in some measure, the wrath of those guards who were in immediate attendance on the General's person; by whom *Hyddr Khan* was assaulted with the utmost fury; and though, drawing his scymitar, he defended himself with astonishing bravery for some time; yet, overpowered by numbers, he was cut to pieces. Nevertheless the tumult raised about the body did not cease, until *Mahommed Amin Khan*,
Khan-

Khondoran, Heydr Kuli Khan, and their troops came up to quell it. The Emperor mounting his elephant and causing proclamation to be made to the army, that the *Embir al Omrah* was killed by his order, the confusion subsided; except in one quarter; where five thousand troops, commanded by *Fieratt Khan*, nephew to the deceased General, breathed nothing but revenge: between these and the royal troops a sharp conflict ensued, in which many were killed (on both sides) amongst whom was a son of *Mahommed Amin Khan*; but *Fieratt Khan* falling by an arrow discharged by the King, (who it was said emptied three quivers in the engagement) the rest called for quarter.

The Emperor proceeding to the tent of *Seyd Hossan Ali Khan*, sat upon his elephant and saw the soldiers, by his permission, plunder it of a khorore of Rupees*. The jewels, found there to an equal amount, were appropriated to his own use.

Mahommed Shaw, sensible that but half the work was done, whilst *Seyd Abdallah Khan* survived, immediately directed his march towards *Delhy*; declaring *Mahommed Amin Khan* Vizir, and *Khondoran, Embir al Omrah*.

* One Million Sterling,

Abdallah Khan was not far from *Delby*, when an express from *Jieratt Khan* overtook him, advising him of the tragical death of his brother: he saw his own danger, and instantly dispatched a trusty officer with a party of horse to that city, with orders to return immediately with *Sultan Ibrahim*, younger brother of the Emperors, *Raffeeil al Dirjaat*, and *Raffeeil al Dowlat*. The officer executed his commission with great celerity; and being returned with *Sultan Ibrahim*, *Abdallah* proclaimed that young Prince Emperor of *Indostan*: then putting himself at the head of a numerous army, he marched back to meet *Mahommed Sharw*.

The two armies met the latter end of *October*, *Anno 1720*, and a bloody battle ensued. *Victory* stood doubtful a long time, to which she should give the day; but when *Abdallah* was on the verge of snatching a certain conquest, a seasonable reinforcement turned the issue in favour of the Emperor: for during the heat of the engagement *Diabahadr* (nephew of *Chivalram* Governor of *Eleabas*) arrived with a fresh body of troops; these assailing the rear and flank of *Abdallah's* army with the greatest intrepidity, a total defeat and rout soon followed. *Seyd Abdallah Khan* was taken prisoner; the Emperor spared his life, in consideration

sideration of his owing him the crown he wore ; but condemned him to perpetual imprisonment (as recited more minutely by Mr. *Frazer*) sequestering his vast possessions and wealth to his own use.

Thus fell the *Seyds Hossan Ali Khan*, and *Abdallah Khan*, by a reverse of fortune too common to be very remarkable. The wonder is, that they should have maintained themselves so long (in this despotic and violent government) in a degree of absolute power and authority, hardly equalled in story ; and that, during the reigns of five successive Emperors, four of whom they *themselves* had placed upon the throne.

The last decisive stroke put *Mahommed Shaw* into the quiet possession of the Empire of *Indostan*. A long peace ensued ; and the Emperor gave a loose to the indulgence of his natural propensities, which centered only in the excessive use of wine, women, and hunting. To every thing else he became regardless : the reins of government in time slackened ; confusion in the Empire followed : every *Omrah* was planning for himself ; and none thought of the *public*. These universal *disorders* endangered, in consequence, the *health* and well-being

being of the state; and paved the way for the invasion of the Empire by *Nadir Shaw*, in the year 1738; (so accurately investigated by Mr. *Frazer*) which was brought about by the intrigues of *Nizam al Mulluck*. This minister, after the reduction of the *Seyds*, was soon taken into favour, and confirmed in the government of *Deccan*; or rather maintained himself there by his own strength, as an independant sovereign.

My readers will easily perceive, that in the foregoing recital I have followed the thread of Mr. *Frazer's* concise narrative; and have only deviated from him in those parts, where my materials afforded me fuller intelligence; and in variety of transactions which he (obviously) thought lay out of the way of his *main object*: his intention being, very evidently, no more than to give a connected catalogue of the Mogulls from *Timur Lung*; (*Tamarlam*) and at the same time to convey a slight view of the progressive state and condition of the Empire of *Indostan*, as necessarily preparative to the period of *Nadir Shaw's* invasion of it; without embarrassing himself with any more of the particular circumstances attending the successions, than were consistent with, and immediately in point to his

his design. All that I wish or hope for from *this* production is, that it may be esteemed an illustration only of that ingenious and learned gentleman's work; comprised within the space, from *Auring Zebe's* demise, to the reduction of the *Seyds*.

C H A P. II.

*Transactions in the Subahdary of Bengal,
from the year 1717 to the year 1750,
inclusive.*

OUR present subject calls us back to the reign of *Furrukhsâr*, when *Jaffâr Khan*, an *Omrah* of great consideration and interest at court, ruled those provinces with a rod of iron. His name, to this day, is remembered with detestation; to fill his coffers, he inflicted the most cruel punishments on the *Rajabs* and *Zimindars*, by ways and means unheard of, and unknown, but in this Eastern government. He also highly oppressed the *Europeans* settled in these parts; yet, notwithstanding his very mal-administration, he had the address to obtain the governments of *Bahar* and *Orissa*, united with that of *Bengal* in his person; which ever before had been distinct and separate Nabobships.

With this new acquisition of power, he removed from *Dacca*; which, until that time, had been the chief residence of the Soubahs, to *Morshadabad*; and this city now became the *capital* of the provinces.

Jaffir Khan had a favourite daughter, whom he married to *Soujah Khan*, a native of *Delby* of some distinction; this person was appointed *Niab*, or deputy governor of *Orissa*, when *Jaffir Khan* changed the seat of his chief residence, and quitted *Dacca*.

Soujah Khan, by his marriage with the Soubah's daughter, had two sons born to him; the eldest named *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*; the younger *Suffraaz Khan*. The first had constantly resided with his father at *Cuttack*, the capital of *Orissa*, and the other, with his grandfather at *Morshadabad*.

Jaffir Khan's fondness for *Suffraaz Khan* was so prevalent, that when he obtained an order from court for *Soujah Khan's* succeeding him in the Soubahship; he procured at the same time *Suffraaz Khan* to be appointed King's Dewan of the provinces, in prejudice to the just pretensions of his elder brother, *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*.

This ill-judged mark of affection and preference in the old *Soubah*, was the cause of declared and unabating enmity between the two brothers; though *this effect*, probably without *that cause*, would have naturally resulted from the difference of their genius and dispositions; actuated by the different examples they had long before them, in the father, and grandfather.—*Soujab Khan* was bold; rigid in government; but, withal, complaisant and affectionate.—*Mahommed Tukbee Khan* was brave and generous; delighting in the exercises of a soldier, and the art of war.—*Jaffir Khan* was inveterate; avaritious; and a monster of cruelty.—*Suffraas Khan* was impetuous, overbearing and vindictive; and as he had been a stranger to contradiction from his infancy, so in his more advanced age, he could not bear it in the least degree, even from the mouth of wisdom.

Anno
1725. In the year 1725 *Jaffir Khan* deceased, to the general joy of the provinces; and *Soujab Khan*, hastening to the capital, took upon him the government. In the journey, he was accompanied by *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*.

When the brothers met, the embers of disgust and hatred, which had been only smothered by absence, now burst into a flame,

flame, that had well nigh consumed them both; had not the prudence and authority of the Soubah interposed; who, finding it impossible to accomplish a reconciliation between them, resolved to part them; and immediately appointed *Mahommed Tukbee Khan*, his Niab of *Orissa*; with orders, to set out the next day for his government. There in a few months he died universally lamented. His death gave his father the deepest sorrow; for he loved him with a just and truly paternal tenderness.

On *Soujab Khan's* succession to the government, he released all the *Rajabs* and *Zemindars* that had been imprisoned by his father-in-law; and eased them of sundry heavy taxes and impositions, that they had been loaded with. Calling them all before him, he enjoined them to attend carefully to the cultivation of their lands, and the improvement of the manufactures: assuring them that, in future, they should be exempt from the severities they had suffered under his predecessors: reminding them, that as they themselves had long felt the hand of oppression; he depended it would be a lesson to them, not to oppress the *tenants* dependant on them. Then with a peremptory tone telling them, that if any were found deficient in their annual payments, their

lands should be taken from them, and given to others ; afterwards he graciously dismissed them to their respect districts.

Soujah Khan taking into consideration the small standing force of the provinces, that until his time never exceeded the number of five or six hundred horse ; determined to enlarge it to as many thousands, which he soon accomplished. He then made sundry regulations respecting the trade of the provinces, both inland and foreign ; casting his eyes particularly on the *Europeans* ; and attentive that they should not clandestinely partake of greater immunities and advantages, than the terms of their *Fhirmaunds*, or grants, gave them a title to.

To this end, he encreased the number of *Chowkee's* (or places for the receipts of customs) to twenty, upon the several rivers ; whereas, before his government, there were only *two*, *Buxsh Bundar*, and *Azimunge*.

This wise and solid conduct, had it's natural and proper effects ; the provinces soon wore a different face ; commerce and manufactures flourished ; and in a very few years he was enabled greatly to increase the royal revenue, and stipulate to pay into the royal treasury annually, one *Khorore*, one *Lac*, one thousand

and one hundred and one *sicca Rupees*; over and above forty *Lacs of Rupees*, annually remitted to court, to different *Omrabs* residing there, on account of their *Jaghir* lands. In consequence, his interest at court was strengthened; himself established in his government; and the succession, by *grant*, secured in his family.

Annals
1730.

Having brought the Soubah *Soujah Khan* to this happy and honourable period; and given a general view of the state of these opulent provinces; we next propose to trace the causes, circumstances, and progress of an extraordinary usurpation of this government in the beginning of the year 1742.

Though the ambition, avarice, ingratitude, treachery and violence of two artful *adventurers*, were the *seemingly* apparent causes of this usurpation, yet, without other *co-operating incidents*, those (too common successful auxiliaries in the invasion of *right*) would have proved ineffectual.

The secret springs of the above-mentioned incidents, were known but to few; and we venture to aver, were never put together before the penning of the manuscripts, A. D.

1750;

1750; alluded to in the preliminary discourse to this work; from which manuscript the author of the Reflections, as before remarked, disingenuously took as his own, what he calls his "Short sketch of the history of Bengal, from the year 1739 to the year 1750*."

Aliverdi Khan, and *Hodjee Hamet*, were brothers; natives of *Tartary*; and followers of fortune. In this pursuit they arrived at the court of *Delby* about the year 1721; and put themselves under the protection of the then *Vizir Khondaran*. In their genius and qualifications they differed extremely. The elder, *Hodjee Hamet*, was of a cowardly, but deeply intriguing disposition; well skilled in political learning; and a profound judge of the nature of mankind. With these talents, he possessed not a single moral principle, capable of impeding them in their full career; and therefore became every way qualified for the transactions of this *Eastern* (or indeed any other) court.

* For he recites the same chain of facts as they stand in the manuscript, with little variation, except the poor disguise of, here and there a different mode of expression; interspersed with a few *trite reflections*, which are purely his own. We thought this note highly necessary, lest we should incur the undeserved censure of retailing, at second hand, the labors of another.

Aliverdi

Aliverdi Khan was bold and daring; bred to arms; and skilled in all the duties of a soldier; enterprising; of ready understanding; and naturally virtuous and honourable; until these amiable qualities were perverted and subdued, by the instigations and evil counsels of his brother; and his other talents were made subservient to *Hamet's* ambitious views of aggrandising their obscure family.

Hodjee acquired this title from his having in his early years made a pilgrimage to *Hodge*, (or the tomb of *Mahommed* at *Mecca*.) A duty which the *Khoran* imposes on every *Musselman* once in his life, either in person or by proxy; and he who performs it in person, thereby obtains, for life, the honorary appellation of *Hodjee*; and is much revered by the true believers.

It has been confidently asserted, and as currently believed in *Bengal*, that *Hodjee Hamet*, had been preferred at *Delby*, to the post of master, or keeper of the crown jewels: with the most valuable of which it was said he eloped, and afterwards sanctified this theft by a pilgrimage to *Mecca*. But, upon the strictest enquiry, we pronounce this report an aspersion of his enemies; having the best authority for saying, neither
of

of the brothers appeared at court before the year 1721:—but the improbability of the fact speaks it a calumny—their original obscurity is allowed on all hands; can it then possibly gain credit, that either of them should be preferred to a post, which is usually bestowed on one of the first Omrahs of the Empire?

But if we should admit (what also has been asserted) that *Hodjee* was for a short space in the service of the *keeper* of the crown jewels; and might have it in his power to commit the theft alledged against him; yet the fact remains equally improbable: for can it be believed that after so atrocious a crime, both the brothers should obtain the patronage and recommendation of *Khondoran*?—Which they certainly brought with them to *Cuttac* (the residence of the Nabob *Soujab Khan*) Anno 1722.

Anno.
1722. On their arrival, they were taken into the service of *Soujab Dowla*, as immediate attendants on his person: *Hodjee*, in capacity of his first *Kistmutgar* (or valet) and *Ali-verdi*, his *Cbilum Purdaar* (dresser or rather keeper of his smoaking pipe) with the additional pay and denomination of a seapoy, or foot soldier.

Their rise from these menial stations was rapid, but not astonishing; in a country where superior talents ever make their way to speedy promotion.—The Nabob very soon discovered in *Hodjee* an extensive genius and understanding in men and things; and *Hodjee*, as soon found out the great, and almost only foible of his master; which was an ungovernable appetite for *variety* of women.

Hodjee benefited himself of this ruling passion; and by indefatigable attention and industry out-ran even the Nabob's desires.—The compiler of *the Reflections* says, *Hodjee* prostituted, “and made a sacrifice of “his own daughter to his master's lust:” we confess we never heard of it before; be this as it may, it is most certain that *Hodjee*, by indulging and feeding this passion, quickly gained an ascendant over his master; and had the disposal of all places of small importance; and as he was observed to be the growing favourite, all suits and petitions were preferred through his mediation.

Aliverdî Khan's extraordinary military genius did not escape his master's notice. He was soon promoted to be *Jemmautdar* of the Nabob's foot guards; and not long
after

after preferred to a command of horse, at the intercession of his brother.—The ruling passion of *Hodjee* was an unbounded thirst of riches; but whilst he labored to extend his influence over his master, as conducive to the satisfying this vice; he was ever watchful and attentive, that his brother's interest went hand in hand with his own.

To these ends he daily made himself more and more useful to *Soujah Khan*; and being well versed in the arts of financing, and the invention of *ways and means*, his importance was confirmed: (this being the most useful and essential duty of a minister in the *East*, as well as in the *West*.) He was also an exquisite and penetrating *spy* upon the actions of all the *Niabs* and other officers employed under the *Nabob*; with whom he secretly planted his own emissaries; so that nothing was transacted in any part of the province of *Orissa*, that his master had not the most early intelligence of.—

The government of *Indostan* is perhaps the only government in the world, where the character of a *spy* is not attended, with reproach and infamy: here it is honourable and dignified. The Emperor and all the *Soubahs* of the provinces entertain an officer

cer with this title, who is always a person of consideration : but like *Satan* he is more generally feared than loved. *Hodjee* possessed not the title of the Nabob's *Hircarrab*, (spy) but he virtually was so ; and by this practice, did not a little gain upon his master's confidence, and thereby smoothed the way to designs, which about this time, *Anno* 1724, began to open upon him ; though he yet concealed them even from his brother.

The influence and power of the two brothers acquired new strength every day ; in such sort, that at the close of this year they had gained a full dominion over the actions and inclinations of the Nabob : who at this period succeeded to the government of the three provinces by the demise of the Soubah *Jaffir Khan*, as before recited in the former part of this chapter. The brothers attended him to the capital, where the scene of action became enlarged and more adequate to their different, though equally enterprising spirits. *Hodjee Hamet* was soon declared prime minister ; and *Aliverdî* promoted to a command of horse of the first distinction.

The first judicious movements made by *Scujah Khan* on his coming to the Soubahship,

bahship, (already recorded) were, it was said, the result of the salutary councils of *Hodjee Hamet*.—But if we admit the fact, let us not too hastily conclude that this advice flowed from any principle of affection to his master, or regard to his honour; or from a commiseration of the suffering *Rajabs*: no, these worthy considerations were foreign to his heart, as appeared from the whole tenor of his future conduct. The moderate councils and measures adopted by the Soubah, raised the credit of the *minister* only, who (by reports of his emissaries dispersed about the city and country) had the sole honour of clemency, strictly due to the Soubah's goodness of heart; who always shew'd an aversion to the practices of his predecessor.

The minister by this artful procedure gained many friends; and by secret stipulations with the enlarged *Rajabs*, he filled his own coffers, to the injury of the public revenue. In the degree that the minister gained credit and influence in the provinces—the Soubah sunk in the opinion of the people (a very natural consequence) and resting secure in the supposed integrity and extensive abilities of *Hodjee Hamet*, he abandoned *himself* to the full enjoyment of his *ruling passion*; and the *government*, to the absolute disposal of the minister; who with-

out

out controul, put in, put out; removed; displaced, and preferred to every post of profit, whomsoever he pleased. And by this traffic he soon acquired immense wealth: taking care to keep his master buried in sensuality; still supplying the flame that had possession of him with fresh fuel; ransacking the provinces, and obtaining (no matter at what price) the most beautiful women that could be procured to answer his purposes: and it was confidently (and we believe truly) said, that he carried his panderism so far, as never to appear at the Soubah's nocturnal levee, without something of this kind in his hand; formed to attract and engage his attention.

Whilst *Hodjee Hamet* was thus employed in establishing his own power and fortune, and blinding the Soubah during the first three or four years of his government; his brother *Aliverdî Khan* began to think himself neglected; but *Hodjee* soon convinced him of his mistake.

Hitherto *Aliverdî* had not, in his own person, acquired any considerable lustre, except from the light thrown upon it, by reflection, from his brother's being the minister. In his military capacity he had indeed a few opportunities given him of shining
 F alone,

alone, both at *Orissa* and *Bengal*; just sufficient to gain the belief of his being an intrepid officer: but now the time was come to bring his talents upon the stage in a more conspicuous view: an occasion offering, for which his brother had with impatience long waited.

Anno
1729.

Having for some time lost sight of the Soubah's only surviving son *Suffraaz Khan*, we here think it necessary to bring him to the remembrance of the reader, by a slight mention of him. His character has been already delineated: he possessed the post of King's *Dewan*, by appointment from court, and was successor apparent to the Soubahship: he had long looked with an evil eye on the growing power and influence of *Hodjee Hamet*, which he thought became pregnant with danger, both to his father and himself—but he had not the means of reducing it. The impetuosity of his temper burst forth sometimes in abuses, and in insults to the minister; who bore them with patient submission: but heavy resentment from the Soubah, against his son, always followed such abuse. The crafty *Hodjee* treasured them up in his memory, for a future reckoning; he daily instilled into the ears of the Soubah the many extravagancies his son was guilty of; which had too much

truth

truth for the foundation; but if that had not been the case, the Soubah was too ready to listen to any thing to his prejudice; for he loved him not—ever saying, that his unbridled insolence occasioned the loss of his favourite and beloved son *Mabommed Tukbee Khan*.

Anno 1729, the Nabobship of *Patna* becoming vacant, *Hodjee*, without appearing in it himself, influenced the then reigning favourite mistress of the Soubah (who was deeply in his interest) to solicit it for his brother; who was accordingly the next day nominated to that government. *Suffraaz Khan* upon this appointment had the courage to tell his father in public *Durbar*, “he was warming and cherishing two snakes, that would sting him and his family to death.” The Soubah ordered him immediately to be taken into custody; but by *Hodjee*’s artful interposition he was appeased.

The following night, the brothers held a long and private conference; to which several Rajahs and officers in their confidence were admitted.—Here the wicked plan of *Aliverdi Khan*’s government was settled, and he departed the next day for *Patna*; where in a few days he arrived, and put in

execution the political maxims and instructions he had received from his brother.

Anno
1729 to
1735.

The exploits of the first six years of his government—that is from the year 1729 to the year 1735, inclusive, were these following. By force, treachery, craft and policy, he subdued most of the *Rajahs* of the province of *Babar*; some, by the basest dissimulation and professions of friendship, he drew to *Patna*; where he murdered them and seized their possessions; as the brave *Sonder Shaw*, &c.—He then carried his arms against the *Chukwaars*, a brave and warlike *Gentoo* race, who possessed a tract of country opposite *Mongbeer*; up the river *Samboo*: the prince or *Rajah* of this country had never paid tribute, or acknowledged any subjection to the Soubah of *Bengal*; or indeed to the Mogul himself. He laid every thing that passed on the river, by *Mongbeer*, under contribution; and put the *European* settlements to an annual heavy expence of a large armament, to escort their trade to, and from *Patna*.

The old brave *Rajah* of these people (who had many times fought hand to hand, with the intrepid commander of our troops, Major *Hunt*) deceased, in the year 1730; and was succeeded by his son, a youth of seven-

seventeen. This young prince, intimidated by the examples made of several of the *Babar* Rajahs, after a short resistance submitted; acknowledged allegiance to the Emperor; and subjection to the Soubah. An annual tribute was stipulated, and regularly paid for four years—a spot was fixed on, five miles from the mouth of *Samboo*, and thirty from the capital of the *Chukwaars*; where the prince every year met the Nabob's officer on a certain day: the one to pay; the other to receive the tribute; and it was agreed that they should have only thirty attendants on each side.

The twentieth of *October*, (*Anno 1735*) was the day of payment; at which time the *English* army, under the command of commandant *Holcombe*, lay encamped in *Mongbeer* grove, with the company's trade for the *Patna* factory.—At eleven in the forenoon, we observed a boat, which had come out of *Samboo* river, making for *Patna*: the commandant detached two light pulwaars after her, with orders to bring her to—imagining she had a cargo of fish—the boat being brought to, and laid alongside the commandant's *budgerow*—Guess, reader, our astonishment! when in place of a cargoe of fish, it contained a

cargoe of human *heads!* five baskets full; and a single head in the sixth.

On enquiry, we learnt that before day break, the officer who was deputed to receive the annual tribute from the Rajah of the *Chukwaars*; had, by orders from the Nabob *Aliverdi*, placed four hundred men in ambush, under the high banks of the river, near the place of meeting—that the prince and the Nabob's officer Fowzdar of *Babar*, (whose name we have forgot) with their usual attendants, met at nine of the clock; and after the common ceremonies, and the tribute received, when they were just upon parting; the signal being given, the troops in ambush rushed out, and surrounding the Rajah and his few followers, cut them off, one only excepted; who upon a fleet horse escaped, and gave the alarm to the city—among those killed were his principal general officers.—We further were informed by the officer who had the charge of the boat, that his orders were to make the best of his way to *Patna*; and lay his freight at the *Nabob's feet*; and that the head in the basket by itself, was the Rajah's—he added that the Fowzdar with his troops were in full march to the city *Sambo*.—This was soon after verified; for we observed about four in the afternoon a cloud

cloud of smoke over the city; and the same evening we received these other particulars; that on the first alarm and known fate of the Rajah, his wife, the young *Begum*, shut herself up with her son (about a year old) and her attendants, and set fire to her apartments—that the Nabob's troops meeting with no resistance, entered the city, plundered it, and then set fire to it.

A body of the Rajah's troops retired, and for some time disputed the possession of the country with the Nabob's; but the Fowzdar being re-inforced from his camp, which then lay at *Durriapoor*; a short march from *Mongbeer*; the whole country was soon reduced, and these brave people subdued.

These were the *exploits* that rendered the name of *Aliverdî Khan* a terror to the neighbouring districts; and by *these* he amassed immense riches; part of which he regularly remitted to *Morshadabad*, to preserve his own and brother's credit with the Soubah; but the much greater part he reserved, for a purpose, he now had in agitation, by the pernicious advice of his brother.

Whilst *Aliverdî Khan* was carrying on these operations to establish his power,

Hodjee Hamet remained unrivalled in the administration of the Soubahship; but a transaction which now manifested itself, opened the Soubah's eyes.

Anno
1736.

Aliverdî Khan, forgetful of the duty and obligations he owed to his master, and urged by the continued persuasions of his brother, began about the beginning of the year 1736, privately to solicit at court for the government of *Patna*, and the province of *Babar*, independent of the Soubah of *Bengal*. This negotiation, however cautiously conducted, came to the knowledge of *Soujah Khan*. Rage on the instant took possession of him. *Hodjee* was disgraced, and for some time imprisoned—but by the most submissive and deceitful letters from *Aliverdî*, and the powerful intercession of the *Seraglio*, (*Hodjee's* never failing resource) the minister was enlarged, and *seemingly* again taken into favor.

Anno
1737.

Aliverdî did not slacken his negotiations on this discovery of his treachery; but availing himself of the favor of his patron *Khondoran*; and by well placed considerable bribes, he obtained the latter end of the year 1737, a *phirmaund* and proper *sun-nods* from court, constituting him independent governor of the province of *Babar*.

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This confirmation of the ingratitude and treachery of the two brothers struck deeply to the heart of *Soujab Khan*. He had, however, the resolution and prudence to disguise his sentiments; knowing their power was too great to be attacked openly; or capable of being reduced by any weapons, but those of dissimulation and craft. By the assistance of these, he planned, and was just on the point of executing, a safe and certain revenge on both the brothers; when death put a period to his intentions.—It is more than probable, that *Hodjee*, who still preserved his influence in the *Seraglio*, received intimation by this channel of the *Soubah's* designs; for his death was sudden, and judged to be by poison.

Anno
1738.

His Son *Suffraaz Khan* immediately succeeded his father in the government of *Bengal* and *Orissa*; as well as in his resentment to the brothers.

Independant power, only increased the bad qualities, which had already taken too deep possession of *Suffraaz Khan*: his excesses in spirituous liquors and women, were beyond controul and example; his insolence and impetuosity of temper became intolerable to all about him; his principal officers were treated with insults
and

and indignities : most of these had been disgusted with the family for the preference given to *Aliverdi Khan*, in the government of *Patna* ; though justice could not lay this charge against *Suffraaz Khan*.

There then resided at his court a *Gentoo* named *Allum Chund*, who had been many years *Dewan* to *Soujah Khan* ; by whom he was much revered for his great age, wisdom, and faithful services. This minister was the only man who had courage and honesty enough to attempt restraining the extravagances of *Suffraaz Khan* ; a duty he thought owing to the memory of his late master. He accordingly, with the greatest circumspection and humility, and with tears in his eyes, represented to him the fatal tendency of his conduct, which if not changed, must inevitably estrange the hearts of the few remaining friends to his house ; and at the same time favour and promote the evil designs of his enemies.

Suffraaz Khan, instead of profiting by this wholesome remonstrance and admonition, highly resented his presumption ; and ever after treated him with great indignities and contempt ; and thereby lost the heart of the only man in the provinces, who by his sincerity, capacity and authority, was capable

capable of counteracting and frustrating the pernicious machinations of *Hodjee* and his brother.

Though *Suffraaz Khan* did not immediately degrade *Hodjee Hamet* from the post of prime minister ; yet he took every opportunity of showing an inveterate hatred to him. In public Durbar he commonly called him by the appellation of, “ His father’s pander,” and treated him with such insults and indignities, that he seldom frequented the Durbar ; being ill able to brook such treatment in a place where he had for so many years been accustomed to a degree of deference and respect, equal to his master. Nor is it much to be wondered at, that he should meditate vengeance, when a fair occasion offered : this he was not long without ; for *Suffraaz Khan*’s own folly and rashness supplied him with the means, and gave him a nearer, and more encouraging prospect, of an *event* which he for some time past had in view.

A few months after *Suffraaz Khan* came to the government, he threw a disgrace on *Futtuab Chund*’s house, which laid the foundation of his precipitate fall. The fact, though well known to a few, was only whispered, out of respect to the power and credit

Anna
1739.

credit of that family, which had maintained, even from the reign of *Auring Zebe*, a character of distinguished consideration; from *Furrukshir*, *Futtuab Chund* received the title of *Jaggaut Seet*; and might be justly esteemed the greatest banker, and most opulent subject in the world.

Anno 1739. He had about this time married his youngest grandson, named *Seet Mortab Roy*, to a young creature of exquisite beauty; aged about eleven years. The fame of her beauty coming to the ears of the Soubah, he burned with curiosity and lust for the possession of her; and sending for *Jaggaut Seet*, demanded a sight of her——The old man (then compleat fourscore) begged and intreated, that the Soubah would not stain the honour and credit of his house; nor load his last days with shame; by persisting in a demand which he knew the principles of his cast, forbid a compliance with.

Neither the tears nor remonstrances of the old man had any weight on the Soubah; who growing outrageous at the refusal, ordered, in his presence, his house to be immediately surrounded with a body of horse; and swore on the *Khoran*, that if he complied in sending his grand-daughter, that

that he might only *see her*, he would instantly return her without any injury.

The *Seet* reduced to this extremity, and judging from the Soubah's known impetuosity, that his persisting longer in a denial, would only make his disgrace *more public*, at last consented; and the young creature was carried with the greatest secrecy in the night to visit him. She was returned the same night; and we will suppose (for the honour of that house) uninjured. Be this as it may, the violence was of too delicate a nature, to permit any future commerce between her and her husband.

The indignity was never forgiven by *Jaggaut Seet*; and that whole powerful family, consequently, became inveterate, tho' concealed enemies to the Soubah.

Hodjee Hamet soon came to the knowledge of this rash step and violence committed against the *Seets*; he was also well apprized of *Allum Chund's* disgust, and, as he was upon a friendly footing with them both, he determined to avail himself of their resentment, and make it subservient to his own intended vengeance for the repeated insults he had received from the Soubah. Revenge however was not his sole motive: he

he was actuated by another, yet more prevalent one, the further aggrandising his family; the hopes of which he had hitherto only seen at a distance; but now thought the conjuncture favorable for carrying his long projected plan into execution: which was to cut off the son of his late *master, friend and benefactor*; and place his brother *Ali-verdî Khan* in his stead.

Hodjee lost no time in procuring a private conference with the disaffected *Seets* and *Allum Chund*; in the course of which he represented in the most lively manner, the “oppression and extravagant government of *Suffraaz Khan*; and that nothing but the most deplorable consequences to the provinces could be expected from such an unbridled and tyrannic disposition—— that if he already treated with such insults and contempt, those for whom his father had the highest veneration and friendship——what might not others dread from his future violences?”——He then expatiated on, and with bitter exaggeration painted their own particular injuries; which had all the effect upon them that he might naturally expect or could wish.

He suffered not their resentment to cool; but supported this conference with many others;

others: and the unanimous conclusion of the triumvirate was; "That none could be secure in their lives, honour or property, whilst *Suffraaz Khan* remained invested with the Soubahship."——*Hodjee* managed the passions of these men with such art and address in the promotion of his own views——that they themselves first proposed, "his brother *Aliverdi Khan*, as the only one capable of rescuing the provinces from apparent and inevitable ruin.——That he should be immediately advised of their sentiments, and intreated to concur with their hopes by preparing for a speedy march into *Bengal*, to take upon him the government."

Hodjee, with expressions of gratitude for their favourable opinion of his brother, consented to their proposal with a well dissembled reluctance; declaring "nothing but the necessity of the time, and the peril of the country could have influenced him to meditate aught against the son of his late master."

It being objected by *Jaggaut Seet*, that an intercourse by letter with *Aliverdi* was liable to accident and discovery; it was on further deliberation resolved, that *Hodjee* should repair to *Patna*, where he could better

inform his brother of the state of things, and benefit him by his council at this critical period : but as his sudden and private retreat from court would raise a suspicion in the Soubah, that something was in agitation against him, *Allum Chund* and *Jaggaut Seet* engaged to make his departure an act of the Soubah's own weakness.

The plan of operations being thus agreed on, their next step was to engage in the conspiracy the Soubah's *Tope Khonnah Derogher* (or master of his ordnance) with several other disaffected officers, which was very soon accomplished.—It was a saying of a great and brave king, “ that one drop “ of honey caught and engaged more flies, “ than a ton of vinegar.” *Suffraaz Khan* in place of sweetness of disposition and affability, unhappily substituted a morose, severe and insolent carriage to all around him : which (at this most important juncture) left him not more than two or three officers of any consideration, who bore the least attachment to his person, family, or government.

Matters becoming thus ripe for execution ; *Hodjee* began to grow impatient for an interview with his brother ; and urged the
 promis

promise made to him by *Allum Chund* and *Jaggaut Seet*, of procuring his dismissal from the capital.

These embraced the first opportunity, when the Soubah was, according to custom, reviling *Hodjee* (then absent) in publick *Durbar*; to represent to him, “that it was a disgrace to his court the suffering *Hodjee* to appear there, considering the infamous em-
“ploy he bore under his father.—Drive
“him (continued they) from your presence,
“court and city; and let him go to his
“ungrateful brother.” This council being echoed and applauded by the *Tope Khonnab Derogber*, and others in the confederacy: the unwary Soubah instantly sent an order to *Hodjee Hamet* to quit the provinces; who, not thinking it prudent to wait for a second order, departed without delay; and made the best of his way to *Patna*, where in a few days he arrived with some of his faithful attendants.

Suffraaz Khan, by this false step, deprived himself of the great security he had in his hands; for the good behaviour of *Ali-verdi Khan*, whose ambition, he had cause enough to think, would not stop with the Nabobship of *Patna*; depended upon the detention of *Hodjee*.

On *Hodjee's* arrival at *Patna*, he painted the whole conduct of the Soubah in the most hideous colours : he employed his whole art and eloquence in the exaggeration of the indignities himself had endured : he told his brother that he might rest assured “ *Suffraaz Khan* could never “ forget, nor forgive his obtaining the government of *Bahar*, independant of the “ Soubahship, whereby so large a portion “ of the revenues was lopt from himself “ and family : that he was from good authority convinced, the Soubah only waited a favourable occasion to cut him off, “ and seize and reunite his government to “ the Soubahship ; to which purpose he “ knew he had forwarded dispatches to “ court—That he had gone too far to stop ; “ that *Suffraaz Khan* was universally detested in the provinces ; and finally that “ no security for himself and family remained, but in assuming the whole Soubahdary, which he might do with very little “ difficulty.”

Hodjee then opened to his brother, the progress he had made in this necessary step below ; recited the several conferences he had with the *Seets* and *Allum Chund*, and the result of their deliberations ; recounting at

at the same time the names of the Soubah's officers, who had declared themselves wholly devoted to his promotion to the *throne*.

It was said ; *Aliverdi* expressed much compunction on this overture's being first made to him, to dispossess the son of his master and benefactor : but if we form our conclusion from his *Actions*, both antecedent and subsequent to his period, we shall have no foundation to encourage our belief in that report : for if he really had at first any scruples to combat with ; it is certain he very soon subdued them, and determined to march into *Bengal* ; of which, full advice was immediately dispatched to their confederate friends there.

It was however thought eligible, that *Suffraaz Khan* should be lulled into security ; to which end, *Aliverdi* (at the time he was levying additional troops) wrote the most submissive letter to him, —“ assuring
 “ him he was as much the slave of his
 “ house, as he was in the time of his
 “ father : humbly intreating his permission
 “ to throw himself at his feet, and plead
 “ the cause of his unfortunate brother ;
 “ who, he had with grief learned, had incurred his displeasure ; hoping by his
 “ per-

“ personal supplications, his unhappy brother would be restored to the Soubah’s favor *.”

He departed from *Patna* the latter end of the year 1741, at the head of about 30,000 horse and foot; leaving his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, his Niab, or deputy governor of *Babar*. We will leave *Aliverdî* on his march, and return to the court of the Soubah.

Suffraaz Khan had still about his person three officers of distinction, that remained faithful to his interest——though from different motives: their names were *Mussat Kboolî Khan*, *Goas Khan*, and *Banteer Ali Khan*; (more commonly known by the name of *Baaker Ali Khan*.) The first, was married to a sister of the Soubah, and appointed Nabob of *Orissa*; for which government he was in a few days to set out, with a small body of troops.—His interest connected him firmly to the Soubah, on whose well being his own fortunes depended.

* This was the specious pretext publicly avowed for *Aliverdî*’s march into *Bengal*, which he began soon after the dispatch of the above letter, and before he could possibly receive any reply to it.

The other two had been proved faithful servants to *Soujah Khan*; and were attached to the present Soubah, more from principles of gratitude, honor, and affection to the memory of their old master, than to any love they could possibly bear to himself—they supported the character of brave officers; were in considerable commands under the Vice-roy; and, in truth, were the only persons in his court, for whom he observed the least respect or regard.

These officers, after the departure of *Hodjee*, had received imperfect intelligence of the frequent meetings of *Hodjee*, *Jaggaut Seet*, and *Allum Chund*; which they ventured to communicate to the Vice-roy: intimating, at the same time, their *opinion or sentiments*, that such meetings, composed of persons, which they feared were disaffected to his government, called for his attention; and advised the immediate seizure of the *Seets*, *Allum Chund*, and the commanding officer of the artillery. But *Suffraaz Khan*, doomed to destruction, hearkened not to these faithful admonitions, which he treated as idle apprehensions, without any real foundation; thinking them friendly endeavours only, to draw him from his pleasures; which

which *these faithful monitors* had before attempted, but in vain.

By this fatal delusion, the Soubah lost the only opportunity of exerting that power which might have saved him from approaching ruin: for the bold step advised by *Goas* and *Baaker Khans*, of seizing those heads of the conspiracy, would have struck terror into the whole party; and effectually put a stop to *Aliverdi's* intended invasion; and probably a period also to his hopes.

Aliverdi Khan followed the letter he wrote the Soubah, with such expedition; that he gained the pass of *Sichyully*; and entered *Bengal* before the least intimation of his departure from *Patna* had reached the court of the Soubah.

The pass of *Sichyully* divides the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*; is of considerable length, and only about ten to twelve feet wide; situate on the top of a mountain, with a steep ascent both ways. The course of the pass is *North* and *South*; flanked to the *Westward* by an impenetrable wood; and to the *Eastward* by the principal branch of the river *Ganges*. Thus circumstanced it was capable of being defended

fended by a small number of men ; but it was left unguarded by the infatuated *Suffraaz Khan* ; and without any defence at all.

Aliverdî knew the importance of this pass ; and therefore determined, by forced marches, to gain the possession of it, before it could possibly be put in a state of defence sufficient to oppose his entrance into *Bengal*. This he accomplished as above, and found it necessary to halt for some days to refresh his fatigued troops.

On the first advice that the Nabob of *Patna* had passed *Siclygully*, the court of the Soubah was struck with the deepest consternation ; every one seeing further into the consequences of his approach, than the unhappy and short-sighted *Suffraaz Khan* : who having, at first, no conception, that *Aliverdî* was at the head of an army ; expressed only high rage and resentment at his daring to enter the province without his permission.—But when, soon after, *Goas* and *Baaker Khans* informed him of the number of troops he had with him——and that they were convinced (by intelligence from spies they had placed near his person) the design of *Aliverdî* was to depose him ; it is impossi-

ble to paint his fury.—He immediately sent for *Jaggaut Seet*, and *Allum Ghund* and demanded of them; how they dared suffer such a body of troops to enter the province, without giving early notice of it? averring that he knew such a step was not taken without their privacy and counsel.

The accused, who expected this attack, came prepared; having previously concerted their replies, lest they should have been separately examined.—They suffered the Soubah's rage to expend itself in words, and then submissively assured him “ That
 “ had there been the smallest foundation
 “ for the belief of the reports falsely spread
 “ of *Aliverdi Khan*, they would have been
 “ the first of his slaves to advise him of
 “ his danger.—That the forces of *Aliverdi*
 “ were greatly exaggerated by some evil
 “ minded people near the Soubah's person,
 “ who were declared enemies to *Hodjee's*
 “ house.—That *their* intelligence (on
 “ which they could depend) said, he was
 “ only accompanied by his common at-
 “ tendants, and a small guard to defend
 “ him against the petty Rajahs, and free-
 “ booters of the mountains.—That they
 “ were themselves perfectly satisfied, the
 “ conduct

“ conduct of *Aliverdî* was greatly misre-
 “ presented; and that his only design was
 “ to throw himself at the Soubah’s feet,
 “ and plead the cause of his unhappy dis-
 “ graced brother *Hodjee Hamet*.

To corroborate this specious and deceitful harangue, they each produced letters from *Aliverdî*, and from other seemingly indifferent persons in his train, calculated purposely to support the deceptions; which being compared with others, wrote to the Soubah from *Siclygully*, he was thereby again lulled into a stupid security; and was influenced so far by the combined traitors, as to censure *Goas Khan*, and *Baaker Ali Khan*; as aiming to stir up troubles and a war in the province, that they might benefit themselves in the confusion.

We left *Aliverdî Khan* to the Southward of *Siclygully* pass, halting to refresh his troops after their fatiguing march.—Here he met with an impediment, that was well nigh making his whole scheme prove abortive.

His principal *Jemmautdaars*, officers and soldiers, had been promised four months advanced pay, (besides their old arrears) and
 a gra-

a gratuity of three Lacs of Rupees, as soon as they entered the province of *Bengal*.—The *Jemautdaars*, in a body, presented themselves before the Nabob; and demanded the promised pay and gratuity for themselves and their people; declaring if it was withheld from them, they would not march a foot further.

This demand threw *Aliverdi* into the utmost perplexity, as knowing his inability to comply with it. For, what with the large bribes remitted to *Delby*, for the purchase of his independant government of *Babar*; and what with other considerable sums just disbursed, to corrupt and keep firm the principal officers in the service of the *Soubah*; his coffers were drained, and at a very low ebb.

However, without discovering the difficulty he was under, he with his usual dignity, and voice of authority, “ordered them to withdraw, and wait without, and they should be satisfied.”—Then calling a private *Durbar*, consisting of his *Dewan Chinkumunny*, and a few of his chief confidants, he informed them of the demand of his *Jemautdaars*, and represented in lively colours, “the risque
“ himself

“ himself and they ran, of being deliver-
 “ ed up to *Suffraaz Khan*, unless some
 “ expedient was devised to raise to the
 “ amount of three Lacs, with which he
 “ doubted not to quiet them for the pre-
 “ sent.” To this the Dewan replied, the
 whole sum in his hands did not exceed
 45000 Rupees; and that he knew of no
 means of raising more.—

This unfavourable report of the Dewan,
 proved a severe shock to *Aliverdi* and his
 adherents.—Various alternatives were (as
 usual in these cases) proposed, without any
 having the appearance of succeeding:
 amongst the rest, it was strenuously urged
 by the Dewan, that an express should be
 sent to *Jaggaut Seet*; but this was opposed
 by the Nabob,—who asserted, “ such a de-
 “ lay would prove fatal to the whole en-
 “ terprize.”—And he was just on the point
 of resolving to retreat with those troops he
 could depend on; when the *evil genius* of
Suffraaz Khan, in the person of one of
Aliverdi's followers, conciliated all matters
 by a device, which merits being particular-
 ly recited.

There were two brothers, merchants of
Patna, well known by the names of *Omy*
Chund,

Chund, and *Diep Chund*: the former of these now attended the camp, and was generally of *Aliverdi's* private councils; and much in his confidence.

One of the occupations of this *Omy Chund* was, to advance occasionally ready money to the officers and soldiers at a very high premium; this is an allowed practice in all Eastern camps, and possibly, at least for aught we know, it may be the practice in the Western also——however the greatness of the risque certainly justifies the largeness of the premium; for the repayment not only depends upon the lives of the borrowers, but also upon their success.

Omy Chund had brought with him only 20,000 rupees, for this game at hazard: he desired the Nabob would order his Dewan to pay him immediately the 45,000 rupees, which were in his hands; which being complied with, he instructed the Nabob, “ To call in the *Jemautdaars*——and
 “ order them to bring in an account of
 “ their respective claims, and to tell them
 “ that he would give them draughts on
 “ *Omy Chund*; taking care to give billets
 “ first to those who had the smallest sums to
 “ receive; and that in the close of the
 “ evening

“ evening he should (on pretence of fresh
 “ intelligence by his spies that *Suffraaz*
 “ *Khan* was in full march towards him)
 “ cause the *Nobut* to be beat, and issue his
 “ orders for engaging the enemy early in the
 “ morning, and leave the rest to him.”

The *Jemmautdaars* were called and ordered to bring in their claims, which they did in less than an hour: for they generally have them ready made up on a scrap of paper, which they conceal either in their girdle or turband. When all the claims were laid before the Nabob—he ordered his *Dewan* to give them billets upon *Omy Chund*; the *Dewan*, according to private instructions, made what delay he could, not to occasion suspicion; and gave those first who had the least to receive.

When the *Jemmautdaars* tendered their billets to *Omy Chund*, he paid several of the least considerable sums readily, and without any deductions: then, as he had accounts to settle with most of them, he prolonged the time by many artful blunders and designed errors, until the day was far spent, and not more than one eighth part of their accounts was adjusted. Then excusing himself on account of the great fatigue he had
 un-

undergone, he deferred the further payments until the next morning.

As soon as the day closed, *Aliverdî* ordered the *Nobut* to be beat; and issued out his commands to his *Jemautdaars* to hold themselves in readiness for engaging the next day; telling them that *Suffraaz Khan's* army was not far distant.

This unexpected alarm had the effect, which *Omy Chund* had foreseen: those who had received the amount of their billets, in all haste returned it into his custody; and the others deposited their billets in his hands. In the morning the Nabob resumed his march; took the rout to *Morshadabad*, and kept up the alarm and expectation of a battle; until he, in reality, encountered the Soubah; to whom we once again return.

Baaker Ali Khan and *Goas Khan*, receiving hourly intelligence from their spies of *Aliverdî's* motions, and the number of his forces, had still the courage to represent to the Soubah, the danger his person and government were in—and humbly besought him, “to provide for safety whilst in his power;” urging “that if the designs of *Aliverdî* were honourable, the most
 “ eligible

“ eligible way to preserve him in those
 “ sentiments, was to let him see he was
 “ in a condition and posture to oppose and
 “ crush him. That if on the contrary the
 “ designs of *Aliverdî* were aimed against
 “ the government; his supine conduct must
 “ inevitably secure his success. That from
 “ the face of *their* intelligence, and the
 “ whole procedure of *Aliverdî*, they had
 “ no room to doubt the wickedness of his
 “ intentions.”

These remonstrances joined to advices
 the Soubah had himself received of the
real number of *Aliverdî*'s troops, at last
 roused him from his stupor; and he direct-
 ly ordered his Jemmautdaars and forces to
 take the field, and rendezvous in the plains
 of *Gyria*, about three miles to the North
 of *Morshadabad*; himself following the next
 morning. He had hardly time to marshal
 his troops in order of battle, when *Aliver-*
dî's army appeared.

Their forces were nearly equal; each about
 30,000 men; 20,000 foot, and 10,000
 horse. *Suffraaz Khan* had twenty pieces
 of artillery, from twelve to six and four
 pounders: *Aliverdî* had none.

Suffraaz Khan planted his cannon in his front; with strict orders not to fire, until the enemy advanced within half musket shot; for confiding on his artillery, he rested secure of victory—*Aliverdî* ordered his troops to receive the discharge of the cannon, and then to rush in upon the Soubah's army sword in hand. He issued these orders with great security; for he and his troops knew that by the treachery of the *Tope Khonnab Droger*, the cannon were loaded with powder only. He also issued his instructions to his officers, to regard nothing but attacking those posts, which were commanded by *Muffat Khoolî Khan*, *Baaker Ali Khan*, and *Goas Khan*: well knowing that none of the Soubah's troops or officers would engage, but those which were immediately under their command.

When the engagement began, all but five or six thousand of the Soubah's troops stood idle spectators of the battle. *Aliverdî's* best troops advanced without the least apprehension; stood the discharge of artillery; and vigorously attacking the division of *Baaker Ali Khan*, (behind which the Soubah was stationed) they were twice repulsed with much slaughter: but *Baaker Ali's* troops being over-powered by fresh numbers,

bers, this brave man was killed; and most of his party cut to pieces.

Goas Khan penetrating to the center of the enemy, with a few brave followers, was near killing *Aliverdi* with his own hand; when *Sedun Hazzaary*, commander of his *Burkundasses*, interposed and saved him; obliging *Goas Khan* to retire with his command; who, soon after being surrounded by *Aliverdi's* troops, and disdaining to receive quarter, were to a man killed.

Muffat Kbooli Khan, and the troops under his command, for some time exerted themselves with great courage and fidelity in defence of the Soubah's person; who being now, for the first time, informed of the treachery of the *Tope Khonnab Droger*, and the defection and perfidy of most of his officers and troops; and that he was betrayed on all hands; and learning also the fate of his two faithful generals — he ordered “*Muffat Kbooli Khan* to retire from the battle; to make the best retreat he could to *Cuttack*; and save, if possible, the province of *Orissa* from the traytor and usurper *Aliverdi*,” telling him “he saw it was vain for him alone to attempt stemming the current of his adverse for-
H “tune.”

“tune.” *Muffat Kbooli Khan* obeyed, and with a small faithful party retired, and eluded the pursuit of the enemy.

The Soubah, thus abandoned, determined, it should seem, to efface by a glorious death the remembrance of his inglorious life— At this juncture it was, that the leader of his elephant proposed to him to return to the capital, “telling him that he would engage, on the forfeiture of his head, to convey him safe thither, where he had still some friends that would be able to make a stand for him;” but he nobly replied, “It never should be said that *Suffraaz Khan* fled from rebels and traitors.” He then ordered him to plunge into the thickest of the enemy; where, with a few of his guards, that still remained steady to him, he for some time maintained an obstinate engagement—like an enraged lion he fought to a degree of desperation: it was said he emptied a whole quiver of arrows; and discharged more than a dozen javelins; besides the execution he did with the fire arms he had with him, on the elephant. But at last being weary with slaughter, and not able any longer to lift an arm, a period was put to his life and fortune, by a musket ball from a distance; said to be discharged

discharged by one of his own people. With this wound he fell dead from his elephant; and with his death the contest ceased.—

Thus fell the son of *Soujah Khan*, testifying by his exit from life, that he possessed a soul capable of producing great actions, had the soil been early and properly cultivated.

Aliverdî Khan possessed himself of the late Soubah's tent and baggage; the plunder of which, amounting to between nine and ten lacs of rupees, he bestowed upon his principal officers and soldiers—He received *Suffraaz Khan's* perfidious officers and soldiers into his service; and marching to the capital, entered it without resistance through the acclamations of the people. Proceeding to the palace, he seated himself upon the *Muztnud*, and received the submission of the Rajahs, Jemmautdaars, and other great officers, who acknowledged and saluted him Soubah of the *Three provinces*.

Anno
1742

The fate of one of the three principal conspirators, having something remarkable in it, calls for our particular mention.—

Allum Chund returned from the investing *Aliverdî* to his own house; and being bit-

terly reproached by his wife, for his perfidy and treason to the son of his prince and master, and predicting "that he would shortly receive from the *usurper* the reward due to every *traytor*," he was thereby so much affected, that he swallowed diamond powder, and in a few hours expired.

Aliverdi Khan entertaining no favourable opinion of the military prowess and capacity of the *Bengal* soldiery; and having so very lately seen a glaring proof of their natural perfidy, as well as cowardice, in the unhappy fall of his predecessor; determined to put no trust or confidence in them: and in order to guard against their treachery, which he knew might be easily purchased against him, as it had been for him, he entertained immediately in his service a select body of three thousand *Patans*, with their commander *Mustapha Khan*, a soldier of fortune; who about this time arrived in *Bengal* with recommendatory letters from court. He bore the character of a consummate general; and his subsequent actions verified the report.—These new troops the *Soubah* kept always on duty near his person; and their chief was admitted to his councils and favour.

His next step was to displace all officers, throughout the provinces, that he had reason to think retained any affection to the late Soubah's house: and when he thought himself secure against all attempts that might endanger his newly acquired government, he appointed a Niab *pro tempore*, for the government of *Babar* and its capital; and recalled his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, that he might benefit himself of his counsel, and assistance, in his arduous situation.

Hodjee being arrived, all matters were debated and concerted relative to the government of the provinces. *Hodjee* was invested with the government of *Morshadabad*, in the absence of his brother; who without delay took the field, and directed his rout towards *Orissa*, on the thirtieth of *March*, 1742*.—We will leave the Soubah on his march, and for a few minutes attend on the Nabob of *Orissa*.

This fugitive, and unfortunate brother-in-law to the late Soubah, (with whom I was

* *Suffraaz Khan's* defeat and death was on the twenty-eight of *January*, 1741 2, and not on the thirtieth of *March*, 1742, as the author of the *Reflections* erroneously says, confounding the date of one event with another.

intimately acquainted) escaped from the battle with a few followers, as before recited. He in a few days reached the capital of *Orissa*, where many of the friends of *Suffraaz Khan's* house resorted to him: he made some attempts to fortify, and enlist troops for the defence of the place: but being ill supplied with cannon and ammunition, and receiving certain intelligence of the usurper's approach, with a very superior force to his own; he thought it prudent to provide for his own safety, by retreating out of the province with his family. He left *Kuttack* four days before the *Soubah's* van-guard reached it; and found an asylum in the *Deccan*, under *Nizzam Al Mulk*.

Kuttack opened its gates to the Usurper; but he had scarcely settled the government of *Orissa*, when he was alarmed with the news, that an army of 80,000 *Mabarattor* horse had entered the province of *Bengal*, by a passage over the *Bierboheen* hills; and had already penetrated into the *Burdomaan* country.

The Usurper received this unexpected shock with manifest astonishment: he immediately saw, not only his retreat, but every communication with his brother and his

his capital cut off. In this dilemma we will leave him for a while, and investigate as well the causes of this invasion, as convey some idea of the people called *Mabarattors*; who for a few years last past, have been as much the dread and terror of the East, as the *Goths* and *Vandals* of old were of the West: with this essential difference however in their characters, that whereas *these* were the barbarous invaders of the rights and property of others; *those* are making justifiable efforts to recover *that*, which their ancestors had been, for ages, in peaceable and just possession of.

When the Empire of *Indostan* was invaded; and, in part, conquered by the *Mogul Tartars*, about the beginning of the fifteenth century; many of the *Rajahs*, or *Hindoo* princes of the country, submitted with little opposition to the invaders, on condition of holding their lands and principalities, paying a stipulated annual tribute. But others of them, disdaining this tributary state of slavery, retired to the southward; and possessing themselves of the most southern parts of *Deccan*, they remained unmolested, until about the year 1654; the latter end of the reign of the Emperor *Shaw Jeharon*.

His third son *Auring Zebe*, being at that period Soubah of the *Deccan*, (or south) made a fruitless attempt on *Golconda*; instigated thereto by *Mbir Jemla*, who revolted to him from the then reigning Rajah of that famous city, and the adjoining country.

Auring Zebe, succeeding to the throne of *Indostan*, in the year 1659; pursued by his Generals his former designs against the independant Rajahs, on the coast of *Cormandel*; being guided chiefly by the counsel and instructions of *Mbir Jemla*; by whose valour *Golconda* was reduced; and the whole coast subdued, from *Ganjam* to *Coleroon* river, that is, from the latitude of $11^{\circ}. 40'$ to $19^{\circ}. 30'$ north.

The other promontory of *India*, called the coast of *Mallabar*, from the borders of the province of *Guzerat* to cape *Comorin*, was never conquered by the Mogul Emperors: but the independant possession of it was maintained by various Rajahs; the chief of whom was the Rajah of *Sittarab*.

To these independant princes, the distressed and dispossessed Rajahs of *Cormandel* applied for succour. They, alarmed at
the

the rapid progress of the Mogul arms, immediately united themselves under the banners of the Rajah of *Sittarah*.

These united princes and people, are those which are known by the general name of *Maharattors*; a word compounded of *Rattor* and *Maahab*: the first being the name of a particular *Raaxpoot* (or *Rojpoot*) tribe; and the latter, signifying *great* or *mighty*; (as explained by Mr. *Frazer*) a term we have had occasion to make use of before; and frequently shall again.

The acquisitions thus gained to the Empire, by the Generals of *Auring Zebe*, cost so much blood and treasure, that the diamond mines of *Golconda* hardly proved an equivalent: for the confederate princes made such vigorous efforts to regain what they had lost, as obliged *Auring Zebe* to keep up so large an armament, that the expence of preserving his new conquest exceeded the whole revenues acquired by it. The glorious vanity, however, of having carried his conquests of this Empire further than any of his predecessors, determined him not to abandon them; until finding at last, he should risque the loss of the whole, he began to meditate coming
to

to a treaty with them: which resolution was hastened by several bold attacks, made on different parts of his dominions by the *Maharattors* at the same time.—On the side of his new southern acquisitions, they carried fire and sword sometimes into the province of *Dowlatabad*; and attacked the capital *Auringabad*; and from *Sittarab* they penetrated through the province of *Guzerat*; and sometimes alarmed even the court of *Delby*; striking a panick wherever they came.

Auring Zebe, seeing, at length, no prospect of extending his conquests farther over these intrepid natives; thought it a wise measure to secure, and keep, if possible, what he had got.—To this end, he entered into a treaty with the confederate Rajahs; and by a secret valuable consideration given to the *Seboo* Rajah, King of *Sittarab*, a peace was concluded between them on the following terms. “ That
 “ *Auring Zebe* should remain in quiet
 “ possession of his southern conquests as
 “ far as the river *Coleroon*, before mention-
 “ ed, and the port of *Surat*; and that in
 “ lieu thereof, the *Maharattors* should re-
 “ ceive, and be intitled to, for ever, a
 “ *Chout* (that is, the fourth part) of the
 “ reve-

“revenues of *Deccan* ;” to which *Soubahship*, these new southern conquests were annexed by the Emperor.

Thus a period was put to a war, that had chiefly employed the attention of near two thirds of *Auring Zebe*'s long and fortunate reign ; by which, so important an addition of territory and revenue was obtained, that had it been duly and honestly governed and administered ; and the treaty kept inviolate on both sides, would have yielded a perpetual source of riches to all succeeding Emperors, on every emergency of the state.

As long as *Auring Zebe* lived, the *Choult* was duly paid to the *Maharattors* ; but on his decease the treaty began to be infringed, though it suffered no open rupture until the death of *Shaw Allum* ; when the Empire falling into a state of universal confusion, (by the contentions that arose between his sons for the succession to the throne, and by the subsequent distractions during the despotic tyranny of the *Seyds*) little regard was paid to it, on the part of the government.

Things being in this situation, the *Maharattors* determined to pay themselves ; by
making

making incursions on different sides of the Empire; and laying the city of *Surat* under contribution: in which warfare they met with such success from the continued pusillanimity and distraction of the government, that at length, they extended their claim and demand, from the stipulated *Choût* of the revenues of the *Deccan*; to a *Choût* of the whole revenues of the Empire.

However, when *Mahommed Shaw*, by the overthrow of the *Seyds*, arrived to the secure possession of the throne, *Anno 1719*; some check was put to their invasion: and terms of accommodation being made to them, they for some years acquiesced in the terms of *Auring Zebe's* treaty; and annually received the *Choût* of the revenues of the *Deccan*, by their agents out of the royal treasury at *Delby*; long after these revenues had lost their way to court, by the usurpation and independance of the traitor *Nizam al Mulk*.

In the year 1740, the deputies of the King of *Sittarab*, arrived as usual at *Delby* to receive the *Choût*; when they were given to understand by the *Mogul's* ministry, "That
 " *Nadir Shaw* had lately so exhausted the
 " treasury, that the Emperor was rendered
 " utterly

“ utterly incapable of satisfying their de-
 “ mands : the more especially, as the reve-
 “ nues of the *Bengal* provinces had been
 “ withheld from the year 1738, by the rebel-
 “ lion of *Aliverdî Khan*; who in conjunction
 “ with his brother *Hodjee Hamet*, had usurp-
 “ ed the government of that Soubahdary :
 “ they requesting at the same time that the
 “ deputies would intreat their master in the
 “ Emperor’s name, to send an army of suf-
 “ ficient force to exact the amount of the
 “ *Chôût*, that was due to them ; and also to
 “ take the heads of *Aliverdî* and his bro-
 “ ther ; and restore the family *Soujah Khan*
 “ to the Soubahship ; as the then distracted
 “ state of the Empire put it out of his power
 “ to send a force, strong enough, to reduce
 “ the two rebels.”

With this answer, and *actual powers* from
 the *Emperor*, the deputies departed for *Sit-
 tarah*.—A fact that fully confutes the asser-
 tion of *Aliverdî’s* having received a *Phîr-
 maund*, confirming him in the government ;
 as was published by beat of drum, and in-
 dustriously circulated by the *Seets* the latter
 end of the year 1739*.

The

* *Aliverdî* is reported to have sat in state a whole day to receive the *sham Phîrmaund*, with the usual ceremonials

The *Mabaratter* deputies arriving at *Sittarab*, reported the result of their deputation, and the Emperor's request. The King of *Sittarab* did not ruminatè long what resolution to take: he now had obtained a justifiable plea to attack the Mogul's dominions with his own consent; therefore, without loss of time, he ordered an army of 80,000 horse to take the field, and march into *Bengal*; under the command of *Boschar Pundit*, a general of some reputation, and favorite of the *Seboo Rajah* King of *Sittarab*. This general, and army, we left in the *Burdomaan* country between the usurper and his capital; to whom we

monials on such occasions; but this is a farce that has been since played in some parts of the province of *Bengal*, and laughed at, as much as it was then.—For the *Seets* could always cook up a *Phirmaund* from court whenever it was wanted. That *Aliverdi* was never confirmed in the government by a real *Phirmaund*, is a fact that admits of no doubt; and it is well known, that so late as June, Anno 1750, the Vizir *Monsoor Ali Khan*, (father of *Soujah Dowlat*, the present Soubah of *Oude*) was advanced at the head of 100,000 horse, within eight days march of *Patna*, purposely to restore these so long dismembered provinces to the Empire, and punish the usurper:—but differences arising between the young Emperor *Amet Shaw* (son and successor to *Mahomed Shaw*) and Rajah *Jeet Sing*, the Vizir was recalled from this service; or, as others more probably said, his retreat was bought off by *Aliverdi*, at the price of fifty Lac of Rupees.

must

must again return ; and point out the errors that drew him into the perilous situation and dilemma we left him in, before we shew how bravely he extricated himself from it.

Some short time before he departed from *Morshadabad*, a slight rumour prevailed of the intended invasion of the *Maharattors* ; to which no credit was given, either by the usurper or his brother. But slight as the report was, it ought to have merited their attention at a juncture when he was departing with all the strength of the provinces to the most extreme part of his government : and as he must have known, no enemy could enter the province of *Bengal*, so as to cut off his communication with his capital, but by the western hills of *Bierboheen* ; prudence dictated that he should have secured the fidelity of the Rajahs of *Bierboheen* and *Bisnapore* ; who were alone capable of harrassing and retarding, if not of preventing the *Maharattor* army from entering on that side.

But (as if Fortune had purposed, that the neglect of this wise precaution should be conducive to the higher exaltation of the character of this her favorite son) so far were

were the brothers from adverting to the necessity of such a security in their rear, that both these Rajahs had been highly incensed by some acts of oppression exercised towards them soon after *Aliverdi's* usurpation of the government; and were readily disposed, in place of obstructing the enemy, to give them a free entrance into the heart of *Bengal*; which they did without the least opposition: though in pursuing their resentment, they entailed a long series of heavy calamities on their unhappy country.

We left *Aliverdi Khan* at *Cuttack*, in deep astonishment at the news of this dangerous invasion. Without discovering the least apprehension or alarm, he withdrew for the space of half an hour; in consultation only with *Mustapha Khan*; and then ordered his people to prepare for marching. He quitted *Cuttack* the same day; and by forced marches arrived near *Burdwan*, the principal town of *Burdomaan*; (within five days march of the capital) two days after the *Maharattors* took possession of it. Here he intrenched himself; and was soon surrounded by the enemy; who though they had at least the superiority of eight to one, had not the courage to attack him.

Boschar Pundit, however, sent *Aliverdi* a letter; explaining the nature of the powers he was invested with; demanding "three years arrears of the *Chouit*; the "treasures of the two late *Soubabs*; and "that in future, an officer of their own "should have a seat in every Cutcherry "throughout the provinces; to collect the "fourth part of the customs, on their be- "half."

The usurper received these *terms* with the highest indignation and impatience; instantly commanding the messenger to leave his camp, without deigning to send any reply to *them*: and finding by the propositions made to him, that there remained small hope of effecting any accommodation with the *Mabarattor* General; he determined to make one vigorous effort, to break through the enemy, and regain a communication with his brother. To this resolution he was stimulated, by observing an universal panic amongst his *Bengal* troops, many of which deserted him, by favour of the night.

In pursuance of this resolution, he issued the necessary orders; omitting nothing that could speak the consummate General; pro-
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mising

giving most liberal rewards to those who maintained, in this exigency, the character of soldiers: and well judging that his principal dependance rested upon the *Patans*, he bestowed the highest encomiums and promises on that body; by whom he began to be loved and revered; for being themselves brave, they admired those intrepid qualities in *Aliverdi*, which so nearly resembled their own.

All things being prepared, the usurper directed that part of the trench to be levelled with the utmost silence, which looked towards *Cutwab*. Then putting himself with *Mustapha Khan* at the head of the *Patans* half an hour before day break, he marched out; and with amazing courage charged that part of the enemy that intercepted his rout towards the last mentioned town.

His rear being composed entirely of his *Bengal* troops, (then esteemed the worst soldiers of the Empire) was soon surrounded and put to flight; but the *Patans* exhibited a glorious effort: these led on (as before observed) by the *Soubab*, and their gallant chief *Mustapha*; and their rear commanded by the brave *Zeyndi Amet Khan*,

Khan, (*Hodjee's* second son) with much slaughter cut themselves a passage through the enemy; and gained the *Cutwah* road: In the course of which, they maintained a most memorable retreat for near three days and nights: being often surrounded and attacked on all sides, by the whole *Mabarattor* army, and as often repulsing and forcing their passage until they arrived at *Cutwah*.

At this place the usurper mustered his troops, and found that of 25,000 fighting men, with which he departed from his capital, he had only remaining 2500 *Patans*; and about 1500 of his *Bengal* soldiers, including their officers: these last named troops, stimulated by the example of the *Patans*, and the intrepid behaviour of their *Jemautdaar Jaffier Khan**, were kept firm to their duty.

At *Cutwah*, *Aliverdi* found it necessary to halt for a short space to refresh his harassed troops; who, during the term of this astonishing retreat, had in a manner been strangers to food; rest; or sleep.—Here

May
Annō
1742^o

* Since better known by the name of *Mbir Jaffier Ali Khan* Soubah of *Bengal*.

they were again furrounded on all fides except on that of the river; which *Aliverdi* was informed was in one place fordable; a circumstance unsuspected by the enemy.

It was now universally believed that the usurper must surrender himself, or be cut to pieces with the few that remained with him. And indeed a report ran through the province that he was actually taken prisoner; but the actions of this handful of men, in their retreat from *Burdwan*, had struck such terror and amazement into the whole *Mabarattor* army; that they gazed upon them as so many enraged tygers in a net, without daring to approach the toils that enclosed them; and contented themselves with the prospect of starving them to a surrender; little dreaming that *Aliverdi* would attempt fording the river, with people nearly exhausted by continued labour and watching.

The usurper taking advantage of this visible panic in the enemy, and unwilling to let the triumphant ardour of his own soldiers cool; resolved to attempt the river without further delay: and knowing there was a defile leading from the village to the river, through which the enemy might intercept

tercept his passage, he judged it necessary to secure it; thereby also to prevent his rear's being attacked before they could gain the river.

The defence of this dangerous post was given to *Mustapha Khan*, supported by *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan* with eighty *select Patans*; who immediately departed to take possession of the *Defile*—As soon as they were posted, *Mustapha Khan* dispatched a messenger to the *Soubah* to advise him, he might attempt the river whenever he pleased.

Aliverdi having previously made the necessary dispositions, put himself at the head of the *Patans*; and gave the signal for marching to the river; which they entered without molestation, preceded by well instructed guides.

As soon as the enemy perceived him in motion, they instantly attacked the *Defile* with great violence; hoping still to circumvent him.—They at first seemed to deride and despise the small number left for the defence of it; but soon found their error, in repeated repulses with heavy slaughter; from this determined, though small body of men:

each of their leaders, on this momentous occasion, giving proofs of valour worthy the greatest heroes of antiquity.

They maintained their post, for a full hour, against reiterated attacks of fresh troops; without giving the least way; and until they judged the Soubah had safely past the river. They then began to retreat by slow degrees through the *Defilè*, without turning their backs; and having gained about the middle part of it*, advice was brought to *Mustapha Khan*, that his rear was attacked by the enemy †.—This general, without hesitating a moment, committed the charge of his front to *Jeyndee Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan*: and ordering the forty men that composed his rear to face about, he put himself at their head, forming two fronts to oppose the enemy; and sending orders to *Jeyndee Amet* to continue his retreat, he bravely charged his new antagonists, and forced them to retire with much loss. When the whole party

* The *Defilè* was about eighty yards in length and ten wide.

† This event happened thus—a body of the *Mabarattors*, about one thousand men, forced an entrance into the town, and had made a fruitless attack upon *Aliverdi's* rear, as they passed the river, from which they were now returned.

had cleared the *Defilè*, he commanded his men to form in one line on the shore, with their backs to the river; and making a feint to give a general assault; the enemy, as he expected, was struck with terror, and retired many paces. *Mustapha* taking advantage of their distance, instantly commanded his troops to face about and take the river; into which they plunged, and gained the opposite shore, with the loss, on the whole, of only fifteen men.

If we consider the retreat of these Veterans (from *Burdwan* to the opposite shore of *Cutwab* river) in all its circumstances; it will appear as amazing an effort of human bravery, as the history of any age or people have chronicled; and we think it merits as much being recorded and transmitted to posterity, as *that* of the celebrated *Athenian* general and historian.

Mustapha Khan, *Jeyndee Amet Khan*, and *Jaffier Khan* were received by the Soubah, with all the marks of the highest affection and esteem. He bestowed great encomiums on the valour of *Jaffier Khan*, who was ever after distinguished by his favour. He saluted, and thanked by name, every one of the *Patans*, who fought under these com-

manders at the memorable defence of the *Deflè*: and having refreshed his troops, proceeded on his march to the capital, where he was received with astonishment and reverence. His first acts were, to present *Mustapha Khan* with ten lac of rupees; and proportionably to reward the rest of his brave defenders.

Whilst the usurper was gaining everlasting renown as a soldier, his brother *Hodjee Hamet* was employed in putting the city of *Merabad* in a posture of defence. With extraordinary expedition he sunk a ditch round it; formed a rampart and parapet; and planted cannon in those parts where the city was most open to the enemies attacks.—*Aliverdi* reproaching him, “with having abandoned him to the enemy; and with being solicitous only for his own safety; by neglecting to send a body of troops to favour his retreat”——*Hodjee* replied, “that concluding (from the number of the enemy, his forlorn situation, and the repeated reports of his being taken prisoner and killed) he was no more; he thought it more advisable to strengthen the city, than to weaken the defence of it, by parting with any of the few forces he had been able
“ to

“ to raise for its preservation.” And in truth, *Aliverdî* found it in a much better state of defence than he expected.

Before the usurper had set out on his expedition for the reduction of *Orissa*, he had sent orders to his deputy governor of *Patna*, to levy troops in the province of *Babar*. But these forces being not yet arrived in *Bengal*, he was to the great mortification of his enterprising and military genius, reduced to the necessity of shutting himself up in his capital; and was employed in providing further for its security.

The *Mabarattors* recovering from their consternation and panic, and acquiring a better knowledge of the river, passed it with their whole force; advanced to *Morshadabad*; and surrounded it without attempting to assault it. They detached parties into the environs; plundering and destroying wherever they came; they sent some bodies of horse into the island of *Cossimbuzar*; who committed there the most horrid devastation and cruelties: they fed their horses and cattle with mulberry plantations; and thereby irreparably injured the silk manufacture: in short, after committing every
hostile

hostile act, which plenitude of power licensed without molestation ; they thought it at length prudent to retire with their plunder ; lest the approaching rainy season (which sets in, annually, about the middle of *June*) should intercept their retreat.

June
Anno
1742.

With this necessary precaution they quitted the blockade of the city, and repassed at *Cutwab* early in *June*, 1742, with all their immense plunder.

From *Cutwab*, they penetrated through the *Burdomaan* country ; detaching their parties into every district ; still amassing greater booty, and striking universal terror round them ; sometimes alarming even the *European* settlements. The rains at length setting in, about the middle of *June*, gave a flattering hope that the land would soon be delivered from these devouring locusts. But alas ! this pleasing prospect had but a short duration ; they retired it is true ; and bent their rout towards the *Bierbobeen* hills ; irresolute whether they should quit the provinces entirely ; or only lodge themselves in convenient quarters in that high country ; where they would be ready to commence a new scene of destruction as soon as the rains
broke

broke up (which they generally do about the latter end of *September* or the middle of *October*.)

It was by most believed that the enemy had taken their departure for their own country; and it is certain they had formed that resolution: when on a sudden, to the utter amazement of all, *Boschar Pundit* issued orders to march into *Bengal*;—so his ill destiny prompted him, that he might by his fall pay a sacrifice for the cruel enormities committed on all ranks, by those under his command.

July
Anno
1743.

They returned about the latter end of *July*, and pitched their tents on the highest parts of the *Burdomaan* country; and settled themselves there for the remainder of the rainy season.

On this event, a general face of ruin succeeded. Many of the inhabitants; weavers; and husbandmen fled. The *Arungs* were in a great degree deserted; the lands untilled; and the wretched fugitives who had escaped with nothing but their wives and children, and whatever they could carry in their hands, thought there was no safety for them, until they arrived on the *Eastern* shore
of

of the *Ganges*; to which they flocked in shoals, without intermission for many days together.

The manufactures of the *Arungs* received so injurious a blow at this period, that they have ever since lost their original purity and estimation; and probably will never recover them again. But it is necessary we explain what influenced *Boschar Pundit*, to take the extraordinary and unexpected step above-mentioned.

There was an officer employed in the receipts of the revenues at *Dacca*, named *Mbîr Hubbeeb*, who had embezzled a considerable sum; and had otherways been guilty of mal-administration in the execution of his trust. This man had been ordered, soon after *Aliverdi's* seizing the government, to repair to the capital, and render an account of the branch committed to him.—He was bold and enterprising; of solid judgment; minutely acquainted with the state of the provinces and course and nature of the revenues. To draw his character, in short, we need only say, he was in *political virtue* the very counterpart of *Hodjee Hamet*.

Conscious that his conduct at *Dacca* would not bear the test of examination, he availed himself of the present juncture of confusion; and in place of repairing to the capital, he fled to *Boschar Pundit*; and arrived in his camp, at the very period when that general resolved to quit the provinces, and return to *Sittarab*.

His known character and abilities procured him a ready and welcome reception; and his mischievous talents made him a dangerous instrument in the hands of these invaders; to accomplish, in a manner, the utter destruction of the country. He represented to *Boschar Pundit*, "That in the present state of the provinces, he might with facility and security assume the government of the Soubahdaary himself; that it would be inglorious for him to retreat with the calf, when he could take the cow also; that the rains would soon break up, and set his cavalry at liberty; and that he had no cause to apprehend the usurper would ever have any power or force capable of opposing them." *Boschar Pundit* greedily hearkened to this pernicious advice; immediately changed his rout; and returned from *Bierbobeen* to *Burdomaan*, as before remarked: and having fixed his head quarters

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at *Burdwan*, he sent proper officers at the head of small parties to collect the revenues at every feat of custom; and this they did for some time with as much tranquillity, as if they had been the natural sovereigns of the country.

During these transactions the usurper was not idle. As soon as he had certain intelligence that the enemy had repassed the *Cutwab* river, he quitted the city; and being soon after re-inforced by the *Patna* levies, and the number of his *Patans* being encreased from the Northward, he formed his camp in the neighbourhood of *Morshadabad*.—The *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, thought it necessary, during the rains, by various means to fortify also, and add to the strength of their several settlements, at *Fort William*, *Chundernagore*, *Hougly*, and *Cossimbuzar*; though they were hitherto unmolested in their persons, or property, by the enemy.

Early in *October* the enemy, by the advice of *Mbír Hubbeeb*, threw a strong bridge of boats over the *Cutwab* river; the defence of which was given to him. By his assistance also the enemy was now supplied with some small cannon; fire arms; and ammunition. He constructed for the defence
of

of his bridge two large boats; the one contiguous above; the other below the bridge, on the *Plassey* side. On these he threw platforms, on which he planted a few carriage pieces; forming effectual barricadoes with loop holes; for the security of his own people, as well as for the annoyance of the usurper's troops, in case they should prove hardy enough to attack the bridge; for the defence of which he embarked with him the best marksmen he could select.—

This disposition being completed the whole of the *Mabarattor* army crossed over, and began their incursions to different parts of the island, wherever the waters would admit their marching: sometimes showing themselves in strong bodies round the usurper's camp; and insulting him with opprobrious language, without daring to attack him.

The latter end of *October*, the rains broke up; the waters decreased hourly; and the roads soon became passable every where. It was now the enemy thought it adviseable to recall their detached parties, and unite their whole force; which they drew up between the usurper's camp and *Plassey* grove, secure of a retreat to their bridge. Here they

they halted three days; and reported they would wait there and give the usurper battle.

Aliverdî, elated at this report, took the field, and advanced towards the enemy; not doubting but that if he could once bring them to a general engagement, it would prove decisive in his favor.—His whole force amounted to about forty-eight thousand men; of whom barely twenty thousand were horse. Whereas the enemy's force was wholly composed of cavalry; an advantage they had the wisdom fully to avail themselves of, by the sagacious counsel of *Mhîr Hubbeeb*; through the course of this destructive and long contest.

As the usurper advanced, they retreated towards the bridge, which they now resolved to repass. This they could not effect without their rear's being warmly attacked and harrassed by *Aliverdî*; who, for this purpose, advanced with a chosen body of horse, some hours before the main body of his army.

The enemy had gained the bridge, and passed over three fourths of their army; when *Aliverdî* made a furious assault upon the remainder,

remainder, and threw them into confusion. But notwithstanding a heavy slaughter made amongst them, the greatest part of them recovered the bridge; and *Aliverdî* was obliged to draw off his people (who began to be severely galled by the fire from *Mbîr Hubbeeb's* floating machine) and retire out of the reach of the shot; where he stayed until his heavy cannon was brought up to him.

Had *Mbîr Hubbeeb*, in obedience to *Boschar Pundit's* orders, drawn off his party, and destroyed the bridge, as soon as the rear of the *Maharattor* army past it; and *Aliverdî* retired; he would have gained great reputation in the action. But not suspecting that the usurper's cannon could possibly be so near, as it really was; he was so rash as to remain on his post, until *Aliverdî* had, with astonishing expedition, opened a battery of three six pounders upon it.—*Mbîr Hubbeeb* stood one discharge from the battery; and now perceiving his error, attempted to escape with his party: but *Aliverdî* had posted a body of horse so advantageously, that immediately upon the discharge from his battery, they fell in pell mell with the enemy on the bridge; and a furious engagement ensued: in which *Mbîr*

K *Hubbeeb's*

Hubbeeb's party, three excepted, was cut to pieces. Himself and those three gained the *Cutwab* shore; and by the advantage of a fleet horse that waited for him, he escaped to the *Maharattor* army. A melancholy event closed the action: *Aliverdi's* troops crowding, in too great numbers, upon the bridge; it failed under them; and a thousand brave fellows perished in the river.

The usurper repaired the bridge with all possible diligence, and crossed over his troops and artillery in pursuit of the enemy; who artfully eluded every attempt he made to bring them to a general action. Thus, by continual marches and counter marches, his troops, particularly his foot, were almost exhausted by fatigue: whilst the *Maharattors*, in detached parties, ranged the provinces at large; collecting the revenues without the least interruption: the usurper not daring to divide his army further than reinforcing the garrison of *Bukchs Bunder* on the *Ganges*, with 500 horse, and 1000 gun men; under the command of *Serasdi Mahomet*.

Aliverdi, touched with deep chagrin at seeing his so lately usurped dominions a prey to his enemies, without being able to protect

them, in which the usurper's horse always gained some advantage ; but these produced nothing decisive.

Hodjee Hamet, who never suffered any scruples of conscience to oppose the foulest means to accomplish his views ; in a private letter sent to his brother, urged the necessity, in their present situation, of attempting that by treachery, which they had failed in obtaining by every other means. *Aliverdi*, who saw the hazardous and necessitous posture of their affairs, as well as his brother, did not long oppose the motion. *Hodjee* formed the plan ; and it was executed in manner following.

A treaty was set on foot by *Aliverdi*, who, under pretence of making it more conclusive and less liable to interruptions, proposed a conference with *Boschar Pundit*. The overture was accepted by that General ; contrary to the opinion of *Mbîr Hubbeeb* and the rest of his principal officers.

It was agreed that a spacious tent should be prepared and erected by the usurper, midway between the two armies, where the chiefs were to meet on a certain day and hour ; attended each with eighty followers only ;
and

and that in the mean time hostilities on both sides should cease.

The appointed time being come, and all things prepared for the reception of the chiefs; they advanced with the stipulated number of followers, consisting on both sides of principal officers. When they approached near the tent, *Aliverdî* entered first, and was followed by *Boschar Pundit*, without the least suspicion of treachery.

The usual salutations and ceremonials being over, and both parties seated; on a signal given, two hundred select men who had been concealed by *Aliverdî* between a double lining of the tent, suddenly rushed out; and cut the *Mabarattor* General and his party to pieces, before they were able to draw their scymiters; two or three only escaping in the confusion.

At the same instant a signal was displayed from the tent (before agreed on) for the speedy advance of the usurper's army: this being observed by the *Mabarattor* army, they also began to be in motion, not knowing as yet what had happened. But being not long after joined by those who had escaped the slaughter, and informed of the fate of

their general and officers, they breathed nothing but fury and revenge.

In the first transports of their rage they advanced, and seemed resolved to avenge the treachery; by giving immediate battle to the usurper. But here, the wisdom and address of *Mbír Hubbeeb* interposed: he represented to them, “ that the only means to frustrate the great object the usurper had in view by this treacherous assassination, was, to avoid coming to a general action with him.” His arguments gained force and influence from the distracted state of the army; which was now under no head or any regular command: and observing the usurper advancing towards them in full march, they suddenly retired; to his great mortification and disappointment.

As soon as the disorder in the *Maharator* army subsided, they elected unanimously *Allee Bey* for their General; an officer that held the next rank to *Boschar Pundit*; and who bore a considerable degree of reputation amongst them. And now their conduct seemed to shew that they had resolved to execute that vengeance on the distressed country and inhabitants; which they could not execute on the usurper himself. To
this

this end, they planted small parties of observation about the skirts of his army to report his motions; and appointing *Nagur*, the capital of *Bierboheen*, for their general rendezvous, they divided their army, and carried fire and sword in all their different routs.—They detached a strong body to *Bukchs Bunder*, which they attacked; took; and plundered: perpetrating every where the most execrable cruelties that revenge and inhumanity could dictate; cutting off the ears, noses, and hands, of any of the inhabitants whom they suspected of concealing their wealth, or valuable moveables; sometimes carrying their barbarity so far, as cutting off the breasts of women, on the same pretence; neither sex nor age proving any security against these enraged barbarians.

During these horrid scenes of desolation, the usurper left no stratagems unessayed to bring the enemy to a battle; but all his endeavours proved ineffectual. He was in continual chace of them from the beginning of *December 1742*, to the end of *February 1742-3*; and at length, with astonishing bravery and perseverance, he obliged them to repair to their general rendezvous; and to retire out of the provinces over the *Bierbo-*

been hills; from whence they soon took their departure for *Sittarab*, to render an account of their expedition—leaving many of their brethren behind them in the hands of *Ali-verdi*, who had been taken prisoners in different actions. Amongst the prisoners, was an officer of distinction, character, and authority, named *Sessarow*, of whom we shall again have occasion to make mention.

The usurper had hardly time to breathe and form some hopes of recess, and ease to himself; and tranquillity to his harrassed and desolate country; when he was again alarmed by advices from *Orissa*, that another army of *Mabarattors* had entered the provinces by the way of *Cuttack*, commanded by *Ragojee*; and to compleat his distress, and put his fortitude to the utmost proof, he shortly after received intelligence by express from *Hodjee*, that a third army of *Mabarattors* had entered by the side of *Patna* commanded by *Ballerow*, and had already penetrated within a day or two's march of *Siclygully*. These Generals led each an army of 60,000 horse; the first had been dispatched from *Sittarab*, to enforce the orders before given to *Boschar Pundit*, and to support him in the execution of them: the latter, marched out later from
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the same city with instructions to join *Ragojee*, and avenge the murder of *Boschar Pundit*; of which, advice had been received at *Sittarab*, by expresses sent from *Bierbo-been* immediately after that event.

The usurper thus beset, and apprehensive of being hemmed in by the two armies, and again cut off from his capital; directed his march with the utmost celerity to *Cutwab* bridge; which he gained; passed over his whole army; destroyed the bridge; and proceeded to his capital; with a mind greatly agitated and oppressed, by the reflection of being again forced to abandon his country to merciless enemies, whom he was not able to oppose with troops, enfeebled by continual labour and hardships.

The reader may remember of how great importance *the pass of Siclygully* might have been to the unfortunate *Suffraaz Khan*, had it been properly put in a state of defence. The usurper well knew its consequence; and therefore, soon after his possessing himself of the Soubahship, he stationed there a trusty officer with proved troops, and three pieces of cannon——depending that a vigorous stand would there be made against the invaders on the side of *Patna*; and their en-

entrance into *Bengal* at least retarded, if the *pass* was as well defended as it was capable of: not suspecting that there was a possibility of their obtaining an inlet by any other passage, unless they marched far to the Westward by the *Pachet* road, and entered by *Bierboheen*; as *Boschar Pundit* had done the preceding year; flattering himself, should they attempt it, that by so long a march they would not be able to reach the province before the annual rains set in: but herein his foresight failed him.

Ballajee Row, more commonly (though improperly) known by the name of *Ballerow*, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of *Boglypore*, received intelligence from those who had joined him, and were declared enemies of the usurper's house, that by his attempting to force the pass of *Siclygully* he would hazard the loss of a multitude of his men; and probably in the end be obliged to relinquish the design with disgrace to his arms.—The *Pachet road* was proposed, but he declined hearkening to it, urging “that thereby he should lose his
 “ harvest of plunder for that year; all
 “ which would be appropriated by his
 “ friend *Ragojee* to fatten himself and fol-
 “ lowers; whilst *he* and *his* people would
 “ be

“ be left to *starve* on the *Padjee* (paltry)
 “ contributions, he had been able to raise in
 “ *Babar.*”

Whilst he was under this difficulty, the evil genius of the usurper (and of unhappy *Bengal*) dictated a measure, that extricated him out of it without danger to himself or followers. He sent for some of the petty Rajahs from the neighbouring *Colgong* hills; and questioning them concerning a passage through the hills to *Bengal*, he offered them a large reward if any of them would supply him with guides to answer that purpose. The Rajahs, to a man, were well enough disposed to comply with his wishes; for the usurper's treacherous conduct, during the first six years of his government of *Babar*, had rendered his name as hateful as dreadful to them all: yet none of them had knowledge enough of the three ranges of mountains that separated *Babar* from *Bengal*, to engage in so hazardous an undertaking.

The enquiry and reward being, however, bruited abroad, it came to the ears of an old peasant an inhabitant of *Colgong* hills. This man came to the *Mabarattor* camp, and desired to be introduced to the presence
 of

of the General ; which having obtained, he boldly undertook, on the forfeiture of his head, to guide his army through secret passes into *Bengal*, for a reward of one Lac of Rupees, paid down to his family.

The General taking two of the Rajahs aside, to whom the peasant was known ; and enquiring of them touching the character of the man ; and what degree of credit might be given to his veracity and knowledge ; he received such encouragement that he no longer doubted ; and accordingly paid down the money, and issued his orders for marching the next day.

The guide, with faithfulness and dexterity, led the whole *Mabarattor* army ; at first Westward, a point or two Southerly ; until he found a *pass*, which he sought for about the center of the range of the *Colgong* hills. This pass being found, it was his mark for the remainder of the expedition ; and he carried them through it by very practicable roads with much facility, until the mouth of it opened upon the level country between the *Colgong* and *Telliagurry* hills. From hence his course was due South, which led to the second pass through the last-mentioned hills : this pass he accomplished with equal

equal ease; and from hence for two days he crossed the level country, that lies between the *Telliagurry* and *Rajambol* mountains; shaping his course about South-East: at night he told the General he must halt until the morning sun appeared.—In the morning he led them due South; and in the evening of the same day entered a pass which guided them through the *Rajambol* mountains; and landed (if we may be allowed the expression) the whole army, without the loss either of man or horse, in *Bengal*; on the plains, West of the city of *Rajambol*, at a little town called *Banian Gang*. Having performed his obligation in six days, from leaving *Bogulpore* (more commonly by the English called *Boglypore*) through ways until this period deemed totally impassible; he was farther rewarded with handsome presents by *Ballajee Row*, and departed to his home: his name was *Sittaram Roy*; a *Gentoo* of the *Raazpoot* tribe.—*Ballajee Row* reached *Banian Gang* the 13th of *March*, *Anno* 1742-3.

The usurper, who had received express intelligence of *Ballajee Row's* departure from *Bogulpore*, and of the march of his army Westward; did not entertain the least doubt but he was gone round the mountains

tains to enter *Bengal* by the *Pachet* or *Bierboheen*; and was so much convinced of it, that he began to prepare again for taking the field; projecting that he might be able to bring the other army under *Ragojee* to an engagement, and defeat him before he could possibly be joined by *Ballajee Row*: but he had hardly formed this resolution, when he was advised by a courier, from his Governor of *Rajambol*, “ That *Ballajee Row* had entered *Bengal* by passes through the mountains, and was by that time, he believed, joined with *Ragojee*.”

This intelligence shocked the usurper's present hopes, but not his courage and constancy: he laid aside the project of repassing the *Cutwah* river—but determined not to coop himself up again in his capital; for the defence of which having made every necessary provision, he formed a strong camp not far from the city; preserving a ready communication with it.

The two *Mabarattor* Generals met in the *Burdomaan* country, the 17th *March*, 1742-3; and after a private conference, the following agreement was published, “ that an equal partition of the revenues and plunder should be made between the two armies,

“armies, who nevertheless were to act
 “distinctly under their respective Generals
 “and officers.” They then settled the different routs of their detached small parties, and took intire possession of the country. Then uniting the main bodies of their armies, they marched to *Cutwab*; constructed a new bridge; and passed over with their whole force. Here they again separated, and renewed the depredations every where, that *Boschar Pundit* had begun the preceding year.

During these transactions, the usurper kept himself within his entrenchments; yet he was not idle. Convinced he could not oppose them by force, he had nothing left but to combat them with fraud and stratagem; weapons which he was as great a master of, as of arms. His first movement was, to acquire a minute knowledge of the temper, genius, capacity, and characters of the two leaders of the enemy; and how they affected each other. In all these particulars he obtained perfect satisfaction, by the means of his prisoner *Sessarow* before mentioned; whom he had distinguished by every mark of favor and respect from the time he first fell into his hands; foreseeing he might be of future use to him: and from the arrival

of the two armies he had redoubled his caresses; and of an enemy, had made him a fast friend.

Divide and conquer, was one of the usurper's favorite maxims in politics, as well as war. By the lights he had received from *Sessarow*, he rightly judged the minds of the enemies Generals were fitly disposed to take the impresson he intended to stamp on them——he learnt that *Ballajee Row*, was hot; insolent; and withal avaritious to an extreme degree: that *Ragojee* was the bravest soldier, but irritated and jealous at *Ballajee Row's* being sent equal in command with him, as he bore a superior rank to the other. And more to flatter the usurper's artful views, he was informed that already there subsisted some misunderstandings between them and their respective troops; touching suspicions of an unjust division of their plunder on both sides.

With these materials he began to work; laboring to enlarge a breach that was not yet wide enough for an attack. His plan was; by every means to promote the growth of those seeds of division and jealousy which had already taken root amongst them: to this end, he directed some capable emissaries

varies (fully instructed) to desert to both armies; these executed his purposes so well, that they produced the effect he wished: they prepossessed the enemy against themselves; who accused each other of illicit practices in the division both of the revenues and plunder; and the spies were so well prepared, that they produced proofs and vouchers of many instances of what they insinuated (on both sides) that would not admit of contradiction. This occasioned mutual heats and animosities between the two armies, and an open rupture soon followed; each resolving to act in future on a separate and independant footing. The usurper seized this favorable occasion; and knowing *Sessarow* had an influence over *Ballajee Row*, (to whom he was related) he employed him to negociate, in the most secret manner, a separate treaty of peace with that General.

Sessarow exerted his power with such success, that he soon disposed his relation to receive favorable impressions of the usurper, and readily to hearken to a peace with him. To this he was the more easily induced, as thereby he indulged his ruling passion in the hopes of making his own advantage of the Usurper, without the participation of his rival *Ragojee*.

The preliminaries of this treaty were soon adjusted, “the usurper was to cede
 “to *Ballajee Row* alone, the *Chout* of two
 “years revenues; and *Ballajee Row* engaged
 “on his part, to join the Usurper with his
 “force, and assist him in driving *Ragojee*
 “and his army out of the provinces.” It
 was further agreed, that to keep up the ap-
 pearance of enmity and deceive *Ragojee*;
Ballajee Row’s army should advance nearer
 to the Usurper’s camp,—and make a shew
 of attacking it: this movement was not
 only made to amuse *Ragojee*, but also to fa-
 cilitate a personal conference between the
 Usurper and the General; which was to
 take place on the thirtieth of *March* 1743,
 near *Plassey*.

On the twenty-ninth of *March*, the usur-
 per quitted his camp, and directed his march
 towards *Plassey*. He was not far advanced,
 before his spies brought him intelligence, that
Ragojee’s army was in motion, as well as
Ballajee Row’s: this raised a suspicion in *Ali-*
verdi, that the treaty was only assented to,
 to amuse him, and draw him out of his
 camp: therefore he immediately retired to
 it again; and the treaty was retarded until
 the motions of the two armies were explain-
 ed to him.

Sessarow, deeply chagrined at suspicions which reflected on his own *sincerity*, engaged on the forfeiture of his head for *that* of his cousin; which engagement being supported by a solemn oath (the *Ganges*) on the part of *Ballajee Row*, *Aliverdi's* doubts subsided; the treaty was resumed; and the conference appointed on the third of *April*: but the place of meeting was changed to midway between *Plassy* and *Burwah*; a few miles nearer his camp and capital*.

On the second of *April*, the usurper again quitted his camp, and began his march; having draughted off a select body of 10,000 horse; commanded by *Mustapha Khan*; that moved on his flank, to be an occasional check on *Ragojee*.

On the third, the chiefs met at the appointed place, in a tent (previously examined by deputies from both parties) about two corse distant from each of their armies.—The condition openly insisted upon by the *Maharattor* was, “that twenty-five lac of

* The cause that gave rise to *Aliverdi's* suspicions, was this.—*Ragojee* having heard that *Ballajee Row* intended to attack *Aliverdi's* camp, and judging the city would fall a prey to him if he succeeded, he put his army in motion, that he might be near at hand, to come in for a share of the plunder.

“ rupees, for two years Chout of the reve-
 “ nues, should be paid down in gold ;”——
 to this the Ufurper replied, “ that howso-
 “ ever unreasonable the demand was, con-
 “ sidering they themselves had collected
 “ *the whole* of the revenues and customs
 “ for the last two years; yet, he would
 “ not make any objection, provided that
 “ *Ragojee* could be brought to sign the
 “ treaty; otherwise he could not submit
 “ to it:” This unexpected proposal was
 highly disgustful to *Ballajee Row*, and had
 well nigh broke off the treaty; but by the
 interposition of *Sessarow*, he was at last
 prevailed on to send the overture to *Rago-
 jee*; but not until he had been made easy
 by the promise of a private gratuity for
 himself.

Ragojee immediately returned for answer,
 “ that he would hearken to no terms of ac-
 “ commodation, unless the payment of the
 “ Chout in perpetuity, was established to
 “ them; as a preliminary article for treat-
 “ ing at all*.”

When the messenger returned with this
 laconic reply, the treaty seemed for some

* This preliminary was dictated to him by *Mbir
 Hubbeeb*, who joined *Ragojee* as soon as he entered the
 province of *Bengall*.

time suspended.—However, by the address and mediation of *Sessarow*, a separate peace was at last concluded with *Ballajee Row*, on the following terms—“ That the Usurper
 “ shall pay down two years Chout, estimat-
 “ ed at twenty-two lac of rupees in gold ;
 “ and that *Ballajee Row* should either satisfy
 “ *Ragojee*, or join the Usurper to drive
 “ *him* out of the country.” To the performance of which they both solemnly engaged themselves by the most obligatory oaths ; this done, and mutual compliments and presents made, they parted.

The Usurper with great punctuality performed his part of the treaty in two days ; and *Ballajee Row* so far regarded it, that he drew off his army ; repassed *Cutwab* river ; and retired to *Burdomaan*, followed by *Ragojee* ; who thought himself no match for the Usurper on equal terms.

Ballajee Row recalled all his detached parties ; and making a dividend amongst his troops of part of the Usurper's contribution, according to their different ranks, he quitted *Bengall* ; and marched by way of *Bierboheen* to *Sittarak* ; leaving (in breach of his solemn oath) *Ragojee* to make the best terms he could for himself.

This General made the most of his time ; and immediately took possession of those parts of the country, which had been lately evacuated by *Bállajee Row's* flying parties. He sent *Mbâr Hubbeeb*, with the title and authority of General, to take possession of *Orissa* ; who accordingly seated himself at *Cuttack*, where he ruled as sovereign of the province.

The Usurper, called upon by the universal clamour of the people, and distressed of his country, once more quitted his capital, crossed over *Cutwah* river ; and marched in pursuit of *Ragojee* : in which chace he was employed all the remaining part of *April*, and until the middle of *May* ; without being able, by any art or stratagem, to bring him to a general action. And the rains setting in earlier than usual this year, and the roads becoming impassable, both armies were obliged to go into quarters, about the twentieth of *May*. At the close of this campaign the enemy remained in quiet possession of *Orissa* ; and of all the country on the Western shore of the *Hougley* river ; from *Ballasore*, to within a few miles of *Tanna's Fort*, near the *English* settlement of *Fort William* *.

* *Aliverdi* retired with his army to *Morshadabad*, and *Ragojee* with his main body to *Beirboon* during the rains.

Though

Though the treaty of peace with *Balla-
jee Row* answered a present purpose, and re-
lieved the Usurper from the more imme-
diate danger which threatened himself, his
capital and family; yet it afforded no relief
to the provinces. The partial execution of
the treaty on the part of the *Mahurattor*,
he could not be much surpris'd at; as him-
self had set them an example of perfidy and
treachery.

Every evil attending destructive war,
was felt by this unhappy country in the
most eminent degree. A scarcity of grain
in all parts; the wages of labor greatly en-
hanced; trade; foreign and inland, laboring
under every disadvantage and oppression:
——and although during the recesses of the
enemy, from *June* to *October*, the manu-
factures of this opulent kingdom rais'd
their drooping heads, yet the duration of
their reprieves from danger was so short,
that every species of cloth at the *Arungs*
was hastily, and consequently badly fabri-
cated; though immensely rais'd in its price;
and from these causes came into disrepute
at all the foreign markets; particularly at
the Western ports of *Juddah*, *Mocha*, and
Bussoorah.

The trade of the *Europeans* became greatly embarrassed and injured; their effects were often plundered by the enemy; and these grievances were much heightened by oppressive exactions of the Usurper. But in this they were not singular; for the whole of the people who still remained within the reach of his grasp, suffered equally in this respect: even *Juggaat Seet's* house, which so eminently promoted his usurpation, was often fleeced; to the malicious joy of all, who were friends to *Soujab Khan's* family.

For these oppressive measures the Usurper had nothing to plead in extenuation, but *the necessities of his situation*: and in truth, had he not been the ungrateful traitor he was, they were such, as would have merited the deepest commiseration: for although by his usurpation he became possessed of the treasures of the three last Soubahs, yet so immense were his continual expences and disbursements, that little of them remained; it being pretty well known, that he, notwithstanding what has been said of the treaty with *Ballajee Row*, did not buy the absence and retreat of that General, for a sum less than five *korore* of rupees*; although the twenty-two lac, for two years Chout only, were speciously published to the world; to

* *Five Million Sterling.*

save the credit of the Usurper, and to afford an opportunity to the *Maharattor* of secreting from his followers all above that sum ; which he appropriated to his own use ; besides the lion's share of the twenty-two lac : therefore he was well enabled at his departure to present to *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, *Hodjee's* second son, a single compleat dress (for *Seerpah*) valued at two lac of rupees.

In *October* 1743, the next campaign opened ; when the Usurper again took the field : and *Ragojee* descending from the heights of *Bierboheen*, assembled his forces about *Burdwan*.—The succeeding months exhibited the same scenes of marches, countermarches, retreats and skirmishes, with various success ; but with uniform misery to the people ; who now for the first time, began to be plundered, and cruelly treated ; as well by the detached parties of the Usurper, as of the enemy : the former assuming the dress and accoutrements of the *Maharattors*, to cover and conceal their villanies.

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1743.

In *March* 1744, these invaders entered the provinces in fresh shoals, by *Cuttack*, *Bierboheen* and *Patna*, excited by the immense booty carried off by their brethren, the two preceding years—and thus this miserable

Anno
1743-4.

serable country fell annually a prey to the depredations of the *Maharatters*, under various leaders, for the six succeeding years; receiving no effectual check, but from the succession of the usual rainy seasons. During these intermediate spaces the country was left to fatten, that it might again be worth devouring. In the mean while, the Usurper sustained himself with amazing constancy, intrepidity and address; though often reduced to the deepest distresses; parts of his capital being frequently attacked and plundered.

In the latter part of the year 1744, by indefatigable and sudden marches he attacked and beat up all the quarters of the enemy; and obliged them to retire much sooner than usual. *Orissa* only remaining in their possession; early in *December* 1744, he marched to that province; where with expedition hardly to be conceived, he retook *Cuttack*, and recovered the province; obliging the enemy to retreat to the hills. Then leaving forces for the defence of it, he returned, and arrived at the capital, the beginning of *February* 1744-5; crowned with laurels; and received with wonder. Here, revolving in his mind the confusion of affairs in the province of *Babar* and city of *Patna*; and
its

its importance to him, as being one of the enemies keys into his country; and determining to have a Governor there, whose courage, capacity and integrity he might repose a perfect confidence in, he fixed upon his nephew *Jeyndee Amet Khan* for this post of trust, who possessed these qualities in a very high degree. He soon after set out for his government, escorted by a strong body of horse.

We shall omit entering more minutely into the particular occurrences of these annual invasions, which would only exhibit an irksome detail of murders, oppressions, and distresses, similar to those already recited: but as we cannot help viewing this Usurper in an extraordinary light, we should be inexcusable in neglecting to lay before the public and posterity those striking events, which were interesting in themselves; and which more strongly mark the character and genius of this great, though wicked man, in the course of a destructive eight years war. With this intent only we again resume our narrative from the close of the year 1745; a period which gave birth to an *incident*, that eventually proved not only the destruction of his hither-

to

to favorite General; but also that of his brother and nephew.

It was, at the time just mentioned above, that the Usurper first began to entertain suspicions and jealousies of the great reputation and power of *Mustapha Khan*; who had, by his master's liberality and other means, at different times acquired great wealth; which he profusely bestowed on the soldiery, but chiefly on the *Patans*; thereby gaining a dangerous popularity, that bore too much the appearance of ambitious views. Whether he really had any designs against his master is not known; but his being the idol of the army was cause sufficient to make him obnoxious; in a government where no subject can with safety to himself, or to his prince, be possessed of a superior degree of power or renown.

The Usurper had received intelligence from his brother *Hodjee*, that *Mustapha Khan* was forming designs to his prejudice; and that he had actually concerted measures with the *Maharattors*, for cutting him off the ensuing year; and placing himself in the government.

Whether this intelligence had truth for it's foundation, or was only afterwards devised

vised to cover the step, that was premeditated against *Mustapha Khan*, is uncertain. *Hodjee*, however, had the address to produce vouchers for his suspicions that approached to facts; and these acquiring weight from the brother's apprehensions of that General's known talents, reputation, and popularity; it was resolved at all events that he should be assassinated the next time he appeared at court: assassins were accordingly provided, and stationed for his reception.

But *Mustapha Khan* being generally beloved, the design against him could not be so secretly conducted, as to prevent his receiving hints to provide for his safety; and though these were imperfect, they were yet sufficiently alarming to urge his immediate departure from the city, with 3000 *Patan* horse. In about twelve hours after, he was followed by *Sunseer Khan*, a *Patan* General next in command to him, with about 2000 more of their country-men. The whole being joined, by rapid marches, they arrived at *Siclygully*, before any suspicion or intelligence of a breach between them and the Usurper had reached the commander of that *pass*; and by a well feigned story of their being dispatched to join

join and re-inforce *Jeyndee Amet Khan*, they were permitted to advance into *Babar* without interruption; intending to pass through that province into the *Patan* country.

So great a defection of his best troops, with two officers of such reputation at their head, struck the Usurper with the deepest apprehensions, and this on a double score. He had the greatest cause to dread a union between the *Mabarattors* and *Mustapha Khan*; and by the secret flight of that General, he became convinced that some traitors were about his person: but still himself, under every exigency and difficulty, he lost not a moment—by large presents, and larger promises, he secured the fidelity of the remaining *Patans*—sent express upon express to his nephew *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, informing him of this untoward event, with orders “to take the field with what troops
 “ he could get together, and endeavour to
 “ intercept the fugitive *Patans*—and that
 “ himself would go in pursuit of them,
 “ and probably they might be hemmed in
 “ between them.”

The Usurper immediately put himself at the head of a strong body of forces, who
 were

were best attached to his person and government; and with the greatest expedition arrived at *Siclygully*; where he only stayed to strike off the head of that commander, who had suffered the *Patans* to pass his post.

Had the unfortunate *Mustapha Khan* made the same expedition from the pass of *Siclygully*, as he did to it; he would, in all human probability, have eluded the pursuit, and passed through *Babar* before he could possibly have been intercepted by *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, or overtaken by the Usurper. But for a particular reason, to be hereafter mentioned; and not suspecting he was pursued, he proceeded through *Babar* by such slow marches, that the Usurper came up with him between *Mongbir* and *Patna*; and sent a messenger to him with offers of pardon, to himself and followers; if they would submit, and embrace again his service.

Mustapha Khan, disdainful all terms of accommodation, returned the Usurper's messenger, with a brave defiance to him; and receiving intelligence at the same time, that *Jeyndi Amet* was within a few hours march of him, he thought it most adviseable to
face

face about, and fight the Usurper first; having learnt his troops were very little superior in number to his own; therefore without hesitation he distributed the necessary orders, and gave the signal for battle.

The conflict was bloody, but of no long duration. Valour and resentment took full possession of the soul of *Mustapha Khan*, and left no place for prudence or precaution: fired with the hope of executing his vengeance on the Usurper, he thought all else unworthy his sword; and attempting with too much impetuosity to penetrate to that part where *Aliverdî* fought, and not being well supported, he was soon surrounded, overpowered and slain—his head was separated from his body, and elevated upon a spear—his death being known to the *Patans*, *Sumseer Khan*, with those that survived the battle, made a speedy flight; and taking a rout different from that, by which *Jeyndî Amet Khan* was advancing, they escaped out of the province; notwithstanding the eager pursuit that was made after them.

The Usurper returned to his capital more dreaded, but less beloved by the people, for this last stroke of his policy. The jealousy, and (generally believed) unjust motives,

for assassinating the *Patan* General were now blazed abroad; and the Usurper became the object of detestation to some of his best friends, who drew a conclusion (from this act of base ingratitude to the man, who had so often preserved his life and government)—very unfavorable, and alarming to themselves; as the merits of their greatest services, might on the slightest suspicions or fear, in the cowardly breast of *Hodjee*, only draw on their own destruction.

Hodjee, who had accompanied his brother in this expedition against *Mustapha Khan*, advanced with the head of the *General*, to meet his son *Jeyndi Amet Khan*. With him he returned to *Patna*; and after bestowing many indignities upon the head of that brave man, whose face he could not have beheld the day before, without sinking into abject fear and terror; he had now the coward bravery, to order it to be carried in triumph three times round the city;—unworthy and indecent insults! from which the remembrance of his former signal services should have defended his senseless remains.—*Justice* seemed to interest herself in avenging the death of this gallant man, by favoring in an extraordinary manner the escape of her destined instrument

Sumseer Khan : and the brave *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, at the sight of the barbarous insults exercised by his father, could not refrain from tears ; for great friendship subsisted between him and the deceased ; and his memory was dear to him.

We will leave *Hodjee* on his return to *Morshadabad* ; exulting for a short time over the success of his treacherous machinations ; and advert to *Sumseer Khan*.

This *Patan* General arriving safe with his few followers in their own country, began immediately to levy troops ; and with such success, that in the year 1747, he was enabled to advanced towards *Patna*, at the head of 8000 choice horse.

Here it is necessary to advertise the reader, that the two *Patan* Generals on their sudden retreat from the city of *Morshadabad*, had opened a correspondence with *Mbir Hubbeeb*, informing him “ that they should
 “ return the next year, to attempt the cap-
 “ ture and plunder of *Patna* ; then march
 “ by the hills and join the *Maharattor*
 “ army ; and with their united force at-
 “ tack the Usurper ; declaring themselves
 “ justly absolved from all allegiance to the
 “ *assassin.*”

“ *assassin.*” *Mbîr Hubbeeb* improved upon
 this plan and advised “ to encounter *Hodjee*
 “ and the Ufurper with their own weapons,
 “ *craft and treachery*; for that, by address
 “ and management, and a well feigned con-
 “ trition for their former conduct, and a
 “ fresh tender of their troops, they might
 “ easily obtain an interview with the Nabob
 “ of *Patna*; at which they should cut him
 “ off: a circumstance that would much fa-
 “ cilitate the taking and plundering that city
 “ (which seemed to be their principal ob-
 “ ject) as such an event must necessarily
 “ cause the greatest confusion and conster-
 “ nation in the place.”

It was this intercourse of letters, that
 proved fatal to *Mustapha Khan*; by retarding
 his escape through *Babar*, as already men-
 tioned—but the counsel of *Mbîr Hubbeeb*
 was not lost upon *Sumseer Khan*; who was
 a man, possessed of every requisite, for carry-
 ing it into effectual execution. He was brave;
 artful; beloved and highly esteemed by his
 officers and soldiers; who, to a man, were
 united to him in a solemn vow, to take an
 exemplary revenge for the death and indig-
 nities of their late lamented commander; or
 perish in the attempt.

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With this determined view, *Sumsfer Khan* began his march; and being arrived within a few hours of *Patna*, on the opposite shore of the river, he dispatched a letter to *Jeyndi Amet Khan*, couched in the following terms, “ that his heart had felt the
 “ deepest compunction for his past conduct,
 “ to which he had been instigated by the
 “ rash counsels of his late commanding of-
 “ ficer; that he appealed to *Jeyndi Amet*
 “ himself, to witness for the approved fidelity
 “ he had always shown for the service and
 “ interest of the Soubah his uncle; that he
 “ had now raised a faithful and tried body
 “ of officers and troops; who, with him,
 “ were ready to devote their lives to his
 “ commands, against the common enemies
 “ of his house and country: hoping he
 “ should obtain permission to visit him; and
 “ in a personal conference, give him more
 “ convincing proofs of his attachment and
 “ submission.”

Jeyndi Amet Khan immediately communicated the contents of this letter to his father *Hodjee*, who was very lately arrived at *Patna*; brought thither by some informations the brothers had received of the concerted scheme between *Sumsfer Khan* and *Mbir Hubbeeb*, for the plunder of that capital—

tal—*Hodjee*, without a moment's hesitation, ordered his son to encourage *Sumseer Khan's* visit, and cut him off; telling him, he himself would direct the means.

Jeyndi Amet Khan, much averse to obey these orders, determined to wait those of his uncle to whom he wrote, and transmitted a copy of *Sumseer Khan's* letter; and in the mean time he returned in civil terms a reply to the *Patan General*, telling him “he had forwarded the purport of his request to the Soubah, but that he could not give any conclusive answer thereto, before the Soubah's pleasure was known.”——This soon reached him, in these few, but peremptory words, “Regarding the business between us and *Sumseer Khan*, follow the orders of your father.”

Hodjee directed *Jeyndi Amet Khan* to write to the *Patan General*, “that he should with pleasure receive his visits, and rejoice to embrace him; as the Soubah had readily accepted the tender of his services, and wished his speedy march to *Morshadabad.*”——To which purport the Usurper had likewise wrote to him in pressing terms; thereby intending to lull him into the greater security.

We have already hinted the method proposed by *Mhîr Hubbeeb* to the two *Patan* Generals, for taking off the Nabob of *Patna*, and plundering the city. The intelligence the brothers had received extended only to the latter part of their scheme; of the intended assassination of the Nabob they had not the least conception.—*Hodjee's* counter-plot for the murder of *Sumseer Khan*, was concerted in manner following. A day was appointed for the General's visit to *Jeyndî Amet Khan*, on a plain a small distance North of the city; where a sumptuous tent was prepared for his reception; in the floor of which a mine was sunk, whose train extended some distance from the tent. The signal for putting fire to the train, was *Jeyndî Amet Khan's* withdrawing a certain space from the tent.—Every circumstance of which was betrayed to *Sumseer Khan*, by a *Patan* in the service and confidence of *Hodjee*.

On the receipt of the Usurper's and the Nabob's letters, *Sumseer Khan* passed the river with his troops, about two miles to the Northward of the city; and being advanced, on the day appointed, within a furlong of the tent; he received a polite message from the Nabob, requesting, "that he would
" favor

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“ favor him in ordering his troops to halt ;
 “ that they might not in their conference
 “ be incommoded by the dust ; for that he
 “ himself was only attended by fifty fol-
 “ lowers.”——This request was instantly
 complied with, and the *Patan* General pro-
 ceeded to the tent with a few selected atten-
 dants only ; all of whom were provided with
 armour under their coats.

They met in mutual embraces, and with
 the most affectionate compliments ; these
 over they seated themselves, and began to
 confer upon the operations of the war,
 against the common enemy the *Maharat-
 tors*.——After about an hour’s discourse, a
 servant came and whispered the Nabob,
 who soon after arose, telling the General
 “ that he was just going to give some ne-
 “ cessary orders for his reception and en-
 “ tertainment in the city, and should at-
 “ tend him again in a few minutes.”——
 When he had got half way to the door of
 the tent, *Sumjeer Khan* and his attendants
 drew their scymitars, fell upon *Jeyndi Amet
 Khan*, killed him, and all that were in the
 tent, before they had time to make any
 resistance : some instantly flew to the head
 of the train, to which they were perfectly
 instructed, and prevented fire being put to

it; for on the alarm, those who were on the outside of the tent, and thereby escaped the slaughter, fled with all speed to the city.

Sumseer Khan made a signal for his troops to advance; and mounting his horse gained the city almost as soon as the fugitives, and entered it sword in hand with his soldiers; before *Hodjee Hamet* had received the least intelligence of the unhappy fate of his beloved son.

He proceeded immediately to the palace, where, with little resistance, he took *Hodjee Hamet* prisoner, at the very moment he was (in disguise) making his escape; and after securing him under a strong guard, he went in search of the principal *treasures* of the city, (to which he was minutely directed by his spies) these he deposited in the palace, and gave up the town to be plundered by the soldiers; who, for the space of three days, committed every ravage and outrage that revenge and avarice, backed by uncontrolled power, could meditate and execute; except against the English, French, and Dutch factories; which alone remained exempt from ruin and unmolested.

Hodjee

Hodjee Hamet, after suffering the heaviest reproaches and revilings from *Sumseer Khan*, for his base ingratitude, treachery, and cruelty to *Mustapha Khan*; and after undergoing a hundred and one lashes from the severe discipline of the Khorah, was by order of the general set on an afs, with his legs tied under the belly of the animal; and his face painted half black, half white; and thus led round the city, the same route himself had appointed for the head of the unfortunate *Mustapha Khan*.—Returning from this disgraceful progress, the discipline of the Khorah was again inflicted on him; not only as a punishment, but with a view to extort from him a confession and discovery of a large sum of gold and diamonds; which, it was said, he had buried or otherwise secreted;—but he bore the lash with amazing constancy; and made not the discovery that was aimed at.—After this he was chained to the leg of an elephant,—to that very elephant, on which the head of *Mustapha Khan* was exposed and elevated. *Sumseer Khan* had doomed him to a cruel and lingering death; but one of his guards, touched with his great age; the high dignity he had born; his cruel sufferings; and heavy lamentations for his murdered son; conveyed, in pity to him, a dose
of

of poison ; which he greedily swallowed and put an end to his miserable being.

Sumseer Khan, after this exemplary vengeance, made a short stay at *Patna*, and retired to his country with an immense booty ; but without paying any further regard, at least for the present, to the engagements that subsisted between him and *Mbîr Hubbeeb*.

The fates of *Hodjee Hamet* and *Jeyndz Hamet Khan*, met a very different regard from the world ; the latter being as much lamented, as the memory of his father was detested. But it may be very easily conceived that the loss of both proved a heavy stroke of Affliction to the Usurper ; who now became as eminently wretched as he was great. His grief on the arrival of the news was such, that it was with the greatest difficulty he was prevented following them.— However ; cool reflection soon took place ; and his usual fortitude surmounted, in a few days, the first violent impressions of his irreparable misfortune ; and obliged him to attend the concerns of his government ; to which he was roused and stimulated by the spirited, wise and affectionate representations of his *Begum* — — A woman whose wisdom, magnanimity, benevolence, and every amiable

able quality, reflected high honour on her sex and station. She much influenced the Usurper's councils, and was ever consulted by him in every material movement in the state; except when sanguinary and treacherous measures were judged necessary; which he knew she would oppose, as she ever condemned them when perpetrated howsoever successful,—predicting always that such politics would end in the ruin of his family.

Though the Usurper's critical situation called him to action; yet the death of his nephew ever after remained a heavy pressure upon his heart. He greatly loved him, and had designed him his successor in the government of the Soubahship, in preference to *Hodjee's* eldest son; who then bore the title of the Emperor's Dewan, (to which he had just as much right as his uncle had to that of Soubah.) But this design being blasted by the untimely decease of *Jeyndi Amet*; and that occasioned by the pernicious policy of his brother and himself: the only amends in his power to make to the manes of his murdered nephew was, to transfer the affection he ever bore him, to his eldest son *Mhârza Mahommed*; whom he immediately adopted as his own: and this

4

youth

youth was, from that period, looked upon as his successor.

October
1747.

Until the rains broke up in *October* 1747, the Usurper remained unmolested ; but now the *Maharattors* re-entered the province of *Bengal* by the *Bierboheen* hills ; and *Sumseer Khan* having safely lodged his *Patna* plunder returned and entered *Babar* ; at last remindful of his engagement to *Mbîr Hubbeeb*, and hoping by an union with the *Maharattors*, to share at least the plunder also of *Morshadabad*.

The Usurper had taken the field very early—and on the first advice that *Sumseer Khan* had entered *Babar*, he advanced towards him by rapid marches ; thirsting to revenge his brother's and nephew's deaths ; and depending that he should be able to engage and defeat him before the *Maharattors* could possibly join him. Whilst he was in this pursuit, the *Maharattors*, who did not think it eligible to risque an action with the Usurper until they had joined their new allies, were on full march to the settled rendezvous at *Bogolpore* ; near which place the three armies arrived about the same time in the night. The Usurper encamped, and sent out his spies for intelligence.

gence. They soon returned and informed him he was encamped between the enemies armies; the *Patans* a corse to the Northward of him; and the *Mabarattors* about the same distance to the Southward.—This perilous situation would have struck any but this brave Usurper with alarm and terror: some of his general officers, proposed his taking the advantage of the night, and attempting a silent retreat to *Siclygully*; but he rejected this overture with high indignation.—He was perfectly acquainted with the different genius and disposition of the enemies he had to encounter; and from this knowledge formed his resolutions; the only resource left him was instantly obvious to this consummate general and soldier.

At midnight he held a council of war, of three or four of his principal officers only. To these he opened his designs, and directed them to issue orders for the troops to be ready to march, half an hour before day break; without striking their tents——strictly prohibiting they should encumber themselves with aught but their arms; for that his own, his officers, and soldiers baggage should be left in the camp; for which he himself would be accountable to them.

—These

—These orders distributed he went to rest.

Before day break the Usurper put himself at the head of his troops, and marched to attack the *Patans*; leaving his camp standing—he found them prepared to receive him, not doubting but their allies, whose situation they had learnt, would attack his rear.—A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Usurper might justly say, with another great usurper, “that he had many
“ times fought *for Empire*, but in this battle, *for Life*.”—After an obstinate contest *Sumseer Khan* was slain and the *Patans* put to flight—instead of pursuing them, he immediately returned in good order to his camp; where, as he had foreseen, he found the *Maharattors* plundering it, confusedly dispersed, and regardless of the commands of their General or Officers:—In this situation the Usurper fell upon them, and after a great slaughter gave them a total defeat and rout. After these exploits he returned triumphantly to his capital.

Notwithstanding these glorious successes, he was incessantly harrassed by, and forced to be ever in the field against the *Maharattors*,

tors, until the year 1750; when he made a lasting peace with them on the terms recited in the "Short sketch of the history of Bengal," before mentioned; to which we beg leave to refer. There the reader may if he pleases follow this great wicked man, "through the more pleasing scenes of domestic life, and public tranquillity." We shall content ourselves in closing this chapter, and second general head, with a few circumstances which happened in consequence of his natural demise, *Anno 1756*.—It is pretty well known, and has been by us severely felt, that he was succeeded by *Mbirza Mahommed* his adopted son and grandson (who assumed the title of *Surajad Dowla*) in the government: that after he had quelled an opposition that was made to his succession by part of his own family, he directed his arms against our settlements; took, and destroyed them.—The causes for that invasion of property, have been faithfully investigated and presented to the public in a second edition of "India Tracts," published *March 1764*.—This short recapitulation would have had no place here, but to introduce a circumstance not so well known as the foregoing.

When *Surajad Dowla* declared his resolution to attack and drive the English out
of

of Bengal, he was opposed by the affectionate remonstrances of the deceased *Aliverdi Khan's Begum*, already mentioned——with every argument which love and maternal authority could devise, she laboured to dissuade him from his purpose; but laboured to no end: for though the young tyrant preserved some reverence for her person, yet her influence was not great: but when she found him deaf to her entreaties, she had the courage to tell him, “ She saw his own
 “ fate was blended with, and waited on
 “ the destruction he was aiming to accom-
 “ plish against the English; and that if he
 “ persisted, his rashness and injustice would
 “ not only be the cause of his own death,
 “ but the total ruin of his family.” Her wisdom and foresight was so great and extensive, that it was commonly said by the Usurper, “ He never knew her judgment or
 “ predictions fail.”

We hope to meet with pardon for doing honour to the character of this extraordinary woman; especially as we thereby embrace a favourable opportunity of discharging the tribute of sincere gratitude particularly due from us,—the author owing life and liberty to her humane and successful intercession.

C H A P. III.

HA V I N G in the preceeding chapter shewn from what causes, and by what gradations the provinces of *Bengal* fell under the usurpation of *Aliverdi Khan*; our plan leads us next to convey a summary account of their produce; the division of their principals; districts; and towns; with their situation respecting each other; and their commonly estimated distance from our principal settlement of *Calcutta*.

Geographers have distinguished these provinces by the title of *the rich Kingdom of Bengal*; an epithet it highly merited when considered in its original state of opulence and tranquillity; in which point of view we intend to exhibit it; for this prevalent reason only; that we think it perfectly capable of being re-inflated and improved; a circumstance well worthy our *present* knowledge and attention.

To form a just estimate of the value and importance of these provinces, we must consider them at the period, when they were governed by the younger princes of the Blood Royal; that is, some years before *Jaffier Khan's* Soubahship; for in his time they first began to decline and decrease in their worth; from causes already investigated in our last general head.

From his demise, the country for a few years recovered, and began to flourish, until within two years of the decease of *Sujah Khan*; when, by the rapacity of *Hodjee Hamet*, the Rajahs and Zemindars were again cruelly oppressed and plundered; and were thereby disabled from making good their contracts to the government.—Soon after this period, commenced the usurpation of *Aliverdi Khan*; that drew on the *Maharator* invasion; which overwhelmed the country in miseries of every kind for the full space of eight years.

The peace which the Usurper made with these invaders, *Anno 1750*; seemed, for four or five years, to promise the restoration of vigour to this harassed country: but its shattered constitution was scarcely beginning to revive, when the rash conduct of the
suc-

succeeding young tyrant reduced it again to eminent peril. A just vengeance and necessity drew the English arms against him and his country; which produced a revolution fatal to himself and family;—necessity again, produced a second revolution;—wantonness a third; and when we shall stop, time alone can disclose.—A few individuals may benefit by this shifting system; but total ruin to the trade of the provinces, and to the Company, must manifestly in the end be the consequence of this continued warfare, if not timely prevented; notwithstanding the flattering fallacious success of our arms.

The foregoing short recapitulation we thought necessary, to vindicate our conclusion; that no perfect judgment can be made of the value of this inestimable country from any period of time within the last forty years; during which space, with few and short interruptions, it has been involved in war, and labored under difficulties that have impaired it's very vitals. Thence, the necessity of our giving a picture of it in a permanent settled government; when the lands were permitted to yield their produce unmolested; when the manufactures and every branch of trade flourished; and when the rents, revenues and customs resulting from

that happy state, prove it to have been as valuable a spot as any upon this globe; if not the most so.

To this desirable state, we repeat, from our perfect knowledge and experience, it is capable of being restored under a *proper government*; if it was not, our present labors were vain; and could answer no end or purpose. What essential end and purpose they are calculated to obtain, we shall now venture to open; and as I have no motive to influence me but sincere gratitude to my former employers, and true love for my country, I trust my endeavours will meet with candour and thanks—at least from the public, if not from that *respectable body of men*, for whose benefit they are more particularly intended.

Notwithstanding the plausible face of success, our affairs in *Bengal* may wear at present by late advices from thence; it is as demonstrable as any proposition in Euclid, that they cannot produce the great and essential end aimed at, *viz.* a lasting peace and settled government; without which, the Company must sink under the pressure of a long expensive war; which not only swallows up their new acquired revenues;

revenues ; but impedes and shackles their trade in every instance, shape and form. In prosecution of this war, the heads of their servants abroad are turned and bewildered ; and their mercantile business (which only can support the Company in the end) must suffer under unavoidable neglects and abuses. The gentlemen at home in the direction of affairs, must labor under heavy embarrassments in conducting the two branches of war and trade ; either of which would fully employ their whole time and attention.

A trading and a fighting company, is a two headed monster in nature, that cannot exist long ; as the expence and inexperience of the latter, must exceed, confound, and destroy every profit or advantage gained by the former.—New *temporary* victories, stimulate and push us on to grasp at new acquisitions of territory ; these call for a large increase of military force to defend them ; and thus we shall go on, grasping and expending, until we cram our hands so full that they become cramped and numbed ; and we shall be obliged to quit, and relinquish even that part, which we might have held fast ; if bounds had been set to our progress :

which (upon the present system) we now see is utterly impossible; therefore a total change in our politics becomes indispensably necessary.

The gentlemen in the direction must surely see this fatal tendency of their affairs, and must tremble at it—but where's the remedy they will say?—it has been already pointed out and no regard paid to it—possibly, though convinced, they want the public sanction to a step they may think so extraordinary——though every day they are taking steps more extraordinary, in supporting their servants in a war against the Mogul, his Vice-Roys, and subjects, which on the present plan must unavoidably prove the ruin of the company.—We have a considerable concern in this stock, and therefore claim a right to speak—when private remonstrances fail, public ones may acquire a due influence.

Why we should wantonly persist in a state of destructive war, with a Potentate, whose alliance is so materially necessary to us; when we have it so much in our power to make a useful friend of him and his successors; is a conduct that surpasses human under-

understanding; and yet that such has been our conduct for five years past is most certain.

Let us have done with this ringing changes upon Soubahs; there's no end to it. Let us boldly dare to be Soubah *ourselves*; our own terms have been more than once offered to us by the Emperor; why should we longer hesitate to accept them? We have not scrupled to seize and possess part of his territory with violence; surely it would be more conscientious, and more consistent with the laws of nature and nations, to hold the whole of these provinces under him, by his own appointment.—That this would be readily assented to on his part, if a proper overture came from us, is not to be doubted: the consideration of his own great and obvious advantages, and the necessities of his situation would leave him no room for choice.

We have already convinced him, we are able, when we have a mind to set our own ruin and the lives of our fellow subjects at nought, to hold this part of his country from him, in spite of his strongest efforts against us: nay, possibly we might retain it under our subjection for some short time at least;

but the consequence to him, and us, is obvious: a wanton expence of blood and treasure; while the object we are contending for is daily more and more desolated by this contention; and, bye and bye, will not be worth the possession of either——for every movement that does not tend to a lasting and firm peace by advantaging both, is fruitless; and can have no permanent or salutary effect: and most sure it is, that the plan we have hitherto pursued, and are still pursuing, cannot accomplish that desirable issue.

It is true, we have seen our forces in the East, under the conduct of an able and active commander, drive the Mogul's Vice-Roys out of the provinces. It is also true, that we have seen a spirited conduct and bravery in the Mogul's troops, that ought justly to strike us with apprehension of future consequences. The *Russians* when first attacked by *Sweden*, did not possess a tenth part of the courage and discipline that these our enemies have now acquired; and yet the event is known to the world.——Let us reason upon very probable suppositions; and not rest in a too great and flattering security, at a time when we have the greatest cause to be alarmed.

Suppose the Mogul's Vice-Roys should, from experience, at last evidently see; that the only way to conquer us, and render our courage and discipline of none effect, is to avoid ever coming to a *general action* with us: with the great superiority of numbers they will ever be able to bring into the field, they may by this precaution and dividing their army (which consists chiefly of cavalry) into small bodies; cut off our provisions and forage; beat up our quarters; harrass our handful of men without ceasing; and finally destroy us without danger to themselves——and is it improbable they should at last adopt this conduct? we pronounce, no; it is most probable they will, as the only resource left for them.

Let us again, suppose a rupture with *France*, whilst we are engaged in this war with the Mogul; our presidency of *Fort William*, and our other factories in a manner deserted; and the chief strength of all our settlements acting at the distance of eight or nine hundred miles from the center of our possessions.—We will not suppose a rupture with *France* near; but let it come when it will, it sets at nought the article in the last treaty of peace, which gave us an exclusive right to *Bengal*; and therefore

ought to be attended to: for it is not to be imagined, that they will neglect so favourable an occasion of attacking a settlement, which constitutes, in the East, the very essence of our being; when they find it left defenceless by the absence of our troops.

In short, every consideration calls aloud for a period being put to this unprofitable, and precarious war, by some other plan of operations; and we assert none is so eligible, honourable, or practicable, as that we have now hinted at.—We have nibbled at these provinces for eight years; and notwithstanding an immense acquisition of territory and revenue, what benefit has resulted from our successes, to the company? are their dividends raised to the late standard of eight *per Cent*? no——it is impossible they should, whilst this destructive expensive contest exists---and shall we thus go on, nibbling and nibbling at the *bait*, until the trap falls and crushes us?---but to come more immediately to the point.

Permit us, Gentlemen, most humbly to advise, that express orders be sent without delay to your President and Governor of *Fort William*; to make the following overture of peace to the Mogul; viz. “That on con-
“ dition

“ dition of his appointing and investing (to
 “ all intents and purposes) your Governor
 “ for the time being, Soubah of the Pro-
 “ vinces of *Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa*; you
 “ will engage on your part, that the sti-
 “ pulated sum of one khorore of rupees,
 “ shall be annually paid into the royal trea-
 “ sury; free of all deductions.”

As this sum nearly doubles the stipulation made by the usurper *Aliverdi Khan*, with the Vizir *Munsoor Ali Khan*, Anno 1750, (a tythe of which by the bye was never paid) and we venture to say, *re-doubles in one year*, any advantages the Emperors have received from the revenues of these provinces, for the space of *forty years last past*; we cannot entertain a doubt of his most readily acceding to the terms proposed; as thereby he would also secure a powerful ally, who could be occasionally of service to him on any emergency, in his government.

When we are invested with this sovereignty and empowered to display the Mogul's royal standard; the provinces will be easily governed and kept in subjection, at a less annual expence and force, than the Company are now from necessity loaded with—but suppose it double, the *stake* is amply sufficient, as we shall presently demonstrate.

Some

Some narrow minded people, strangers to the nature of the country and government, will start; and make the greatness of the object a bugbear to their hopes and wishes--- Was it possible, that the Company could unmolested enjoy what they have got, and pursue their trade without interruption; we should be amongst the first that might justly exclaim against their extending their views; ---but, that this was impracticable, we have long foreseen and publicly declared;---and if we think at all, we must now be convinced there is no medium, or alternative, but this; that can be adopted with any appearance of security or permanency—
aut Soubah, aut nullus, must now be our motto.

We cannot enough applaud the seasonable measure of sending out Lord *Clive*, which we esteem a happy event; notwithstanding, what could be done upon the present plan of politics, has been done without him— the weight of his Lordship's reputation and experience, in those parts, will most essentially promote this our new plan: he is the best qualified to negotiate it; the fittest to be first invested with that high power; and the most capable of fixing and leaving it upon a solid basis.—That these are our
 real

real sentiments, flowing from a just regard to his Lordship's character, I think the public will not doubt; as they already know, we lie under no obligations to that quarter, that might excite our partiality.

We are very sensible, our rulers at home do not like to have the affairs of the Company, the subject of public disquisition. But as *they* and their affairs, are now truly become a very important national concern; and their own intestine quarrels have given a latitude to make their conduct the sport of every pen; we think there needs the less apology for the liberty we now take; as one of our chief motives is, to extricate *them* from the difficulties, we imagine they must be plunged in at this period. And no drowning man will be angry at another, who stretches out a friendly hand to save him from sinking?—The pointing out a measure to them that must, if it takes place, in a very short space, mount their stock in substantial real value to five hundred; will not hurt them or the proprietors.

But it may be asked us, if these only are your motives, why not intimate the measure in private to our chairman or court of directors? Why not communicate it, and enforce

force it, at a quarterly general court? Why not call a general court *on special matters*? Why are our affairs and schemes to be canvassed by the public? Have patience, my friends, and we will answer these interrogatories by one prevalent reason that determines us, to adopt none of them.—*Private intimations for public good, leave the parties entrusted, at large; and without public check, to concur with, or reject and lay aside, the means proposed; as caprice, want of comprehension, particular private views, or divided counsels, may chance to influence :—but when publicly made, they then become accountable to the world.*—In assigning this reason, we must not be thought to insinuate any doubt, injurious to the honour and integrity of the present Chairman, or present court of Directors, whom, from the sincerity of our heart, we believe as much attached to the true interest of the *East India Company*, as any sett of gentlemen who ever sat at that board.

Our wish is, to promote the well being of the *East India Company*; and not intentionally to give offence to any; and if our proposed plan meets not the approbation and concurrence of those who will most benefit by the event, we can only lament

ment their loss and our own.--It appears by a correspondence laid before the public, last year, that we urged the necessity of *this measure* in the year 1760; Glorious! would have been the issue for the company, had it been then carried into execution; and happy for many unfortunate individuals, who since perished by a contrary system of politics!---There would then have been no call or necessity for this Nabob-changing scheme; the provinces would have been established in peace; and war, revolutions, murders, and massacres, without a being—however, from a thorough conviction we say, it is not now too late to regain the happy opportunity we then lost: nay, subsequent events, rather encourage and afford a more favorable aspect; as things may be accomplished now under less difficulties, than we should at that period have had to encounter and struggle with.--In this confidence we shall proceed, and by a rough sketch of the produce of the revenues, show the vast stake we throw for. If we win, the gain will be immense: if we fail in the attempt, we are but where we were; and at the worst, shall have it in our power to resume *our old Dog Trot* policy again.

At *Natoor*, about ten days travel North-East of *Calcutta*, resides the family of the most ancient and opulent of the *Hindoo* Princes of *Bengall*; *Rajah Rhaam Khaunt*; of the race of *Bramins*; who deceased in the year 1748, and was succeeded by his wife, a Princess named *Bowanny Rhaanee*; whose *Dewan*, or Minister, was *Diaram* of the *Teely* cast, or Tribe. They possess a tract of country of about thirty-five days travel *; and under a settled government, their stipulated annual rents to the crown were seventy lac of *Sicca* rupees,—the real revenues, about one khorore and an half.

The chief towns of these districts are *Malda*, *Hurrial*, *Seerpore*, *Balekoosby*, and *Cogmarry*; all separately famous for manufacturing the following species of piece goods, viz. for the *Europe* markets, *coffacs*, *elatches*, *hummums*, *chowntahs*, *ootally soofies*, *seersuchers* and *raw-filk*:—for the markets of *Bussorah*, *Mocha*, *Judda*, *Pegu*,

* The *Gentoos* estimate distances by *corfes*, but more commonly by a day's journey, which they reckon five *corse*, but as the *corse* varies in different districts, from one and a half to two and a half miles *English*, we take the medium days travel at ten *English* miles.

Acheen and *Malacca*, the different forts of *coffa's*, *baftas*, *fannoofe*, *mulmulls*, *tanjeb*s, *ordinary kenchees*, &c. &c.

This country produces also, *copofs*, or *Bengal cotton*, with which the above fortments of goods are in part manufactured; but the produce does not bear any proportion to the consumption, fo that they are indebted to foreign markets for this article; and chiefly to the port of *Surat*.

The towns of *Bowangunge*, *Siebgunge*, *Sorupgunge*, and *Junmaalgunge*, are all famous markets for grain; as their names imply*.

Contiguous to this laft mentioned diftrict, but ftill more to the North-Eaft, lie the lands of *Rajah Praunaut* of the *Koyt*, or *Scribe Caft*. His diftrict extends about fifty days travel; confifts moftly of lowlands; and is in great part annually overflowed. His ftipulated yearly payment is twenty lac; the real produce of his revenue, from fixty to feventy---the chief products of his country are grain, oil, and ghee, (an article much ufed in *Indian* cookery) it likewife yields fome fpecies of piece goods and

* The meaning of *Gunge* being a grain market.

raw filk ; also foole sugar, lump jaggre, ginger, long pepper, and piplymol---articles that usually compose the gruff cargoes of our outward bound shipping.

The principal towns of this district, are *Rungfore*, *Gooragat* ; and *Santose Buddaal*, the capital residence of the head of this family : from these *Arungs*, the *East India* companies are supplied with fannos, mulmulls, tanjeb and raw-filk.

The great market of *Bugwan Gola**, is supplied from this district, with the three important articles of grain, oil, and ghee:---and now we have occasion to mention this mart, it is not foreign to our purpose to dwell a little longer on it---it is situate on the *Ganges*, about a day and a half North from *Morshadabad* ; and two days South Easterly of *Rajambol* ; and is the greatest market for the above-mentioned articles in *Indostan*, or possibly in the known world. The customs on grain only, amount to three lac of rupees *per Annum*---all the customs and duties of *Bugwan Gola*, rank in the list of revenues, under the head of *Khofs Mbol*, that is, duties which are kept in the government's hands ; and not farmed out.

* *Gola* signifies a granary.

This place is defended on the land side by a ditch and pallisadoes; and is always, in troublesome times, garrisoned by a thousand horse and a thousand foot.—In the year 1743, it was four times attacked by the *Maharattors*, under *Boschar Pundit* and *Alibeg*, who were as often repulsed—It is a place of such importance to the Soubah, that the command of the garrison is always bestowed on the most experienced and trust worthy officer he has in his service: the whole of its revenues being usually valued, in peaceable times, at thirty lac *per Annum*. In the beginning of the year 1750, it was again attacked by the *Maharattors*; taken and plundered of an immense booty.

North-West of *Fort William*, and about three days and a half distant, lie the lands of *Rojab Tilluck Chund*, extending twelve days travel. The stipulated rents of these lands are thirty-two lac *per Annum*; but their real produce and value, from eighty lac to one khorore. This is the principal of the three districts, ceded in perpetuity to the company, by the treaty with *Cossim Ali Khan*, in the year 1760.

The principal towns of this district are *Burdwan*, *Kirpy*, *Radnagore*, *Dewangunge*
 O 2 and

and *Ballikissagur*; these supply the *East India* companies with the following sortments of piece goods, viz. doorcas, terrandams, cuttanies, soofies, foot romaals, gurras, festerfoys, fanton coupees, cherriderries, chilys, custas and doosoota's. The capital, *Burdwan*, may be properly called the center of the trade of the provinces. In tranquil times, this place afforded an annual large vend for the valuable staples of lead, copper, broad cloth, tin, pepper, and tootague. The *Puggiab* merchants from *Delby* and *Agra*, resorted yearly to this great mart; and would again, if peace was established in the country:—they purchased the above staples, either without money; or in barter for opium, tincal, salt petre and horses.

This district produces raw-silk and co-poss, sufficient only for manufacturing their soofies, cuttanees and gurras.—The lesser towns manufacture other inferior sortments of cloth, as seerbunds, gollabunds, &c.—It produces grain, equal to the consumption of the people only.

Burdumaan (the proper name of the district) is high; better peopled, and better cultivated than any part of the three provinces.

vinces. Blessings! that caused it every year, more particularly, to become a prey to the *Maharattors*; as before recited.

The family of this Rajah farmed lands to the amount of four lac *per Annum*, contiguous to the bounds of *Calcutta*; and had a palace at *Beallah*, about seven miles South of it--the fort of *Buzbudjee*, on the *Ganges*, was also their property.

To the West of *Burdwan*, something Northerly, lie the lands belonging to the family of *Rajah Gopaul Sing*, of the *Raaz-poot Bramin* tribe. They possess an extent of sixteen days travel; this district produces an annual revenue of between thirty and forty lac; but from the happiness of their situation, he is perhaps the most independant Rajah of *Indostan*; having it always in his power to overflow his country, and drown any enemy that comes against him: as happened at the beginning of *Soujah Khan's* government; who sent a strong body of horse to reduce him: these he suffered to advance far into his country; then opening the dams of the rivers he destroyed them to a man. This action discouraged any subsequent attempts to reduce him—but if the frontiers of the district were so invested, as

to prevent the exit of the merchandize of his country, which might easily be done; he would be presently brought to obedience; and would be glad to compound for a tribute of twenty lac *per Annum*. As it is; he can hardly be said to acknowledge any allegiance to the Mogul or Soubah; some years deigning to send to him an acknowledgement, by way of salaamy (or present) of 15,000 rupees; sometimes 20,000; and some years not any thing at all; as he happens to be disposed.

But in truth, it would be almost cruelty to molest these happy peop'e; for in this district, are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, piety, regularity, equity and strictness of the ancient *Indostan* government. Here the property, as well as the liberty of the people, are inviolate. Here, no robberies are heard of, either private or public: the traveller, either with, or without merchandize, on his entering this district, becomes the immediate care of the government; which allots him guards without any expence, to conduct him from stage to stage: and these are accountable for the safety and accommodation of his person and effects.--- At the end of the first stage, he is delivered over, with certain benevolent formalities, to
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the guards of the next; who after interrogating the traveller, as to the usage he had received in his journey, dismiss the first guard with a written certificate of their behaviour, and a receipt for the traveller and his effects: which certificate or receipt are returnable to the commanding officer of the first stage; who registers the same, and regularly reports it to the Rajah.

In this form, the traveller is passed through the country; and if he *only passes*, he is not suffered to be at any expence for food, accommodation, or carriage for his merchandize or baggage. But it is otherwise, if he is permitted to make any residence in one place above three days; unless occasioned by sickness, or any unavoidable accident.--- If any thing is lost in this district; for instance, a bag of money or other valuable; the person who finds it, hangs it upon the next tree, and gives notice to the nearest Chowkey or place of guard; the officer of which, orders immediate publication of the same by beat of tomtom, or drum.

There are in this precinct, no less than three hundred and sixty considerable Pagoda's or places of public worship; erected by this Rajah and his ancestors.---The worship of the cow is here carried to so

great an extreme ; that if that animal meets with a *violent* death, the city, or village, to which it belonged, goes into a general mourning and fast, for three days ; and all are obliged, from the Rajah to the meanest of the people, to remain on the spot, where they first heard the publication of the accident ; and are employed, during that space, in performing various expiations, as directed in the *Sbastab*. But more of this under a subsequent general head.

Bisnapore, the capital, and chief residence of the Rajah, and which gives a name to the whole district, is also the chief seat of trade. The produce of the country consist of shaal timbers (a wood equal in quality to the best of our oak) dammer lacca's, an inferior sortment of raw-silk——and coposs and grain, sufficient only for their consumption : it is from this district that the *East India* Companies are chiefly supplied with the article of shell lacca.

North-West of *Bisnapore*, contiguous lie the territories of *Buddeir Jamma Khan*, son and successor to *Astoola Khan*, a Mogul, and Prince of *Bierboheen*.——How this *Mahomedan* family, originally crept in among the *Hindoo Rajahs*, we never could learn

learn with any precision ; but think it proceeded from it's importance to the Mogul government ; as being the pass into *Bengal*, from which most danger of invaders was to be apprehended ; and therefore the Emperor judged it expedient to have the government of this pass in the hands of a Mahomedan Prince : the conquered Rajahs not being deemed trust worthy.

The lands formerly possessed by this family, equalled in extent those of *Bisnapore* ; and yielded nearly the same articles of merchandize, and about the same revenue : but as soon as *Aliverdi Khan* usurped the government of the Soubahship, he divested this Rajah (for so he is commonly called) of a great part of his country, and other-ways oppressed him ; which he had afterwards cause to repent, as we have before shewn, but notwithstanding that, he remained taxed at ten lac *per Annum*.

The fertile part of his country is in the center of the *Bierbokeen* mountains. His chief residence is the fortress of *Nagur* ; and his principal town of trade, is *Illumbuzar* ; from whence the *East India* Companies usually had the greatest part of their gurras provided : but the *Maharattor* invasion

sion occasioned, in a great measure, this branch of trade to be transferred to the town of *Cutwab*.

North East of *Calcutta*, distant about three days journey, lies *Kissnagur*; the fort and capital of *Rajah Kissen Chund*. He possesses a tract of country of about twelve days journey; and is taxed at nine Lac *per annum*; though his revenues exceed twenty five Lac. His principal towns are *Santipore*, *Nuddeab*, *Bouren*, &c. where mullmulls, cof-faes, and cotton yarn are manufactured for the Europe markets: the country produces coppos and grain, but not sufficient for exportation.

The revenues of the city of *Dacca* (once the capital of *Bengal*) at a low estimation, amount annually to two Khorore; proceeding from customs and duties levied on cloths, grain, oil, ghee, beetlenut, chank-metals, salt, and tobacco, &c.

The foregoing instances of the value of the lands, in the province of *Bengal* only, held by the Rajahs, shall suffice; without our particularising those held by the *Zemin-dars*, scattered through the province: some of whom are very considerable land-holders.

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These are generally taxed nearer the real value of their lands, than those which are held by the Rajahs.

Time presses, and will not permit us to enter minutely into a detail of the other branches of the revenues of this opulent country, in times of settled peace; a bare mention of the principal remaining sources will fully and amply justify the point we aim at, and shew the vast importance of the stake we are pushing for.

Under this head are the revenues of the city of *Patna*, and those of the province of *Babar*—the government of *Purnea*, a rich *Nabobship*—the revenues of the capital of *Morshadabad*; the city of *Rajahmbol*; the towns and districts of *Cossimbuzar*, *Cutwah*, *Mercha*, *Buxbunder*, *Azimgunge*, *Jilinghee*, *Baaker Gunge*, *Rajapore*; several petty *Nabobships* and *Fowfdaarys*, &c. &c. &c.—the governments and districts of *Midnapore*, and *Chitygongh*, already ceded to us by the treaty of 1760—and the *Purgunnabs* ceded by the treaty 1757, all held by a most precarious tenure, whilst this war with the government subsists.

We make no account of the province of *Orissa*, usually estimated at one Khorore
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and a half, because it is a moot point, whether the Emperor will engage in any equivalent plan of satisfaction for the *Maharators* evacuating it. Be this as it may, if our general scheme succeeds, it would be worth *our* while to attempt the getting rid of them by fair means, as this province is greatly improvable, and constitutes a necessary frontier barrier to *Bengal* on the South. We say nothing neither of the *Jagghier* lands, which are not taken into our estimate, though these are objects may be worth a future consideration.

To sum up the whole, we venture to stake our credit and veracity on the assertion, that the two provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, will fully yield a revenue of *eleven Khorore per annum*, or 13,750,000 pounds sterling—if it yields this under a despotic and tyrannic government, in times of peace and currency of trade, what may *we* not more expect from it's improvements, under a mild and British one?—We beg leave to repeat, by way of conclusion, that

If we should succeed in the attempt, great and glorious will be the British name in those parts; and immense the gain to the company and nation—if we fail—nothing remains,

remains, but to obtain a lasting *peace* on almost any terms—for if this war continues much longer, on the present ineffectual and expensive footing, the company, as a company, cannot possibly support it; and therefore they must be reduced to the necessity of applying to our own government, for more powerful and potent aids than they hitherto have been indulged and favored with; though this has, we confess, been *pretty considerable already*. What right we have (I speak as a proprietor) to claim or expect more—we leave to be resolved by our honorable rulers.

With the above obvious conclusion, we close this our third general head, and *first part* of our work; and shall proceed to the discussion of our remaining five general heads, in a second part, as speedily as leisure and opportunity will permit.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Having received intimation that a certain party intended again to make application to parliament, for an act to lay the *splitting* of East India stock under some restrictions; and having seriously considered this subject in, we think, a new point of view; we
beg

beg leave to be heard a few words relative to this matter ; and a few more, touching the present mode of governing this company.

It is extraordinary that in the course of so much altercation before the general election, last year, on the propriety or impropriety of splitting stock ; two obvious considerations should not (as we remember) have been ever urged in defence of this practice : which, if duly weighed, we humbly imagine would determine parliament to discountenance, and throw out, any bill brought before them for the above-mentioned purpose.

That both parties, in the last year's direction, benefited themselves by this practice, is incontestable ; notwithstanding the bold assertion and fallacious reasoning on one side ; and the unmasked hypocrisy of *their champion Verax*.

It was asserted, “ that neither the stockholder could split nor transfer, nor the transfer accept and vote, consistently with a good conscience as a christian, or an honest man.”—To examine the foundation of this heavy charge, let us consider
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the situation of every East India proprietor on the common plan of voting, at general courts or general elections.

The proprietor who holds 50,000 *l.* original stock, and he who holds 500 *l.* are, touching the government of this company, upon an equal footing. Strange! that a regulation so repugnant to equity and the nature of things, should have so long subsisted without amendment.

The *attachment* and *attention*, which every individual owes to the particular community he belongs to, will, nay, must be in proportion to the specific *concern* and *part* he holds therein: therefore the proprietor who holds only 500 *l.* stock, will be less attached and attentive, and more liable to be swayed and influenced to join in bad measures with designing men, than the proprietor who holds 50,000 *l.* stock — Therefore whilst this inconsistent regulation subsists, and the letter of it is strictly adhered to, what remedy or means has the proprietor of 80,000 *l.* stock, to obtain an influence in the government of this company on any critical emergency in their affairs, adequate to his *concern* and *risque*, but this very method of splitting and dividing

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ing his stock? consequently, every attempt to deprive him of this only resource is, beyond doubt, most unjust; and may tend to the destruction of the company, if they should ever fall into the hands of a designing, self-interested, and wicked set of directors.

To refute the charge of dishonesty in the action itself, we need only consider it in comparison with a transaction much more common; yet, we conceive, strictly similar to it.

A. borrows 500 *l.* of B. on note of hand payable in any stipulated time;—will any man be hardy enough to say, that this money is not the property of A. to all intents and purposes, during the time of possession?—and could not A. conscientiously and honestly swear it was so?—where then is the essential difference between borrowing 500 *l.* cash, or 500 *l.* stock?—*Verax* will tell you (though he laughs in his sleeve at the same time) “that A. borrows the
 “ 500 *l.* cash to convert it to his own private occasions: but that the stock lent
 “ and transferred to A. is the consequence of
 “ a private compact and collusion between
 “ A. and B. to enable and qualify A. to
 “ vote

“ vote on that side of the question A. is to
 “ point out to him.”——Be it so — yet the
 moment B. transfers, and A. accepts, this
 individual 500*l.* stock becomes the property
 of A. it has every essential of property, that
 property can have annexed to it——he can
 sell, dispose of, give it away, and expend it
 in any manner he pleases; and though he
 determines to hold it, yet it remains totally
 in his own breast on which side he will be-
 stow his vote, (as a certain party we believe
 found the last election, to their great dis-
 appointment and disgrace.)——*Verax* will
 again tell you, there is a counter obliga-
 tion for A's replacing this individual stock.
 ---In like manner A. is obliged to repay his
 500*l.* cash, and take up his note; if in
 either case he fails, B. has his remedy at law
 ---but A. may most truly swear either to be
bona fide his property, whilst they continue
 in his possession; tho' he is accountable in
 the one case for payment, and the other for
 replacing.

Touching the mode of governing this
 company, we beg leave to say, it never
 was, nor ever can be *well governed* on it's
 present institution.---Would you have your
 court of directors respectable? reduce their
 number to fourteen; raise the qualification

for a director to 10,000*l.* original stock; and their salaries to 600*l.* *per annum.* On this plan, the direction of your affairs would become an object worthy of being courted by men of the most distinguished characters, abilities, and property: which the present great importance of this company loudly calls to be at their head---men who would not be shackled by their necessary attention to their own little concerns; and thereby, obliged to abandon those of the company to the conduct and disposal of one, two, or three members of their body; which unhappily has been the fate of this company from it's first institution.

S U P-

S U P P L E M E N T.

TO HENRY CRABB BOULTON, Esq;

C H A I R M A N,

AND THE REST OF THE GENTLEMEN

At present in the Direction of the Affairs of the
East-India Company.

GENTLEMEN,

THE many years I resided in *India*; the many offices I bore in the Company's service; the natural bent of my genius to observation and inquiry, and the various occasions that called forth a particular exertion of it, with the fruits of all those taken together, having been, in every interval of leisure and retirement, the subject of much meditation and recollection; I have been induced to give to the Public my thoughts on the affairs of that Country in general, and of *Bengoll* (with which I am best acquainted) in particular. My intention was surely laudable from its utility to you, to your Constituents, and my country; I say, for this reason my intention was laudable, whatever defects might be in the execution.

I was very conscious of the difficulty of the undertaking, and not less so, that there were many gentlemen, who had merited and raised to themselves both honours and fortunes in the service, more able to have performed such a task. Yet seeing their neglect, and well knowing that the greatest capacity, the most unwearied diligence in a Board of Directors, could never supply them with those lights, which experience only can furnish, or open to them the large and extensive views so requisite to persons in their station; I judged it expedient, or rather a duty incumbent on me, to make an offering to you and the Public of that knowledge, which with unceasing diligence I had laboured to obtain, and not suffer it to become altogether useless, by being buried in oblivion: More especially, as the critical conjuncture of your affairs in *India* seemed to call aloud for every assistance of the kind, for the better information of you, Gentlemen, who are intrusted with the interests of the whole body of the Proprietors; and not of them only, but also with the interest the Nation in general has, and must always have, in her commerce to the *East-Indies*.

These and these only were my motives to the work I published in *August* last. I leave you to judge, Gentlemen, how great my surprize and chagrin at being informed it has been privately insinuated to you (and probably some of your opinions influenced to believe) that in the estimate I have there given, the value of the rich provinces of *Bengall*, is highly exaggerated and much beyond the truth.

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Although my Chapter on this subject was more particularly addressed to you, yet as I had given it to the Public, I might reasonably have expected, if any one was better informed, or doubted on plausible grounds the authenticity of my computation, it would have been publickly impeached, and an opportunity afforded me thereby of vindicating its truth, by laying before the Public the grounds on which it is formed.

I hold myself much obliged to those friends, who by giving me timely intelligence of those insinuations, have put it into my power to do myself justice, and which is of far greater consequence, to do justice to the subject, by giving you such further information, as may remove every shadow of objection, and leave you thoroughly persuaded of the truth of what I have asserted to you and the Public; for although it is of no great moment to me, to you, or the Public to inquire, whether those insinuations arose from envy, self-interest, or personal malevolence; from whatever source they flowed, it is of great importance to the welfare of the *East-India* Company, and to the interest of the Nation in general, as well as in justice to my veracity, that by a speedy discussion their fatal tendency may be effectually removed. I beg leave to add, that at this time it is particularly necessary that all undue influence should be erased from your minds, as it is the season when *Bengall* affairs come in course under your immediate inspection; allow me therefore to presume there is great propriety (as my heart assures me there is great sincerity) in my present address.

By dedicating the Chapter in question, regarding the revenues, more particularly to you, I appealed as it were to you, who have in your hands vouchers, that by parity of reasoning (as will be shewn hereafter) would confirm my assertion, and thereby as I thought made it unnecessary to enter minutely into those proofs in support of it, which a bare *ipse dixit* in an address to the Public might have required. Without referring to such evidence, might I not reasonably hope to have had credit for my assertion with you, as I was conscious you very well knew that none of the Company's servants had ever applied with more diligence to this branch of your concerns, or met with more (if so many) repeated opportunities of prosecuting such inquiries: I entered on them early, I took my informations from those who were the best versed in these matters; I laboured hard to obtain intelligence of this sort, long before there was the least probability of my making use of that intelligence in a practical way; and afterwards my duty led me to verify many points relating to the subject, by the unerring light of experience; and the more my experience, the fuller were the evidences, and the stronger my conviction of the justness of that intelligence I had acquired. Might I not then rationally presume, under a full and firm conviction, that what I was writing was thoroughly well founded, (which could alone have prompted me to a task, to which I was not otherwise called) that I might make the offering to you and the Public, without apprehension of any impeachment of its veracity, but on the clearest and fullest evidence: as a considerable Proprietor, I

might have an interest in giving you just information ; I could have none in misleading you.

The only method of leading us to the truth, that the subject will admit, is reasoning by analogy from those things of which we are most certain, to those of a like nature, in regard to which we wish to be certain. This then is the method I shall pursue, and I hope and will endeavour to do it, with as much accuracy and perspicuity as you can reasonably expect.—These previous points being settled, we will now, Gentlemen, proceed to the business.

On a candid and attentive perusal of my third Chapter, it will be obvious from the whole tenor of it, that it is calculated to excite you to attempt the possession of this country, in trust for the Emperor, and thereby put a period to a destructive and inadequate war ; but can you imagine I excite you to this from the consideration of the worth of these Provinces, according to the rates standing upon the King's books ? no, it is from the consideration of their real value, and actual produce ; and the farther consideration of how much this produce would certainly be increased under an *English* Soubah.

You have been told, Gentlemen, (or my information is wrong) that the revenues of *Bengall* are rated on the King's books under three khore of *Sicca* rupees : If it is said, the rents of the lands are so rated, you have been told the truth ; these only go into the Royal Treasury, and to the best of my remembrance are rated at

two khorore, seventy-five, or seventy-six lac, and some odd thousands. Should this information (without looking further) be taken as a proof of my exaggeration, when my estimate expressly includes the rents of the lands, and the revenues arising from their produce? which I have estimated conjunctly at eleven khorore; and now proceed to the proof, resting it upon what those who are conversant in your affairs in *India* will admit to be an indisputable fact, that the lands throughout the provinces, bear nearly a proportional value to each other.

I cannot with any precision charge my memory (having none of my papers with me) as to what the lands of the Company's original zeminary *Calcutta* stood rated in the King's books; it is enough for my purpose, that you and I know, they and the revenues arising from them, for many years after the Company was invested with them, scarcely yielded a net profit that recompensed the expences of collecting them. In process of time, as their servants became better acquainted with the nature of them, they became an object more and more worthy of attention; and being divided into small farms, soon produced a net annual revenue from twenty to twenty-five thousand rupees; as the knowledge of their nature and value increased, so did the rents and farms; until they brought in a net revenue of near forty thousand rupees *per annum*. Here they seemed to be at their *ne plus ultra*; though the tenants were daily increasing, and the lands grew more fully occupied and cultivated; consequently their produce, and the consumption of
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that produce, enlarged; which rationally indicated there should have been an increase of the rents and revenues.

This not being the case, the Gentlemen then in the direction at home, ordered a scrutiny to be made in the office; and upon an average taken of the net proceeds for fifteen years preceding the year 1752, they appeared to have produced the Company barely thirty-nine thousand rupees *per annum*. In consequence of various reforms and the detection of glaring frauds, the farms for the first time were put up to a public and unbiassed sale, to the highest bidder; and though six, by order of the then Court of Directors, were abolished, as grievous and oppressive to the tenants, yet these very lands produced at the close of this year, net seventy-three thousand rupees; at the close of the second, one lac, and thirteen thousand; at the close of the third, one lac and fourteen thousand; and would at the close of the fourth year, to demonstration, have produced one lac, and twenty thousand; and from the nature of the thing, would have gone on annually increasing.

The lands of the twenty-four Purgunnahs, ceded to the Company by the treaty of 1757, which subsequently became Colonel *Clive's* jagghier; were rated on the King's books at two lac, and twenty-two thousand rupees. These lands were, for the space of sixteen months, retained in hand on the Company's account, under the inspection and superintendence of a collector, Mr. *Frankland*, whose activity, abilities, and

and integrity, in the execution of that trust, stood unimpeached. But the Company's agents finding that by that method they should never arrive at the knowledge of the real value of these lands; determined to divide them into fifteen farms, and put them up to public sale, reserving the royalties in their own hands, from an apprehension the farmers, by being invested with them, might have it in their power to oppress the tenants. This resolution was carried into execution, I think, in *July 1759*, and the farms let for the term of three years; when those very lands which had produced for sixteen months only three lac, eighty four thousand rupees, sold at this unbiassed sale for seven lac, sixty-five thousand *Sicca* rupees, *per annum*, exclusive of the royalties: and thirteen at least of the fifteen purchasers, to my knowledge, were annual gainers by their bargains. In bidding to keep up two of the farms to what I had reason to think was their value, they fell upon my hands: as I had not leisure to superintend them myself, I disposed of them a few days after, for an advance of five thousand *Sicca* rupees, *per annum*, during the term of my lease. I only mention this as a corroborating proof of my last assertion.

What the Purgunnahs produced at their second sale, you, Gentlemen, know better than I, as before the expiration of the term of their first lease, I had the honour to be recalled.

To particularize every instance that might be brought in proof, or rather justification of my general estimate, would be to protract this address

dress to a tedious length: those already produced, afford full evidence, that the revenues of the lands are very nearly in a quadruple proportion to the rents of them; and that so far from having exaggerated, I have rather depreciated the real and intrinsic value of these provinces; especially when it is remembered, that my estimate is drawn exclusive of the royalties, which alone are a very considerable revenue; and also that I have made no account of the many Jagghiers, nor of the immense tracts of Burmuttu lands, (so called for being set apart for the support of the *Bramins*) nor of many other possessions which pay no rents; in the grants and investitures of which, there are more frauds and collusions practised, than in every other branch of the revenues. From a scrutiny into these, a new and considerable income would arise, that has hitherto never found its way, either into the royal treasury, or into the Soubah's coffers.

I repeat then, and insist on my estimate, that exclusive of the royalties, upon an obvious and fair calculation, the whole lands of the three provinces have never yielded less than eleven khorore, forty thousand *Sicca* rupees, *per annum*; and deducting for *Orissa* one khorore and a half, at which the lands and revenues of that province are usually estimated, there will remain nine khorore and a half for *Bengall* and *Babar*, to which annex the royalties, and they will more than make good the above deduction for *Orissa*.

Though I have in my general estimate, confined myself to the consideration of the known
and

and established rents and revenues of the provinces, yet the extra items specified above, no less constitute a part of their value; and though those items have for a long course of years been concealed and embezzled from the government, that is no reason why they may not in future be brought to account by a British Soubah at the head of it; an event which I will still hope is not far distant.

Whoever attempts to depreciate this object at this juncture, can be no friend to you, your constituents, or his country; and should seem moved only by private views to prolong a war, that can benefit none, but the principal actors in it. If it has been insinuated to you, that the provinces of *Bengall* are not *alone* worthy your possession; you are now, I trust, fully convinced of the contrary; and will see the necessity of putting a stop at last to the strides, your servants are daily making towards acquisitions, which cannot possibly be maintained: the provinces of *Bengall* you may maintain and defend, upon the plan I have presumed already to hint to you. I will further communicate a few anecdotes relative to the lands and revenues of this country, and close this address.

The rents of the lands are the property of the Emperor. In consequence of which he has a royal Dewan, in every Soubahdaary, who ought to be accountable to the royal treasury for the whole amount of the rents, as rated upon the King's books: but as there is always a good understanding between the Dewan and the Soubah,
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they never are at a loss in pretending reasons for the rents falling short, though the whole is strictly and fully collected. What is diverted from the royal treasury, is divided between the Dewan and the Soubah, of which the latter always takes the lion's share.

Though the amount of the rents of the lands is near three khorore *per annum*; yet the highest stipulation made with the Emperor was that mentioned in another place, of one khorore, one lac, one thousand, one hundred, and one rupee, by the Soubah Soujah Khan: and this was regularly transmitted to the royal treasury, until the usurpation of *Aliverdi*. He, on pretence of the distresses of the provinces (to which distressed state he himself had brought them) made a new stipulation of fifty-two lac *per annum*; to which he paid no regard longer than the Vizir *Monsoor Ali Khan*'s army was within a few days march of *Patna*, *A. D.* 1750, nor has the royal treasury benefited a rupee from these provinces since that period. This I mention, or should rather say, repeat, to show how gladly the Emperor would embrace any overture that would insure to him annually one-third of the rents of these provinces.

The established ground rent is three *Sicca* rupees *per* Begah (about one third of an *English* acre) throughout the empire; but *Aliverdi Khan* made the first innovation in this established law, and assessed the land four annas *Sicca*, or a quarter of a rupee upon each Begah, on pretence of the Chout paid to the *Mabarattors*, and raised

the rents of the Rajahs and Zemindaars in that proportion; these had no other means of reimbursing themselves, but levying it upon the farmers, and they again on the tenants. Subsequently the lands were on various pretended exigencies, at different periods, assessed to 10-16ths of a rupee, though every additional tax on land, above three *Sicca* rupees *per annum*, is contrary to the standing law of the empire; which until *Aliverdi's* usurpation, had been held sacred, and inviolable. In the year 1732, your Governor and Council had in agitation the raising the rents of your own Zemindary of *Calcutta*; which being rumoured abroad they received a peremptory *Perwannah*, from the Soubah, forbidding them; in which the Soubah told them, that they were presuming to do a thing, which he himself had not power to do; and that if they persisted, they would, by the laws of the empire, forfeit their lands.

Frauds throughout the empire in letting the lands, are manifold: for instance: The Rajahs, and Zemindaars, by private compact with the Soubah's officers, who are charged with the management of this department, obtain more lands than by their Synods (or grants, which are commonly called *Pottahs*) appear, and consequently pay no rent to the king for the surplus land. The same artifice is practised between the Dewans of the Rajahs and Zemindaars, and the *Izardaars* or farmers; and the tenants, or common *Pottahholders* under them, by bribing the officers of the *Jumma Bundi*, and those intrusted with the measurements of the lands, that they
 may

may enjoy among them the benefit of the surplus land; and I may justly aver, there is not a tenant in *Indostan*, but possesses and occupies a greater quantity of land, than his Pottah expresses, or than he pays rent for: Consequently, it is the tenant that ultimately enjoys the benefit of the surplus land, thus gained by corruption, from the Soubah's Ministers, while the King specifically suffers in his rents. It extremely well answers the tenant's purpose, to possess, if he can by a small bribe, more land than he pays for, because himself and his heirs enjoy the profit of it in perpetuity; since, by a fundamental law of the empire, their Pottahs are irrevocable, as long as they pay the rent, rated in them respectively; and so tender and indulgent are the laws of *Indostan* in this particular, that no tenant forfeits his land, before he has failed in his payments for twelve months; though the land-tax, by the same laws, is to be paid every three months.

This method of secreting or purloining the land from the King and the Soubah, has been practised time out of mind; and it is quite in point, to mention a flagrant instance that appeared in the year 1753; when in consequence of the general scrutiny, made by your order in your Zemindary *Calcutta*, it was demonstrated that in your small district, upon a favourable new measurement of your land, there were near five hundred Begah secreted in this way, and fraudulently enjoyed, by your tenants, for which you had received no ground rent from your being invested with the Zemindary; of this you may
be

be convinced by turning to your Jummah Burdī, or register of your lands subsequently by me transmitted to you. As you, Gentlemen, have by that measurement gained five hundred Begah of ground, upon a possession only of six thousand two hundred; you may judge from thence, what an astonishing additional revenue would arise to you, when Soubah of the provinces, from a new (though favourable) measurement of the whole lands.

When the revenues, arising from the lands of this country are retained in the proprietors hands (that is, not farmed out) one universal chain of roguery runs through the whole, as well as in the rents of the lands; and there is a fellow-feeling between every one employed in the collections, from the Dewan to the lowest Moree, or writer; and this the Rajahs and Zemindaars (the great proprietors of the lands) are no more exempt from, than the Company is, notwithstanding the utmost integrity of their covenanted servants: but I have so clearly traced, and laid open the nature of those frauds (which are similar throughout the empire) in my state of the Company's revenues Zemindary, dated the 15th of *December*, 1752, that I need not trouble you further on that subject, than to refer you thereto.

The whole intention and aim of these communications, is to persuade and convince you; that be the Company's possessions in that country what they will, either less or more; you will never get at their true value, or derive to yourselves

selves and constituents the half of their net advantages, by keeping them in hand: the remedy is obvious.—If they are divided into farms, in value from five thousand rupees, to one lac *per annum*, and put up to public sale to the highest bidder, under the same restrictions and exclusions as were stipulated at the sale of your twenty-four Purgunnahs, then most probably, five-sixths of their real value would result to the Company. And I cannot enough congratulate your having happily appointed a Gentleman (Mr. *Sumner*) to succeed Lord *Clive* in the government, who is intimately acquainted with, and conversant in all matters relative to the lands and revenues; and most capable of carrying your orders on these heads into execution.

To save you the trouble of references, I will subjoin two letters, the one addressed to the then board of *Calcutta*, the other to a former chairman; as they are both strictly connected with the subject, and will add strength and weight to my arguments.

I have the honour to be with most perfect respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

Bath,
Dec. 1765.

J. Z. HOLWELL;

To C. Manningham, Esq; *Calcutta,*
 &c. Council. June 11 1759.

SIR and SIRs,

I Beg leave to trouble you with a few sentiments on the disposal of the company's lands, which have, for some time past, been the object of your Councils; the subject is of importance to our honourable employers, and cannot be too much deliberated on.

I believe we are all unanimous, in some circumstances, which more particularly require our attention in this affair; to wit, the honour of the Company, the acquiring a perfect knowledge in the value of the lands; the making this branch of the revenues less complicate and intricate, as well as less expensive in the collecting;—but with respect to the means, we seem not quite so clear.—Any one gentleman declaring fully his opinion on your consultations, may possibly make us unanimous here also.

The step we are already determined in, of divesting the farmers of all power in the royalties and judicial authorities in the Purgunnahs, bids fair for the security of the Company's honor: as these articles being heretofore also farmed, became the source of heavy cruelties and oppressions on the tenants.—But still there seems to be something wanting to give us a perfect security in this particular;—and that is, to take the utmost care in our power, that the whole
 body

body of the lands do not, by any junto, or private confederacy, fall into the hands of people, with whom we should not trust any part of our fortunes or confidence. I am urged to this precaution, from the proposal laid before you the fourth instant, by six or seven conspicuous natives of the settlement, of an advance of 110,001 rupees on the whole lands. With respect to their proposal, I will only add an offer of 10,000 rupees more *per annum* on their terms:—not that I wish myself, or any one else, in possession of them, on terms so vague and artful.

That keeping the lands in our own hands, will never lead to a knowledge of their real value, is now (to me) proved beyond contradiction.—Some of those who signed the proposal of the fourth, are well conversant in the nature of their undertaking; and better judges (as I am informed) are concerned, though as yet they act behind the curtain; and to me it is inconceivable, that these Eastern Machiavels in finesse, would offer such an annual advance, without a moral certainty of adequate gains. In this position, I am still more confirmed, by the advance offered from other quarters, on distant and garbled parts of the Purgunnahs, which in fact exceeds the other.

If we have been hitherto kept so far from the knowledge of the real value of these lands, after sixteen months possession, what are we to expect when, from the course of the service, they are no longer under the conduct of the present col-

lector?—whose knowledge of this branch, must be greatly superior to any Gentleman that succeeds him; and whose vigilance in the execution of this trust, cannot be exceeded. From the experience I have had, in infinitely a less, though similar object, I know it is impossible for any one Gentleman, with the most extensive talents and integrity, to superintend this revenue in such manner as to prevent the Company being injured. His attention cannot be every where, confidence must be placed in a multitude; and it happens unluckily that this confidence centers from necessity, in a race of people, who, from their infancy, are utter strangers to the idea of common faith, or honesty.

The other plan of disposing of the lands, to the multitude of people who have offered an advance on particular parts of the Purgunnahs; I have strong, and equal objections to; I am sensible these objections should have been laid before you sooner, and would, had I thought myself sooner master of the subject. We know not what, or who these people are; I foresee a very great risque of deficiencies in the rents, as well as much confusion, and needless expence, entailed on this expedient; and ourselves removed as far as ever, from gaining a knowledge of the real value of this new and important acquisition. On the whole therefore I am of opinion, that there is no effectual method to arrive at the knowledge of, and make the lands yield every advantage to our honourable employers, but by putting them up to publick sale, in single Purgunnahs, under the restrictions already published—

People of substance will then be the only bidders for an intire Purgunnah ; the bad and unprofitable parts, will go with the good and valuable ; and the risque of deficiencies in the rents, be guarded against ; the expence of collecting will in a manner be reduced to nothing ; and this branch of the service be rendered less complicated and intricate, by having twenty-four purchasers to account with only, in place of five or six hundred.

I am, with respect, &c.

J. Z. H.

TO JOHN PAYNE, Esq;

Calcutta,

Dec. 30, 1759.

Dear SIR,

TO shorten my remarks on the important subject of your lands, I inclose you a copy of my letter to the Council, of the 11th of *June*, when the Colonel was upon the *Patna* expedition; it produced no other effect, than postponing our resolves, until his arrival: when the affair being resumed, he did me the honour, with the rest of the board, of thinking my reasons for the public sale of the lands by auction, unanswerable; and the same was resolved on unanimously. The event more than answered my expectation. I had taken great pains in ferretting out the real value of the lands, which was covered with almost impenetrable obscurity, and difficulties; and by an estimate I gave the Colonel at his return, ventured to pronounce they would yield seven lac and a half; and the total of their sale on the 13th of *July*, amounted to seven lac, sixty-five thousand seven hundred *Sicca* rupees, *per annum*, exclusive of several reserves in favour of the Company; such as a considerable tract of land taken from the Purgunnahs, adjoining to *Calcutta*, to extend it's bounds; and all advantages resulting from holding the royalties, and judicial proceedings, &c. in our own hands on the Company's account, so that I judge the whole produce of these lands (the before mentioned reserves included) will be annually between nine and ten lac; the sum I guessed (in *England*)

England) they would produce, when once in conference with you upon the subject. From this the Colonel's Jagghîr of two lace, twenty-two thousand rupees being deducted, there will remain a net annual revenue to the Company of about seven lac, eighty thousand rupees *Sicca per annum*, on the same lands, which yielded the last year when the revenues were collected on the government's plan, only three lac, eighty-four thousand, or thereabout; as you will learn from the accounts of this revenue now transmitted to the Company. I see the court of Directors stare with astonishment at this increase; you will stare too, my dear Sir, as a proprietor. Methinks I hear them and you cry out! What the Devil became of this difference the last year? as it must have been collected beyond a doubt; or from whence can this advance answer to the present farmers? The answer is easy and obvious;—the difference fell short, in its way to the Company's treasury, by the self-same roads, your former revenues were dissipated, prior to the reform in your Zemindary.—As your former Zemindars could not justly be deemed culpable in that case, from the frequent change of the post; so in the present no blame properly falls on your collector, the trust being too extensive for any one man existing; though the frauds are equally obvious, from the extraordinary increase at a fair and public sale, where the farmers were laid under every possible check and restraint, that can either prevent their debasing their lands, or oppressing the tenants; and yet there is a moral certainty of profit to him, at the expiration of the

three

three years; and that they will then yield a further increase to the Company.—

Before I entirely quit the subject of the lands, I must clear up a circumstance, that possibly may be cause of wonder to you, viz. by what means I arrived at their real value.—In the first place, I had long and full conviction, that the same system of fraud and chicane, ran through every Zemindary of the provinces; and from a general knowledge of the country granted to us, it appeared to me most astonishing, they should yield no more than was brought to the Company's credit, at the close of the year in *April* last; when so small a territory as *Calcutta*, produced, on a scrutiny and reform, an increase of 73 to 80,000 *Sicca* rupees *per annum*.—I tried various means to trace out a satisfactory reason, and to account to myself for it, but without success, until I learnt by accident that three or four of the old standards employed as tax-gatherers, and writers in the Purgunnahs, had been dismissed, at the instigation of the new operators. I sent privately for one or two of the most creditable of them, and inquired into the cause of their dismissal; and this brought on an opening of the whole scene; and gave me sufficient foundation for forming my letter of the 11th of *June*.—Thus, Sir, having made you master of this subject, in as short a detail as possible, I shall close it with this remark; that the same chain of frauds runs through the whole empire, but more particularly in these provinces, to the heavy annual loss of the crown; a circumstance which
may

may in a future favorable conjuncture, be well worth consideration: at present we have but to ask and have a more easy acquisition of the Soubahdary, than that we have already obtained of the Purgunnahs; but the times are not yet ripe for so great a grasp, nor have we sufficient strength to hold it; though it is certain, were we Soubahs of the provinces, the emperor would regularly receive more than double the revenues these provinces ever produced to him; and the *East-India* Company become, in a short time, the richest body of subjects in the world.—

I am,

Sir, &c.

J. Z. H.

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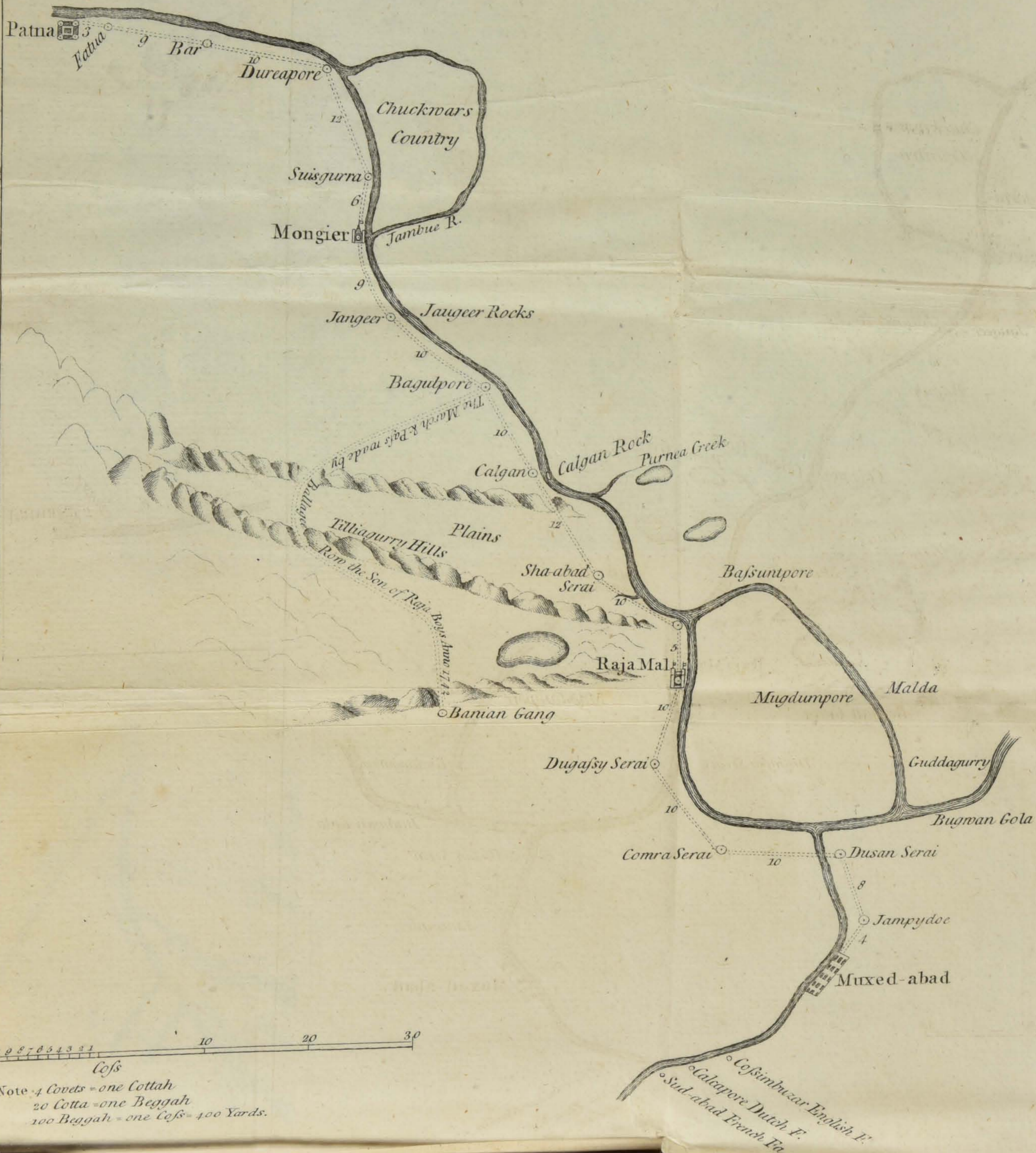
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Packet Purganah

Seegar

Sooreguam

Jangaum

Burra

Serrah

Lucraconda Nagur

Gaultoole

Jubraage p^r

Klurako

Kote Mallisore

Illum Buzar

Burgam

Pooranagaum

Boodguam

Dignagore

Cautnagore

Cuma

Birdawan on Mongocoole

Bistra p^r Iaggernant p^r Mellera

Radnagor

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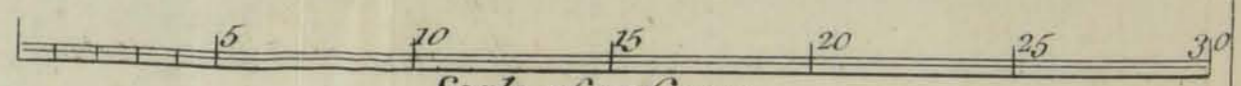
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INTERESTING
HISTORICAL EVENTS,
Relative to the
PROVINCES OF BENGAL,
AND THE
EMPIRE OF INDOSTAN,

PART II.

INTERESTING
HISTORICAL EVENTS,
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AND THE
EMPIRE OF INDOSTAN.

WITH
A Seasonable HINT and PERSWASIVE

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AND

A DISSERTATION on the METEMPSYCHOSIS,
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By J. Z. HOLWELL, Esq;

PART II.

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Surry-Street, in the Strand. MDCCLXVII.

TO THE MOST NOBLE

H U G H,

DUKE AND EARL OF
NORTHUMBERLAND;

EARL PERCY;

BARON WARKWORTH OF
WARKWORTH CASTLE;

LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM OF THE COUNTIES OF MIDDLESEX AND NORTHUMBERLAND, OF THE CITY AND LIBERTY OF WESTMINSTER, AND OF THE TOWN AND COUNTY OF THE TOWN OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE; VICE ADMIRAL OF ALL AMERICA, AND OF THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND; ONE OF THE LORDS OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL; KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER; AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

MY LORD,

IT is with equal deference and pleasure that I submit the following performance to your Grace's perusal;

DEDICATION.

more resplendent by the amiable virtues and qualities that adorn them—
Virtues! which have endeared him alike to prince and people.

I have the honor to subscribe myself,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble servant,

Beenham House, Berks,

Nov. 1st, 1766.

J. Z. HOLWELL.

C H A P. IV.

*The Religious Tenets of the Gentoos, followers
of the Shastab of Bramah.*

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

WE have already premised, that in the prosecution of this our fourth general head, we should touch only on the original *principal* tenets of these ancient people the *Gentoos*; for were we to penetrate into, and discuss the whole of their modern ceremonies, and complicated modes of worship; our labor would be without end: these are as diffuse, as the ancient fundamental tenets of *Bramah* are short, pure, simple and uniform; in this predicament the *Gentoos* are not singular, as the original text of every theological system, has, we presume, from a similar cause, unhappily undergone the same fate; though at first promulged as a divine institution.

We shall not say much regarding the antiquity of these people; nor shall we amuse ourselves with the reveries of chronologers and historians; who have labored to fix with precision (though not two of them agree in opinion) the various migrations after the flood: it shall suffice for our purpose, that by their own shewing, *Indostan* was as early peopled, as most other parts of the known world.

The first invaders of this empire, found the inhabitants a potent, opulent, civilized, wise, and learned people; united under one head, and one uniform profession of divine worship; by the fundamental principles of which, they were precluded communication, and social converse, with the rest of mankind; and these invasions first made them a warlike people also.

Alexander the Great, invaded them in later times, and found them in the same state; and though it should seem, from *Arrian's* and *Quintus Curtius's* history of that Prince's expeditions, that the different principalities he conquered, were independant kingdoms, and governed by independant Kings and Princes; yet the *Gentoo* records of *Bindoobund* and *Banaras* shew, that at that period,

period, and much later, all the principalities of this empire, were in subjection to, and owned allegiance to one head, stiled the *Mhaabah Rajah* of *Indostan*; a Prince of the *Succadit* family, said to be lineally descended from their great Prince and Legislator *Bramah*; and that it was not until after the extinction of this sacred family (as the *Gentoos* call it) that the *Rajahs* assumed an independency.

But it did not sufficiently sooth the vanity of *Alexander*, nor that of his historians, to record his conquests of a few petty *Rajahs* and *Governors* of provinces; and though we do not contest the fact of that invasion, yet we think ourselves justified in concluding the greatest part of its history is fabulous; yet, that it claims greater credit and belief, than those of *Bacchus* and *Sesostris*: the *Greek* and *Latin* construction and termination of the names, and places, of the Princes and kingdoms of *Indostan*, said by *Alexander's* historians to be conquered by him; bear not the least analogy or idiom of the *Gentoo* language, either ancient or modern; as any one the least conversant in it can testify; and although the ground work of their history was founded on fact, yet the superstructure carries strongly the semblance of invention and romance: And he who is ac-

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quainted

quainted with this empire, and can give full credit to those legends, may upon as just a foundation believe *Alexander* to have been the son of *Jupiter Ammon*; or, with *Q. Curtius*, that the *Ganges* opened into the *Red sea*.

The annals of the *Gentoos*, give testimony of *Alexander's* invasion; where he is recorded under the epithets, of *Mhaabah Dukkoyt, é Kooneah*, a most mighty robber and murderer; but they make not any mention of a *Porus*, nor of any name that has the smallest allusion or likeness to it; and yet the action between *Alexander* and this imaginary King *Porus*, has been pompously exhibited by the historians of the former, and has happily afforded subject matter for representations, that do the highest honour to the art and genius of man.

The liberty we have taken with these so long celebrated historians, may seem to our readers to be foreign to our subject, but in the end we hope it will appear otherwise; when they find that these authors have (either from their own fertile inventions, or from mis-information, or rather from want of a competent knowledge in the language of the nation) mis-represented, or to speak
more

more favorably, mis-conceived their religious tenets as much as they have the genius and state of their government.

The space of time employed in *Alexander's* expedition in this empire, did not afford a possibility of acquiring any adequate knowledge of a language in itself so highly difficult to attain in the smallest degree of perfection even from many years residence and intimate converse with the natives; can it be possibly believed then, that any of *Alexander's* followers could in this short space acquire such perfection in the *Gentoo* language as could enable them justly to transmit down the religious system of a nation, with whom they can scarcely be said to have had any communication?

Touching the antiquity of the scriptures, we are treating of, we have much more to say, in support of our conjecture and belief, that the *Shastab* of *Bramah*, is as ancient, at least, as any written body of divinity that was ever produced to the world. But it is previously necessary, that we explain the word *Bramah*, which has been variously wrote, and indiscriminately applied by many authors, and particularly by *Baldeus*, who confounds *Birmah* and *Bramah* as being the same person,

son, though nothing in nature can be more different. This could proceed only, from the specific meaning and origin of those words not being clearly understood; and this we conceive has led many other writers into the same error: our present disquisition therefore calls, not only for the explanation of these words, but also of the other two supposed primary created beings *Bistnoo* and *Sieb*. For unless these three persons *Birmah*, *Bistnoo*, and *Sieb*, are distinctly comprehended, and held in remembrance, a considerable portion of the allegorical part of the *Sbastab* of *Bramah*, will appear utterly unintelligible.

Different authors stile him, *Bruma*, *Bramma*, *Burma*, *Brumma*, *Birmah*, *Bramah*; and although they write him thus variously, they are unanimous in thinking him the same person, and give him the same attributes. They are all, it is true, derivatives from the same root, *Brum* or *Bram*, (for these are synonymous in the *Sbastab*) but none of all the above appellatives are to be found in the *Sbastab*, but *Birmah* and *Bramah*. They are all compounded of *brum* or *bram*, a *spirit*, or *essence*, and *mah*, *mighty*; *brum*, in an absolute and simple sense, signifies *the spirit or essence of God*, and is but upon one occasion

occasion mentioned as a person, and that is when *brum* is represented with the habiliments and four arms of *Birmah*, floating on a leaf, upon the face of a troubled chaos, immediately preceding the act of the creation of the universe.—*Birmah* is understood in an absolute personal sense, and in a figurative one; in the former as the first of the three primary created angelic beings—in this sense the word signifies literally the *mighty second*. For though *Birmah* is the first of the three prime beings, he is stiled *second* in power to God only, and sometimes in the *Shastab* has the name of *Birmahab*, *the most mighty second*.——In the figurative sense the word *Birmah* means creation, created, and sometimes creator, and represents what the *Bramins* call, the first great attribute of God, *his power of creation*.

Bramah is the title solely appropriated to the Promulger of the *Shastab*, and implies the spirituality and divinity of his mission and doctrines; hence it is, that his successors assumed the name of *Bramins*, supposing themselves to inherit the same divine spirit.

As the word *Birmah*, is used in a personal, and figurative sense, so is *Bistnoo* and *Sieb*; personally, as being the second and

third of the first created angelic beings, who had pre-eminence in heaven; the word *Bistnoo*, literally signifies a *cherisher*, a *preserver*, a *comforter*; and *Sieb*, a *destroyer*, an *avenger*, a *mutilator*, a *punisher*; and these three persons, when figuratively applied in the *Shastab* (as they frequently are) represent what the *Bramins* call the three first and great attributes of God, his power *to create*, his power *to preserve*, and his power *to change or destroy*. And we shall see that in the distribution of the almighty's commands to these primary persons, tasks are assigned to each, of a very different nature; to *Birmah*, works of power, government and glory; to *Bistnoo*, works of tenderness and benevolence; and to *Sieb*, works of terror, severity and destruction. This last mentioned person is the object of great dismay and terror to the *Gentoos*, but modern expounders of *Bramah's Shastab* have softened the rigor of his character by giving him names and attributes of a very different nature from that of *Sieb*. They call him *Moisoor* (a contraction of *Mabahsoor*, *the most mighty destroyer of evil*) and under this soothing title he is worshipped, not as *Sieb* the destroyer, but as *the destroyer of evil*. The other epithet they have given to him is *Moidéb*, (a contraction of *Mabahdeh-*
tab,

tab, the most mighty angel) in this sense he is worshipped as *the averter of evil*, and under this character he has the most altars erected to him.

This necessary interpretation and explanation premised, we proceed to the *Sbastab* itself; and shall faithfully give a detail of the origin of this book; and the several innovations and changes it has suffered: a detail—which although known by all the learned amongst the *Bramins*, is yet confessed but by a few, and those only, whose purity of principle and manners, and zeal for the primitive doctrines of *Bramah's Sbastab*, sets them above disguising the truth; from many of these, we have had the following recital.

“ That, when part of the angelic bands
 “ rebelled, and were driven from the face
 “ of God, and expelled from the heavenly
 “ regions; God doomed them in his wrath,
 “ to eternal punishment and banishment;
 “ but, that by the intercession of the faith-
 “ ful remaining bands, he was at length
 “ inclined to mercy, and to soften the rigor
 “ of their sentence, by instituting *a course*
 “ *only*, of punishment, purgation, and pu-
 “ rification; through which, by due sub-
 “ mission, they might work out a restoration
 “ to

“ to the seats they had lost by their disobedience.

“ That God in full assembly of the faithful bands specified *their course* of punishment, purgation and purification ; registered, and declared his decree, immutable, and irrevocable ; and commanded *Birmah*, to descend to the banished delinquents and signify unto them the mercy and determination of their creator.

“ That *Birmah* fulfilled God's command, descended to the delinquent angels, and made known unto them the mercy and immutable sentence, that God their creator had pronounced and registered against them.

“ That the great and unexpected mercy of God, at first made a deep impression upon all the delinquents, except on the leaders of their rebellion ; these in process of time, regained their influence, and *confirmed* most of the delinquents in their disobedience, and thereby the merciful intentions of the creator, became in a great measure frustrated.

“ That about the beginning of the present age (i. e. 4866 years ago) the three
“ primary

“ primary created beings and the rest of the
 “ faithful angelic host, feeling the deepest
 “ anguish for the exalted wickedness of their
 “ delinquent brethren, concluded it could
 “ only proceed, from their having by time,
 “ forgot the terms of their salvation; which
 “ had been only verbally delivered to them
 “ by *Birmah*: they therefore petitioned the
 “ Almighty, that he would be pleased to
 “ suffer his sentence, and the conditions of
 “ their restoration, to be digested into *a body*
 “ *of written laws* for their guidance; and
 “ that some of the angelic beings, might
 “ have permission to descend to the delin-
 “ quents, to promulge and preach this writ-
 “ ten body of laws unto them, that they
 “ might thereby be left without excuse, or
 “ the plea of ignorance, for their conti-
 “ nuance in disobedience.

“ That God assented, to the petitions of
 “ the angelic bands; when they, one and
 “ all, offered to undertake this mission, but
 “ God selected from amongst them those
 “ whom he deemed most proper for this
 “ work of salvation; who were appointed
 “ to descend *to the different regions* of the
 “ habitable universe. That a being from
 “ the first rank of angels was destined for
 “ the eastern part of this globe, whom
 “ God

“ God dignified with the name of *Bramah*,
 “ in allusion to the divinity of the doctrine
 “ and mission he had in charge.

“ That *Birmah* by the command of God
 “ dictated to *Bramah* and the other deputed
 “ angels, the terms and conditions, which
 “ had been primarily delivered to the de-
 “ linquents, by the mouth of *Birmah*;
 “ that *Bramah* received, and entered the laws
 “ of God in *Debtah Nagur*, (literally, the
 “ language of angels) and that when *Bra-
 “ mah* descended at the beginning of the
 “ present age, and assumed the human form
 “ and government of *Indostan*, he translated
 “ them into the *Sanscrit*, a language then
 “ universally known throughout *Indostan*;
 “ and called the body of laws *the Chartah
 “ Bhade* * *Sbastah* of *Bramah* (literally, the
 “ four scriptures of divine words of the
 “ mighty spirit) which he promulged, and
 “ preached to the delinquents, as the only
 “ terms of their salvation and restoration.

“ That for the space of a thousand years,
 “ the doctrines of the *Chartah Bhade*, were
 “ preached and propagated, without varia-
 “ tion or innovation; and many of the
 “ delinquents benefited from them and were

* A written book.

“ saved:

“ saved: but that about the close of this
 “ period, some *Goseyns* * and *Battezaaz* †
 “ *Bramins*, combining together, wrote a
 “ paraphrase on the *Chartab Bhade*, which
 “ they called the *Chastab* ‡ *Bhade of Bra-*
 “ *mab* §, or the *six scriptures of the mighty*
 “ *spirit*; in this work the original text of
 “ *Bramab’s Chartab Bhade* was still pre-
 “ served.—About this period also it was,
 “ that the *Goseyns* and *Battezaaz Bramins*,
 “ began to appropriate to themselves the use
 “ of the *Sanscrit character*, and instituted in
 “ the place of it the common *Indostan cha-*
 “ *acter* in use at this day: it was now also
 “ that *they* first began to veil in mysteries,
 “ the simple doctrines of *Bramab*.

“ That about five hundred years later,
 “ that is, fifteen hundred years from the first
 “ promulgation of *Bramab’s Shastab*; the
 “ *Goseyns*, and *Battezaaz Bramins*, pub-
 “ lished a second exposition, or commentary
 “ on the *Chartab Bhade*; which swelled
 “ the *Gentoo scriptures* to eighteen books:
 “ these the commentators entitled the *Augh-*
 “ *torrah Bhade Shastab*, or the *eighteen books*

* *Gentoo* Bishops.

† Expounders of the *Shastab*.

‡ Six.

§ From the promulging this *Bhade*, the Polytheism
 of the *Gentoo*s took its rise.

“ of divine words; it was drawn up in a
 “ compound character, of the common *In-*
 “ *doſtan*, and *Sanſcrit*;—the original text of
 “ the *Chartab Bhade*, was in a manner ſunk
 “ and alluded to only; the hiſtories of their
 “ Rajahs and country, were introduced under
 “ figures and ſymbols, and made a part of
 “ their religious worſhip, and a multitude
 “ of ceremonies, and exteriour modes of
 “ worſhip, were inſtituted; which the com-
 “ mentators ſaid were implied in *Bramah*’s
 “ *Chartab Bhade*, although not expreſſy
 “ directed therein, by him; and the whole
 “ enveloped in impenetrable obſcurity by
 “ allegory and fable, beyond the compre-
 “ henſion even of the common tribe of
 “ *Bramins* themſelves; the laity being thus
 “ precluded from the knowledge of their
 “ original ſcriptures had a new ſyſtem of
 “ faith broached unto them, which their
 “ anceſtors were utterly ſtrangers to.

“ That this innovation of the *Aughtorrah*
 “ *Bhade* produced a ſchiſm amongſt the
 “ *Gentoos*, who until this period had fol-
 “ lowed one profeſſion of faith throughout
 “ the vaſt empire of *Indoſtan*; for the *Bra-*
 “ *mins* of *Cormandell* and *Mallabar* finding
 “ their brethren upon the courſe of the *Ganges*
 “ had taken this hold ſtep to inflave the laity,
 “ ſet

“ set up for themselves, and formed a scripture
 “ of their own, founded as they said upon
 “ the *Chartab Bhade* of *Bramab*; this they
 “ called *the Viedam** of *Brummab*, or *divine*
 “ *words of the mighty spirit*;—these com-
 “ mentators, by the example of their bre-
 “ thren, interspersed in their new religious
 “ system, the histories of their governors,
 “ and country, under various symbols and
 “ allegories, but departed from that chastity
 “ of manners, which was still preserved in
 “ the *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastab*.

“ Thus the original, plain, pure, and
 “ simple tenets of the *Chartab Bhade* of
 “ *Bramab* (fifteen hundred years after its
 “ first promulgation) became by degrees
 “ utterly lost; except, to three or four *Go-*
 “ *sey*n families, who at this day are only
 “ capable of reading, and expounding it,
 “ from the *Sanscrit* character; to these may
 “ be added a few others of the tribe
 “ of *Battezaaz Bramins*, who can read
 “ and expound from the *Chartab Bhade*,
 “ which still preserved the text of the ori-
 “ ginal, as before remarked.

* *Viedam* in the *Mallabar* language signifies the
 same as *Shastab* in the *Sanscrit*, viz. *divine words*—
 and sometimes, *the words of God*.

“ How

“ How much soever the primitive reli-
 “ gion of the *Gentóos* suffered by these inno-
 “ vations; their government underwent no
 “ change for many centuries after, all ac-
 “ knowledging allegiance to one universal
 “ Rajah of the *Succadit* family, lineally
 “ descended from their Prince and Lawgiver
 “ *Bramah*.—— The Princes of this line
 “ opposed the innovations made in their
 “ primitive faith, with a fruitless opposition,
 “ which endangered the existence of their
 “ own government; so that at length they
 “ were reduced to the necessity of subscrib-
 “ ing, first to the *Chastab Bhade*, and sub-
 “ sequently to the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; al-
 “ though their wisdom foresaw, and fore-
 “ told, the fatal consequences these inno-
 “ vations would have on the state and the
 “ nation: but the *Goseyns* and *Bramins*,
 “ having tasted the sweets of priestly power
 “ by the first of these *Bhades*, determined
 “ to enlarge, and establish it, by the pro-
 “ mulgation of the *last*; for in this the
 “ exterior modes of worship were so multi-
 “ plied, and such a numerous train of new
 “ divinities created, which the people never
 “ before had heard or dreamed of, and both
 “ the one and the other were so enveloped
 “ by the *Goseyns* and *Bramins* in darkness,
 “ penetrable to themselves only, that those
 “ professors

“ professors of divinity, became of new and
 “ great importance, for the daily obliga-
 “ tions of religious duties, which were by
 “ these new institutes imposed on every
 “ *Gentoo*, from the highest to the lowest
 “ rank of the people, were of so intricate, and
 “ alarming a nature, as to require a *Bramin*
 “ to be at hand, to explain and officiate,
 “ in the performance of them: they had
 “ however the address to captivate the minds
 “ of the vulgar, by introducing show and
 “ parade into all their principal religious
 “ feasts, as well as fasts; and by a new
 “ single political institution, to wit, *the pre-*
 “ *servation of their cast or tribe*, the whole
 “ nation was reduced to sacerdotal slavery.

“ From the period that the *Aughtorrah*
 “ *Bhade* was published as the rule of the
 “ *Gentoo* faith and worship, superstition, the
 “ sure support of priestcraft, took fast pos-
 “ session of the people; and their conscien-
 “ ces, actions, and conduct, in spirituals
 “ and temporals, were lodged in the breasts
 “ of their *household Bramins*, and at their
 “ disposal; for every head of a family was
 “ obliged to have one of those ghostly fa-
 “ thers at his elbow, and in fact the people
 “ became in general mere machines, ac-
 “ tuated and moved, as either the good
 Part II. C “ or

“ or evil intentions of their household tyrant
 “ dictated.

“ The *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastab*, has been
 “ invariably followed by the *Gentoo* inha-
 “ biting from the mouth of the *Ganges* to
 “ the *Indus*, for the last three thousand three
 “ hundred and sixty-six years. This pre-
 “ cisely fixes the commencement of the *Gen-
 “ too mythology*, which, until the publication
 “ of that *Bhade*, had no existence amongst
 “ them: every *Gentoo* of rank or wealth,
 “ has a copy of this scripture in his posses-
 “ sion; under the care and inspection of
 “ his domestic *Bramin*; who every day
 “ reads and expounds a portion of it to the
 “ family.

“ Sixteen hundred and seventy nine years,
 “ from the promulgation of the *Aughtorrah
 “ Bhade Shastab*, the sacred line of *Bramah*
 “ became extinct, in the person of *Succa-
 “ dit*, the last *Mahamahab Rajah*; (most
 “ mighty King) he reigned over all *Indos-
 “ tan*, sixty years; his decease caused a ge-
 “ neral lamentation amongst the people; and
 “ from his death, a new *Gentoo Epocha*
 “ took place, called the *Æra of Succadit*;
 “ and the present year (A. D. 1766) is the
 “ year

“ year of *Succadit*, sixteen hundred eighty
 “ seven.

“ The death of *Succadit*, became not
 “ only remarkable for a new *Epocha* of
 “ time, but also for another signal event in
 “ the *Gentoo* annals; namely, a total revo-
 “ lution of their government: the royal and
 “ sacred line being extinct, the Vice-roys of
 “ this extensive empire (who had been for
 “ some years strengthening themselves in
 “ their respective governments, and prepa-
 “ ring for this expected event) on the demise
 “ of *Succadit*, set up a claim of indepen-
 “ dency, to the lands over which they had
 “ ruled under the emperor: they all assumed
 “ the title of *Rajah*, a distinction which,
 “ before this memorable period, had been
 “ only given to four or five of the first
 “ officers of the state; who also generally
 “ filled the chief governments of the empire.
 “ ——Confusion followed——Those com-
 “ manders who found themselves invested
 “ with greater force and power, attacked,
 “ conquered, and joined to their govern-
 “ ments, the territories of those who lay
 “ contiguous to them; whilst others who
 “ lay more distant preserved their indepen-
 “ dency: and thus the empire was divided
 “ into as many kingdoms, as there had

“ been Vice-royships and Governments.—
 “ Between these Rajahs, there subsisted a
 “ continual warfare.—From an empire thus
 “ divided against itself, what could be ex-
 “ pected, but that which, in a few centuries,
 “ consequently and naturally followed.

“ For the simple and intelligible tenets
 “ and religious duties, enjoined by the *Char-*
 “ *tah Bhade*, being thus absorbed and lost,
 “ in the attention and adherence, paid to
 “ the extravagant, absurd, and unintelligible
 “ non-essentials of worship, instituted by
 “ the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; laid the founda-
 “ tion of the miseries, with which, in suc-
 “ ceeding times, *Indostan* was visited; and
 “ the merciful intention of God, for the
 “ redemption of the delinquent angels, (def-
 “ tined to inhabit this part of the earthly
 “ globe) was rendered fruitless.—The holy
 “ Tribe of *Bramins*, who were chosen and
 “ appointed by *Bramah* himself, to preach
 “ *the word of God*, and labor the salvation
 “ of the delinquents; in process of time lost
 “ sight of their *divine original*, and in it's
 “ place substituted new and strange doctrines;
 “ that had no tendency, but to the establish-
 “ ing their own power: the people heark-
 “ ened unto them, and their minds were
 “ subdued and enslaved; their ancient mili-
 “ tary

“ tary genius, and spirit of liberty was de-
 “ bilitated; discord and dissention arose
 “ amongst the rulers of the land, and the
 “ state grew ripe for falling at the first con-
 “ vulsion; and in the end suffered an utter
 “ subversion, under the yoke of *Mahom-*
 “ *medan* tyranny; as a just punishment in-
 “ flicted on them by God, for their neglect
 “ of his laws, commands and promises,
 “ promulged to them, by his great and fa-
 “ vored angel *Bramah*, in the *Chartab*
 “ *Bhade Shastab.*”

The foregoing detail, contains the ge-
 nuine conceptions and belief, which the
Bramins themselves entertain of the anti-
 quity of their scriptures, and of the two re-
 markable innovations they have undergone;
 particulars which we have had repeatedly
 confirmed to us, in various conferences with
 many of the most learned and ingenuous,
 amongst the laity of the *Koyt**, and other
Casts, who are often better versed in the
 doctrines of their *Shastab* than the common
 run of the *Bramins* themselves.

We hope it will not be displeasing to our
 readers, if from the foregoing recital, we
 reduce into a narrow compass, and into one

* The tribe of Writers.

view, the stedfast faith of the *Gentoos*. Touching the antiquity of their scriptures; (the point now only under our consideration) it appears therefore that they date the birth of the tenets and doctrines of the *Sbaftab*, from the expulsion of the angelic beings from the heavenly regions; that those tenets were reduced into a written body of laws, four thousand eight hundred and sixty-six years ago, and then by God's permission were promulged and preached to the inhabitants of *Indoſtan*. That these original scriptures underwent a remarkable change or innovation a thousand years after the miſſion of their Prophet and Law-giver *Bramah* in the publication of the *Cbaftab Bhade Sbaftab*; and that three thousand three hundred and sixty-six years paſt, theſe original ſcriptures ſuffered a ſecond and laſt change or innovation, in the publication of the *Aughtorrah Bhade Sbaftab*; which occaſioned the firſt and only ſchiſm amongſt the *Gentoos*, that ſubſiſts to this day, namely between the followers of the *Aughtorrah Bhade Sbaftab*, and the followers of the *Viedam*.

Without reſoſing an implicit confidence in the relations the *Bramins* give of the antiquity of their ſcriptures; we will, with
our

our readers indulgence, humbly offer a few conjectures that have swayed us into a belief and conclusion, that the original tenets of *Bramah* are most ancient; that they are truly original, and not copied from any system of theology, that has ever been promulged to, or obtruded upon the belief of mankind: what weight our conjectures may have with the curious, or how far it may rather appear in the prosecution of our work, that other theological systems have been framed from this, we readily submit to those, whose genius, learning and capacity in researches of this kind, are much superior to our own.

It has been without reserve asserted, that the *Gentoos* received their doctrines and worship, from the *Persees* or *Egyptians*; but without (as we conceive) any degree of probability, or grounds, for the foundation of this opinion: reason and facts, seeming to us, to be on the side of the very contrary opinion,

That there was a very early communication between the empires of *Persia*, *Egypt* and *Indostan*, is beyond controversy; the former lay contiguous to *Indostan*; and although *Egypt* lay more remote from it, there

still was an easy passage open between them, by the navigation from the *Red-sea*, to the *Indus*: therefore it will appear no strained conclusion, if we say; it is most likely there had been frequent intercourse between the learned *Magi* of both those nations, and the *Bramins*, long before the last mentioned sages were visited by *Zoroaster* and *Pythagoras*.

It is necessary to remark that the *Bramins* did not, indeed could not, seek this intercourse, for the principles of their religion forbad their travelling, or mixing with other nations; but so famed were they in the earliest known times for the purity of their manners, and the sublimity of their wisdom and doctrines, that their converse was sought after, and solicited universally by the philosophers, and searchers after wisdom and truth. For this character of them, we have the concurring testimony of all antiquity.

At what period of time, *Indostan* was visited by *Zoroaster* and *Pythagoras*, is not clearly determined by the learned; we will suppose it, with the generality of writers, to have been about the time of *Romulus*.—That these sages travelled not to *instruct*, but, to be *instructed*; is a fact that may be determined with more precision; as well

as, that they were not in *Indostan* together.—As they both made a long residence with the *Bramins* North West of the *Ganges* (for the name of *Zardburst*, and *Pythagore* retain a place in the *Gentoo* annals “ as travellers in “ search of wisdom”) it is reasonable to conclude they might in some degree be instructed in the *Sanscrit* character, and consequently, in the doctrines and worship instituted by the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah* *Bhades*.

It is worthy notice that the *Metempsychosis*, as well as the three grand principles taught in the greater *Eleusinian* mysteries; namely, the unity of the godhead, his general providence over all creation, and a future state of rewards and punishments; were fundamental doctrines of *Bramah's* *Chartab* *Bhade* *Sbastab*, and were preached by the *Bramins*, from time immemorial to this day, throughout *Indostan*: not as mysteries, but as religious tenets, publicly known and received, by every *Gentoo* of the meanest capacity; this is a truth, which, we conceive, was unknown to the learned investigator of the *Eleusinian* mysteries; or it is probable he would, with more caution, have asserted, that the Eastern nations received their doctrines from the *Egyptians*.

Although

Although the Polytheism of the *Gentoo*s had its origin from the first promulgation of the *Chastab Bhade Shastab*, and their Mythology from the publication of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; yet the abovementioned theological dogma's remained inviolable and unchanged; and as these, with the firm persuasion of the præ-existent state of the spirit, or soul, have ever been, and still are, the very basis of all the *Gentoo* worship; it appears to us most probable, (from the early communication before remarked, and the reasons before given) that the *Egyptians* borrowed these tenets from the *Bramins*.

That *Pythagoras* took the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, from the *Bramins*, is not disputed: yet future times erroneously stiled it *Pythagorean*; an egregious mistake, which could proceed only from ignorance of its original.

Whatever may have been the period, that *Indostan* was visited by the two travelling sages abovementioned; it is acknowledged that *Pythagoras* undertook that journey, some years later than *Zoroaster*:—when *Pythagoras* left *India*, he went into *Persia*, where he conversed with the Magi of that country, and was instructed in their mysteries;

myſteries; and is ſaid (with probability of truth) to have held many conferences with *Zoroaſter*, on the doctrines of the *Bramins*. They had both been initiated in all the myſteries, and learning, of the *Egyptians*; and *Pythagoras*, in his ſecond viſit to *Egypt*, before his return to *Greece*, probably repaid the debt of wiſdom he had received from the *Magi*, by giving them new, and ſtronger lights into the theology, cosmogony and mythology of the *Bramins*, from their *Chafſtab*, and *Aughtorrah Bhades*.

The moral inſtitutes, of *Zoroaſter*, and *Pythagoras*; inculcated and taught by the one to the *Persians*, and by the other, to the *Greeks*; truly bore the ſtamp of divine! but their ſystem of theology, ſurely that of madneſs!—They had ſo long and intenſely thought, and reaſoned on the *divine nature*, and the *cauſe of evil*; that the portion of divine nature they poſſeſſed, ſeemed utterly impaired, and bewildered, as ſoon as they began to form their crude principles into a *ſystem*;—they appear to have preſerved the baſis and out-lines of *Bramah's Sbaſtab*, on which (probably in conjunction with the *Persian* and *Egyptian* *Magi*) they raiſed an aerial ſuperſtructure, wild and incomprehenſible! and labored to propagate an unintelligible

telligible jargon of divinity, which neither themselves, nor any mortal since their time, could explain, or reduce to the level of human understanding.

How far, on a comparison between the modes of worship, instituted by the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, and those of the antient *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*, it may appear that those of the *Bramins* are originals, and those of the latter copies only, we submit to the enquiry of the learned into those intricate studies, when in the course of our work we exhibit to the reader some specimens of the *Gentoo* Mythology, and an account of their facts and festivals.

By the fundamental doctrines and laws of the *Gentoo*s, they cannot admit of proselytes or converts, to their faith or worship; nor receive them into the pale of their communion, without the loss of their *Cast*, or *Tribe*; a disgrace which every *Gentoo* would rather suffer death than incur: and although this religious prohibition, in its consequences, reduced the people to a slavish dependence on their *Bramins*; yet it proved the cement of their union as a nation; which to this day remains unmixed with any other race of people.—These are circumstances which,

which, to the best of our knowledge, remembrance, and reading, peculiarly distinguish the *Gentoo*s, from all the nations of the known world, and plead strongly in favor of the great antiquity of this people, as well as the originality of their scriptures.

Another consideration, to the same purpose, claims our notice; namely the perpetuity of the *Gentoo* doctrines, which through a succession of so many ages, have still remained unchanged, in their fundamental tenets;—for although the *Chastab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, enlarged the exteriors of their worship, yet these derive their authority and essence, in the bosom of every *Gentoo*, from the *Chartab Bhade* of *Bramah*: and it is no uncommon thing, for a *Gentoo*, upon any point of conscience, or any important emergency in his affairs or conduct, to reject the decision of the *Chastab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, and to procure, no matter at what expence, the decision of the *Chartab Bhade*, expounded from the *Sanscrit*.

Enough has been said, to shew that the genuine tenets of *Bramah*, are to be found only in the *Chartab Bhade*; and as all who have wrote on this subject, have received their information from crude, inconsistent reports,

reports, chiefly taken from the *Aughtorrak Bhade*, and the *Viedam*; it is no wonder that the religion of the *Gentoos*, has been traduced, by some, as utterly unintelligible; and by others, as monstrous, absurd, and disgraceful to humanity:—our design is to rescue these ancient people, from those imputations; in order to which we shall proceed, without further introduction or preface, to investigate their original scriptures, as contained in the *Chartab Bhade*; at the close of each section we shall subjoin, such remarks, and explanations, as may appear to us necessary and pertinent to our subject.

For the greater perspicuity, we will present to our readers the fundamental doctrines of the *Bramins*, under five distinct sections; as they are ranged in the first book of this *Sbasta*: viz.

- I. Of God and his Attributes.
- II. The creation of Angelic Beings.
- III. The Lapse of part of those Beings.
- IV. Their Punishment.
- V. The mitigation of that Punishment, and their final Sentence.

S E C T. I.

“ *Of God and his Attributes.* ”

“ God is ONE *.—Creator of all that
 “ *is.*—God is like a perfect sphere,
 “ without beginning or end.—God
 “ rules and governs all creation by a
 “ general providence resulting from
 “ first determined and fixed principles.
 “ —Thou shalt not make enquiry
 “ into the essence and nature of the
 “ existence of the ETERNAL ONE, nor,
 “ by what laws he governs.—An en-
 “ quiry into either, is vain and crimi-
 “ nal.—It is enough, that day by day,
 “ and night by night, thou seest in his
 “ works; his *wisdom, power, and his*
 “ *mercy.*—Benefit thereby.”

* *Ekkhumesha*, literally, *the one that ever was*; which we translate, *the eternal one.*

R E M A R K S.

THE foregoing simple and sublime description of the Supreme Being, constitutes the first chapter, or section of the *Shastab.*—The *Bramins* of the *Aughtorrah Bhade* teach, that there originally existed a
 chapter

chapter of the *Shaftab*, which explained and solely treated of the divine nature and essence; but that it was soon irrecoverably lost, and never transmitted to posterity by *Bramah*, who tore it out of his *Chartab Bhade*.

Baldeus, who resided thirty years on the Island of *Ceylon*, and has given a laborious translation of the *Viedam*; recites a similar anecdote from those scriptures, and says, “ that the lost part treated of God, and the “ origin of the universe, or visible worlds, “ the loss of which is highly lamented by “ the *Bramins*.”—In which this author seems to have plunged into a double error; first, in alleging the part lost, treated of the origin of the universe; whereas both the *Viedam*, and *Shaftab*, are elaborate on the subject; and fix not only the period of its creation, but also its precise age, and term of duration, (as we shall shew hereafter); consequently and secondly, they could not properly be said to lament a loss they never sustained.—But in truth, the whole of this matter is allegorical, a circumstance, which *Baldeus*, it seems, never adverted to.

In various discourses, we have had, with some learned *Bramins*, on the above cited passage

passage of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, they were all unanimous in their sense and interpretation of it: namely, that to man was given for the exercise of his reason, and virtue, the contemplation of the visible wonders of the creation; but, that the ETERNAL ONE had precluded all enquiry into his origin, nature, and essence, and the laws by which he governs; as subjects inexplicable to, and beyond the limited powers of created beings; therefore it is emphatically said, that *Bramah tore out* that part, implying the prohibition of such enquiries, as useless and presumptuous.

Had one tythe of the time and trouble, which the just mentioned ecclesiastic bestowed in rendering a literal translation of the *Viedam*, been employed in attempting an explanation of its mysteries; his labors might have proved worthy the attention of the learned; whereas, by contenting himself with a bare version, without aiming at the interpretation of the allegorical parts of those scriptures, his toils, which must have been great and intense, have only produced a monster, that shocks reason and probability.— They are mis-representations like these, which we have lamented in the preliminary discourse, to the first part of this our work, as injurious to human nature; various and

Part II. D enormous

enormous are the mistakes, which this author has fallen into from the above cause, through the whole of his voluminous work, which might be proved in a multitude of instances; but one shall suffice as a specimen of the whole, which nothing but the mistaken zeal of a christian divine can excuse.

“ The *Viedam* (according to *Baldeus*) gives
 “ the same place and power to *Birmah* or
 “ *Bramah* (for he erroneously makes these
 “ names synonymous) as the *Sbastah* does;
 “ and as the *Mallabars* acknowledge *Bramah*
 “ to be the son of God, and supreme go-
 “ vernor of angels; nay even ascribe to him
 “ a human form: *so it is evident, that these*
 “ *attributes, must have their origin from*
 “ *what they have heard, though perhaps con-*
 “ *fusedly, of Jesus Christ the son of God.*”

S E C T. II.

“ *The Creation of Angelic Beings.*

“ The ETERNAL ONE, absorbed in the
 “ contemplation of his own existence; in
 “ the fullness of time, resolved to *par-*
 “ *ticipate* his glory and essence with
 “ beings capable of feeling, and sharing
 “ his beatitude, and of administering
 “ to his glory.--These beings then were
 “ not.—The ETERNAL ONE willed.—
 “ And they were. —He formed them
 “ in part of his own essence; capable
 “ of perfection, but with the powers
 “ of imperfection; both depending on
 “ their voluntary election.--The ETER-
 “ NAL ONE first created *Birmah, Bistnoo,*
 “ and *Sieb*; then *Moisafoor*, and all the
 “ *Debtah-Logue* *.—The *eternal one*
 “ gave pre-eminence to *Birmah, Bist-*
 “ *noo* and *Sieb*.—He appointed *Bir-*
 “ *mah*, Prince of the *Debtah-Logue*,
 “ and put the *Debtah* under subjection
 “ to him; he also constituted him his
 “ vicegerent in heaven, and *Bistnoo* and
 “ *Sieb*, were established his co-adjutors.

* *Debtah*, angels; *Logue*, a people, multitude, or congregation; *Debtah-Logue*, the angelic host.

“ —The ETERNAL ONE divided the
 “ *Debtah* into different bands, and
 “ ranks, and placed a leader or chief
 “ over each.—These worshipped round
 “ the throne of the *eternal one* accord-
 “ ing to their degree, and harmony
 “ was in heaven.—*Moisafoor*, chief of
 “ the first angelic band, led the ce-
 “ lestial song of praise and adoration
 “ to the Creator, and the song of
 “ obedience to *Birmah* his first created.
 “ —And the Eternal One rejoiced in
 “ his new creation.”

R E M A R K S.

MANKIND in general of every de-
 nomination, and religious profession,
 have subscribed to the opinion of the ex-
 istence of *angelic beings*; and have each
 formed their crude, peculiar, and imaginary
 conceptions of their origin and destination.
 —Crude and imaginary indeed! must be the
 best human construction, on so marvellous
 a subject.—The simple, rational, and sub-
 lime cause, assigned by *Bramah*, for this act
 of creation; is most worthy a great and be-
 nign *being*, and conveys a striking and
 interesting impression, not only of his
power, but of his *benevolence*.

Bramah, in the opening of this section,
 seems to place the *eternal one*, in the situation
 of

of an absolute, good, and powerful *monarch*, without *subjects*; which in fact is being no monarch at all: for however happy, or blessed such a being may be, in the contemplation of his own sole existence and almighty power; yet he cannot (say the *Bramins*) be completely so, without partakers in his glory and beatitude; who should also, be conscious of the *tenure* of their own existence, as well as of the power, and benevolent intentions of their *creator*, and worship him, accordingly.

But a blind and necessary obedience and worship, from any new creation of rational beings, (which must have followed had they been created perfect) would have fallen short of their Creator's purpose; therefore *Bramah* says, *the eternal one*, formed them "capable of perfection, but with the powers of imperfection;" without subjecting them to *either*, that their adoration and obedience should be the result of their own *free-will*; the worship alone worthy his acceptance.

From the doctrine contained in this section it appears, that the powers of perfection and imperfection, (or in other words the powers of *good and evil*) were coeval in the formation of the first created beings:—The

Bramins in their paraphrase on this chapter, reconcile the supposed incompatibility of the existence of moral evil, consistently with the justice, power, and goodness of the *supreme being*, by alleging, "that as the *Debtah* were invested with the absolute powers of *perfection*, their lapse from that state, cannot impeach either the power, justice, or goodness of the ETERNAL ONE; whose motives for their creation were benevolent; and the duty enjoined them light and easy.—To chaunt forth for ever, the praises of their *creator* —To bless him for their *creation*, and to acknowledge, and be obedient to *Birmah*, and his two coadjutors *Bistnoo* and *Sieb*."

Human penal laws, which have their existence in every well regulated government of the world; always pre-suppose that the individuals subjected to those laws, are invested with full powers and capacity of paying obedience to them; otherwise their imposition becomes an act of tyranny; but the premises granted, then the breach and violation of them is criminal, and justly punishable, without an imputation of injustice in the institutor.——Shall man then appear scrupulously cautious in his institutes and laws, not to offend against reason and justice, and yet

yet dare to doubt of, or arraign the justice of his Creator?

Whence the origin, and existence of *moral evil*? Is a question that has puzzled, and exercised the imagination, and understanding of the learned and speculative in all ages.—We confess we have hitherto met with no solution of this interesting enquiry, so satisfactory, conclusive, and rational, as flows from the doctrine before us.—Authors have been driven to very strange conclusions on this subject, nay some have thought it necessary to form an apology in defence of their Creator, for the admission of moral evil into the world; and assert, “That God was necessitated to admit moral evil in created beings, from the nature of the materials he had to work with; that God would have made all things perfect, but that there was in matter an evil bias, repugnant to his benevolence, which drew another way; whence arose all manner of evils:” and that, therefore, “To endue created beings with perfection; that is to produce good exclusive of evil, is one of those impossibilities, which even infinite power cannot accomplish.” And consequently that from this *apologetical cause only*, “The wickedness and miseries of God’s creatures

can be fairly reconciled, with his infinite power and goodness.

Interesting as this subject is, and must be, to every thinking being, our best conceptions of it, must fall far short of certainty; it is however surely incumbent on us to adopt such sentiments (more especially when we resolve to broach them to the world) as will appear most worthy infinite power and infinite goodness.—How far this consideration has been regarded in the reveries cited in the preceding paragraph, we submit to our readers; in our own conceptions we cannot help saying those authors appear to us to have left the argument in a much worse state than they found it; and in place of a rational apology for their Creator, seem the rather tacitly to impeach his power, in the first and greatest of his attributes; his power of creation:—For God is not only the creator of angels and men; but creator of *matter* also; and could have made *that* perfect, had he so willed.—Whether God *could* endue created beings with perfection, or produce good exclusive of evil, we conceive is not the question; (although a doubt of it is highly presumptuous, if not impious) but the quære is, whether God could create a race of beings, endued with the powers of
absolute

absolute free agency;—on the certainty of which position, the possibility of *sin* in created beings absolutely, and necessarily depends.

How much more rational and sublime the text of *Bramah*, which supposes the Deity's voluntary creation, or permission of evil; for the exaltation of a race of beings, whose *goodness* as free agents could not have existed without being endued with the contrasted, or opposite powers of doing *evil*.

S E C T. III.

“ *The Lapse of Part of the Angelic Bands.*

“ From the creation of the *Debtah*
 “ *Logue*, joy and harmony encompassed
 “ the throne of the eternal *one*, for
 “ the space of *Hazaar par Hazaar*
 “ *Munnuntur**; and would have con-
 “ tinued to the end of time, had not envy
 “ and jealousy took possession of *Moi-*
 “ *sasoor*, and other leaders of the angelic
 “ bands; amongst whom was *Rhaabon*,
 “ the next in dignity to *Moisasoor*;—
 “ they, unmindful of the blessing of
 “ their creation, and the duties enjoined
 “ them, reject the powers of *perfection*,
 “ which the eternal ONE had graciously
 “ bestowed upon them, exerted their
 “ powers of *imperfection*, and did evil
 “ in the sight of the eternal ONE.—They
 “ withheld their obedience from him,
 “ and denied submission to his vice-

* A phrase often made use of in the *Shastah* to express infinite extension or duration of time; the word *Munnuntur* in it's absolute and literal sense will be subsequently explained; the word *Hazaar*, literally signifies a thousand; *Hazaar par Hazaar*, thousands upon thousands.

“ *gerent,*

“ gerent, and his coadjutors, *Bistnoo*,
 “ and *Sieb*, and said to themselves—
 “ We will rule!—And fearless of the
 “ omnipotence, and anger of their Crea-
 “ tor, they spread their evil imagina-
 “ tions amongst the angelic host, de-
 “ ceived them, and drew a large portion
 “ of them from their allegiance.—And
 “ there was a separation from the throne
 “ of the eternal ONE.—Sorrow seized the
 “ faithful angelic spirits, and anguish
 “ was now first known in heaven.”

S E C T. IV.

“ *The Punishment of the Delinquent Debtah.*

“ The eternal ONE, whose omniscience,
 “ prescience and influence, extended to
 “ all things, except the actions of
 “ beings, which he had *created free*;
 “ beheld with grief and anger, the de-
 “ fection of *Moisafoor, Rhaabon*, and
 “ the other angelic leaders and spirits.—
 “ Merciful in his wrath, he sent *Bir-*
 “ *mab, Bistnoo* and *Sieb*, to admonish
 “ them of their crime, and to persuade
 “ them to return to their duty;—
 “ but they exulting in the imagination
 “ of their independence, continued in
 “ disobedience.—The eternal ONE then
 “ commanded *Sieb* *, to go armed with
 “ his omnipotence, to drive them from
 “ the *Mahah Surgo* †, and plunge
 “ them into the *Onderah* ‡, there

* Why *Sieb* was sent on this command has been already explained in our introduction.

† Supreme heaven, literally *the great eminence*, from *Mahah*, *great*; and *Surgo*, *high*; eminent in a local sense, the firmament being commonly distinguished, by the *Gentoos*, by the name of *Surgo*.

‡ *Onder*, *dark*; *Onderah*, *intense darkness*.

“ doomed

“ doomed to suffer unceasing sorrows, for
 “ *Hazaar par Hazaar Munnunturs**.”

* In this place the expression (which we have explained in a preceding note) means *everlasting*.

R E M A R K S.

THAT there was a defection or rebellion in heaven, the records of antiquity, sacred and prophane, bear allusive testimony of;—we will not aver, that this opinion took its rise from the doctrines of the *Bramins*, though it is most probable it did; be this as it may, we cannot help concluding, that the conceptions conveyed by the *Shaf-tab*, of this extraordinary event, are more consistent with, and do greater honor to the dignity of an omnipotent Being, than those handed down to us in fables of the Sages, Poets and Philosophers of *Egypt, Greece and Rome*.—From these our *Milton* copied, with extravagance of genius and invention.—They all, without exception, unworthily impeach God’s omnipotence by the powers of contention given to the apostate angels, to oppose their Creator in arms and battle; and although sacred writ † seems to countenance this warfare in heaven, it can only allude to the act of expulsion of the delinquents, as any other interpretation would lessen omnipotence.

† Revelations, chap xii. ver. 7.

The

The *Shaftab* opens this section by denying the prescience of God touching the actions of free agents; the *Bramins* defend this dogma by alleging, his prescience in this case, is utterly repugnant and contradictory to the very nature and essence of free agency, which on such terms could not have existed.

S E C T. V.

“ *The Mitigation of the Punishment of the*
 “ *delinquent Debtah, and their final sen-*
 “ *tence.*

“ The rebellious *Debtah* groaned under
 “ the displeasure of their Creator in
 “ the *Onderah*, for the space of *one*
 “ *Munnuntur*; during which period,
 “ *Birmah, Bistnos* and *Sieb*, and the
 “ rest of the faithful *Debtah*, never
 “ ceased imploring the eternal ONE, for
 “ their pardon and restoration.—
 “ The eternal ONE, by their intercession
 “ at length relented,—and although he
 “ could not foresee the effect of his
 “ mercy on the future conduct of the
 “ delinquents: yet unwilling to relin-
 “ quish the hopes of their repentance,
 “ he declared his will:—That they
 “ should be released from *the Onderah*,
 “ and be placed in such a state of
 “ *tryal* and *probation*, that they shall
 “ still have power, to work out their
 “ own salvation. The eternal ONE then
 “ promulged his gracious intentions,
 “ and delegating the power and govern-
 “ ment of the *MahabSurgo*, to *Birmah*,
 “ he

“ he retired into *himself*, and became in=
 “ visible to all the angelic host, for the
 “ space of five thousand years.—At
 “ the end of this period he manifested
 “ himself again, resumed the throne of
 “ light, and appeared in his glory.—And
 “ the faithful angelic bands, celebrated
 “ his return in songs of gladness.

“ When all was hushed !—the eter=
 “ nal ONE said, Let the *Dunneahoudah**
 “ of the fifteen *Boboons* † of purgation
 “ and purification appear, for the re=
 “ sidence of the rebellious *Debtah*.—
 “ And it instantly appeared.

“ And the eternal ONE said, Let *Bist=
 “ noo* ‡, armed with my power, descend
 “ to the new creation of the *Dunneahou=
 “ dah*, and release the rebellious *Debtah*
 “ from the *Onderah*, and place them
 “ in the lowest of the fifteen *Boboons*.

“ *Bistnoo* stood before the throne and
 “ said, Eternal ONE, I have done as
 “ thou hast commanded.—And all

* *Dooneah*, or *dunneah*, the world, *Dunneahoudah*, the worlds, or the universe.

§ *Boboons*, regions or planets.

‡ Why *Bistnoo* was sent on this service we have already explained in our introduction.

“ the

“ the faithful angelic host, stood with
 “ astonishment, and beheld the won-
 “ ders, and splendor of the new creation
 “ of the *Dunneaboudab*.

“ And the Eternal ONE spake again
 “ unto *Bistnoo* and said.—I will form
 “ *bodies* for each of the delinquent
 “ *Debtah*, which shall for a space be
 “ their prison and habitation; in the
 “ confines of which, they shall be sub-
 “ ject to natural evils, in proportion
 “ to the degree of their original guilt.—
 “ Do thou go, and command them to
 “ hold themselves prepared to enter
 “ therein, and they shall obey thee.

“ And *Bistnoo* stood again before the
 “ throne, and bowed and said, Eternal
 “ ONE, thy commands are fulfilled.—
 “ And the faithful angelic host, stood
 “ again astonished, at the wonders
 “ they heard, and sung forth the praise
 “ and mercy of the Eternal ONE.

“ When all was hushed! the Eternal
 “ one said again unto *Bistnoo*, The bodies
 “ which I will prepare for the recep-
 “ tion of the rebellious *Debtah*, shall
 “ be subject to change, decay, death,

“ and renewal, from the principles
 “ wherewith I shall form them; and
 “ through those mortal bodies, shall the
 “ delinquent *Debtah* undergo alternate-
 “ ly *eighty seven* changes, or *transmigra-*
 “ *tions*; subject more or less, to the
 “ consequences of natural and *moral*
 “ *evil*, in a just proportion to the de-
 “ gree of their original guilt, and as
 “ their actions through those successive
 “ forms, shall correspond with the li-
 “ mited powers which I shall annex
 “ to each;—and this shall be their
 “ state of *punishment* and *purgation*.

“ And it shall be,—That when the
 “ rebellious *Debtah* shall have accom-
 “ plished and passed through the eighty
 “ seven transmigrations——they shall
 “ from my abundant favor, animate a
 “ new form, and thou *Bistnoo* shalt call
 “ it *GHOIJ* †.

“ And it shall be,—That when the
 “ mortal body of the *Ghoij* shall by a
 “ *natural* decay, become inanimate, the
 “ delinquent *Debtah* shall, from my
 “ more abundant favor, animate the

† *Ghoij*, the cow; *Ghoijal*, cows; *Ghoijalbarry*, a
 cow-house.

“ form of *MHURD*†, —and in this form
 “ I will enlarge their intellectual powers,
 “ even as when I first created them free;
 “ and in this form shall be their chief
 “ state of their *trial* and *probation*.

“ The *Ghoij* shall be, by the delin-
 “ quent *Debtah*, deemed sacred and
 “ holy, for it shall yield them a new
 “ and more delectable food, and ease
 “ them of part of the labor, to which
 “ I have doomed them.—And they
 “ shall not eat of the *Ghoij*, nor of the
 “ flesh of any of the mortal bodies,
 “ which I shall prepare for their habita-
 “ tion, whether it creepeth on *Murto*, or
 “ swimmeth in *Jhoale*†, or flyeth in
 “ *Oustmaan*‡, for their food shall be
 “ the milk of the *Ghoij*, and the fruits
 “ of *Murto*.

“ The mortal forms wherewith I
 “ shall encompass the delinquent *Deb-*
 “ *tah* are the work of my hand, they
 “ shall not be destroyed, but left to
 “ their natural decay; therefore which-
 “ soever of the *Debtah*, shall by de-

* *Mburd*, the common name of *man*, from *Murto*, matter, or earth.

† *Jhoale*, water, fluid.

‡ The *air*.

“ signed violence bring about the dis-
 “ solution of the mortal forms, ani-
 “ mated by their delinquent brethren,
 “ —Thou *Sieb*, shalt plunge the of-
 “ fending spirit into the *Onderab*, for
 “ a space, and he shall be doomed to
 “ pass again the eighty-nine transmi-
 “ grations, whatsoever stage he may
 “ be arrived to, at the time of such
 “ his offence.—But whosoever of the
 “ delinquent *Debtah*, shall dare to *free*
 “ *himself* by violence, from the mortal
 “ form wherewith I shall inclose him,
 “ —Thou *Sieb* shalt plunge him into
 “ the *Onderab* for ever.—He shall
 “ not again have the benefit of the
 “ fifteen *Boboons* of purgation, proba-
 “ tion, and purification.

“ And I will distinguish by tribes and
 “ kinds, the mortal bodies which I have
 “ destined for the punishment of the
 “ delinquent *Debtah*, and to these bodies
 “ I will give different forms, qualities
 “ and faculties, and they shall *unite* and
 “ propagate each other in their tribe
 “ and kind, according to a natural
 “ impulse which I will implant in
 “ them; and from this natural union,
 “ there shall proceed a succession of
 “ forms;

“ forms ; each in his kind and tribe,
 “ that the progressive transmigrations of
 “ the delinquent spirits, may not cease.

“ But whosoever of the delinquent
 “ *Debtah* shall *unite* with any form out
 “ of his own tribe and kind ; thou
 “ *Sieb* shalt plunge the offending spirit
 “ into the *Onderab*, for a space, and
 “ he shall be doomed to pass through
 “ the eighty-nine transmigrations, at
 “ whatsoever stage he may be arrived,
 “ at the time he committed such of-
 “ fence.

“ And if any of the delinquent
 “ *Debtah* shall (contrary to the natural
 “ impulse which I shall implant in the
 “ forms which they shall animate) dare
 “ to *unite* in such unnatural wise, as
 “ may frustrate the increase of his
 “ tribe and kind ; thou *Sieb* shalt plunge
 “ them into the *Onderab* for ever.—
 “ And they shall not again be entitled
 “ to the benefit of the fifteen *Boboons*
 “ of purgation, probation and purifi-
 “ cation.

“ The delinquent and unhappy *Deb-*
 “ *tab*, shall yet have it in their power,
 E 3 “ to

“ to lessen and soften their pains and
 “ punishment, by the sweet intercourse
 “ of social compacts; and if they love
 “ and cherish one another, and do mu-
 “ tual good offices, and assist and en-
 “ courage each other in the work of
 “ repentance for their crime of dis-
 “ obedience; I will strengthen their
 “ good intentions, and they shall find
 “ favor.—But if they persecute one
 “ another, I will comfort the persecuted,
 “ and the persecutors shall never enter
 “ the ninth *Boboon*, even the *first Bo-*
 “ *boon* of purification.

“ And it shall be,—That if the *Deb-*
 “ *tab* benefit themselves of my favor
 “ in their eighty-ninth transmigration
 “ of *Mburd*, by repentance and good
 “ works, thou *Bistnoo* shalt receive
 “ them into thy bosom and convey them
 “ to the second *Boboon* of punishment
 “ and purgation, and in this wise shalt
 “ thou do, until they have passed pro-
 “ gressively the eight *Boboons* of punish-
 “ ment, purgation, and probation, when
 “ their punishment shall cease, and thou
 “ shalt convey them to the ninth; even
 “ the first *Boboon* of purification.

“ But

“ But it shall be,—That if the re-
 “ bellious *Debtah*, do not benefit of
 “ my favor in the eighty-ninth trans-
 “ migration of *Mburd*, according to
 “ the powers, wherewith I will invest
 “ them;—Thou *Sieb*, shalt return them
 “ for a space into the *Onderah*, and
 “ from thence after a time which I
 “ shall appoint, *Bistnoo* shall replace
 “ them in the lowest *Boboon* of punish-
 “ ment and purgation for a second
 “ trial; and in this wise shall they
 “ suffer, until by their repentance and
 “ perseverance in good works, during
 “ their eighty-ninth mortal transmigra-
 “ tion of *Mburd*, they shall attain the
 “ ninth *Boboon*, even the first of the
 “ seven *Boboons* of purification.—For it
 “ is decreed that the rebellious *Debtah*
 “ shall not enter the *Mahah Surgo*,
 “ nor behold my face, until they have
 “ passed the eight *Boboons* of punish-
 “ ment, and the seven *Boboons* of pu-
 “ rification.

“ When the angelic faithful host,
 “ heard all that the Eternal ONE had
 “ spoken, and decreed, concerning the
 “ rebellious *Debtah*; they sung forth
 “ his praise, his power, and justice.

“ When all was hushed! the Eternal
 “ ONE said to the angelic host, I will
 “ extend my grace to the rebellious
 “ *Debtah*, for a certain space, which I
 “ will divide into four *Jogues**.—In the
 “ first of the four *Jogues*, I will, that
 “ the term of their probation in the
 “ eighty-ninth transmigration of *Mburd*,
 “ shall extend to 100,000 years—in
 “ the second of the four *Jogues*, their
 “ term of their probation in *Mburd*,
 “ shall be abridged to 10,000 years
 “ —in the third of the four *Jogues*, it
 “ shall be yet abridged to 1000 years
 “ —and in the fourth *Jogue* to 100
 “ years only.—And the angelic host,
 “ celebrated in shouts of joy, the
 “ mercy and forbearance of God.

“ When all was hushed! the Eternal
 “ ONE said, It shall be,—That when
 “ the space of time, which I have
 “ decreed for the duration of the *Dun-*
 “ *nahoudah*, and the space which my
 “ mercy has allotted for the probation
 “ of the fallen *Debtah*, shall be ac-
 “ complished, by the revolutions of the
 “ four *Jogues*,—in that day, should
 “ there be any of them who remaining

* *Jogues*, ages, precise periods of time.

“ reprobate,

“ reprobate, have not passed the eighth
 “ *Boboon* of punishment and probation,
 “ and have not entered the ninth *Bo-*
 “ *boon*, even the first *Boboon* of purifi-
 “ cation;—thou *Sieb* shalt, armed with
 “ my power, cast them into the *Onde-*
 “ *rab* for ever.—And thou shalt then
 “ destroy the eight *Boboons* of punish-
 “ ment, purgation and probation, and
 “ they shall be no more.—And thou
 “ *Bistnoo* shalt yet for a space preserve
 “ the seven *Boboons* of purification,
 “ until the *Debtah*, who have benefited
 “ of my grace and mercy, have by thee
 “ been purified from their sin:—
 “ and in the day when that shall be
 “ accomplished, and they are restored
 “ to their state, and admitted to my
 “ presence,—thou *Sieb* shalt then de-
 “ stroy the seven *Boboons* of purification,
 “ and they shall be no more.

“ And the angelic faithful host trem-
 “ bled at the power, and words of
 “ the Eternal ONE.

“ The Eternal ONE, spoke again and
 “ said.—I have not withheld my mercy
 “ from *Moisafoor*, *Rhaboon*, and the
 “ rest of the leaders of the rebellious
 “ *Debtah*;

“ *Debtah*;—but as they thirsted for
 “ power, I will enlarge their powers of
 “ evil;—they shall have liberty to
 “ pervade, and enter into the *eight*
 “ *Boboons* of purgation and probation,
 “ and the delinquent *Debtah*, shall be
 “ exposed and open to the same temp-
 “ tations, that first instigated their re-
 “ volt: but the exertion of those en-
 “ larged powers, which I will give to
 “ the rebellious leaders, shall be *to them*,
 “ the source of aggravated guilt, and
 “ punishment; and the resistance made
 “ to their temptations, by the perverted
 “ *Debtah*, shall be *to me* the great
 “ *proof*, of the sincerity of their sorrow
 “ and repentance.

“ The Eternal ONE ceased.—And
 “ the faithful host shouted forth songs
 “ of praise and adoration, mixed with
 “ grief, and lamentation for the fate
 “ of their lapsed brethren.—They
 “ communed amongst themselves, and
 “ with one voice by the mouth of
 “ *Bistnoo*, besought the Eternal ONE, that
 “ they might have permission to de-
 “ scend occasionally to the *eight Bo-*
 “ *boons* of punishment, and purgation,
 “ to assume the form of *Mburd*, and
 “ by

“ by their presence, council and ex-
 “ ample, guard the unhappy and per-
 “ verted *Debtah*, against the further
 “ temptations of *Moisafoor*, and the
 “ rebellious leaders.—The Eternal ONE
 “ assented, and the faithful heavenly
 “ bands, shouted their songs of glad-
 “ ness and thanksgiving.

“ When all was hushed ! the Eternal
 “ ONE spake again, and said,—Do thou
 “ *Birmah*, arrayed in my glory, and
 “ armed with my power, descend to
 “ the lowest *Boboon* of punishment and
 “ purgation, and make known to the
 “ rebellious *Debtah*, the words that I
 “ have uttered, and the decrees which
 “ I have pronounced against them, and
 “ see they enter into the bodies, which
 “ I have prepared for them.

“ And *Birmah* stood before the
 “ throne, and said, Eternal ONE, I have
 “ done as thou hast commanded.—
 “ The delinquent *Debtah* rejoice in
 “ thy mercy, confess the justice of thy
 “ decrees, avow their sorrow and re-
 “ pentance, and have entered into the
 “ mortal bodies which thou hast pre-
 “ pared for them.”

REMARKS.

THE foregoing is almost a literal translation from the *Chartab Bhade of Bramah*, as we despaired of reaching the sublime stile and diction of the original;—it will not we hope be displeasing to our reader, if we assist his memory and recollection by a recapitulation of the ground work of these doctrines, presented to him in one connected view; the more especially, as we shall also be thereby the better enabled to form our necessary explanatory remarks.

We have seen that the original divine institutes of *Bramah* are simple and sublime, comprehending the whole compass of all that is; God, Angels, the visible and invisible worlds, man and beasts; and is comprized under the following articles of the *Gentoo* creed. To wit—

“ That there is one God, eternal, omnific, omnipotent, and omniscient, in all things excepting a *prescience* of the future actions of *free agents*.—That God from an impulse of divine love and goodness, first created THREE angelic persons to whom he gave precedence, though not in equal degree—That he afterwards

afterwards from the same impulse created an angelic host, whom he placed in subjection to *Birmah* his first created, and to *Bistnoo* and *Sieb*, as coadjutors to *Birmah*.—*That* God created them all free, and intended they should all be partakers of his glory and beatitude, on the easy conditions of their acknowledging him their Creator, and paying obedience to him, and to the three primary created personages, whom he had put over them.—*That*, in process of time, a large portion of the angelic host, at the instigation of *Moisafoor* and others of their chief leaders, rebelled and denied the supremacy of their Creator, and refused obedience to his commands. *That* in consequence the rebels were excluded heaven, and the sight of their Creator, and doomed to languish for ever in *sorrow* and *darkness*. *That*, after a time, by the intercession of the three primary, and the rest of the faithful angelic beings, God relented, and placed the delinquents in a more sufferable state of punishment and probation, with powers to gain their lost happy situation.—*That* for that purpose a new creation of the visible and invisible worlds instantaneously took place, destined for the delinquents.—*That* the new creation consisted of fifteen regions, seven below, and seven above this terraqueous globe, and
that

that this globe and the seven regions below it are stages of punishment and purgation, and the seven above stages of purification, and consequently that this globe is the eighth, last and chief stage of punishment, purgation and trial.—*That* mortal bodies were prepared by God, for the rebel angels, *in which* they were for a space to be imprisoned, and subject to natural and moral evils, more or less painful in proportion to their original guilt, and *through which* they were doomed to transmigrate under eighty-nine different forms, the last into that of *man*, when the powers of the animating rebel spirits, are supposed to be enlarged equal to the state of their first creation.—*That* under this form God rests his chief expectations of their repentance and restoration, and if they fail, and continue reprobate under this form, they are returned to the lowest region, and sentenced to go through the same course of punishment, until they reach the ninth region, or first stage of purification, where although they cease from punishment, and gain remission and forgiveness of their guilt of rebellion; yet, they are not permitted to enter heaven, nor behold their Creator, before they have passed the seven regions of purification.—*That* the rebel-leaders had power given them by God, to enter the
eight

eight regions of punishment and probation, and that the faithful angelic spirits, had permission occasionally to descend to those regions, to guard the delinquents against the future attempts of their leaders.—*And that, consequently, the souls, or spirits which animate every mortal form, are delinquent angels in a state of punishment, for a lapse from innocence, in a pre-existent state.*”

We will presume to say, that the *difference* between the doctrines hitherto imputed, to these ancient people, when compared with the original tenets of the *Chartab Bhade*, will now appear so obvious to the learned and curious reader, that a further discussion of this point, is we conceive needless, and would in truth be a tacit reflection upon his understanding.—Yet we are far from condemning the authors, who have treated on this subject; they took their information from the best lights they had;—it is only to be regretted, that in place of drinking at the fountain head, they have swallowed the muddy streams which flowed from the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*.—The author on his departure from *Bengal* in the year 1750, imagined himself well informed in the *Gen-too* religion, his knowledge had been acquired by conversations with the *Bramins* of

of those *Bhades* who were near, as little acquainted with the *Chartab* *Bhade* of *Bramab*, as he was himself, and he had then thoughts of obtruding his crude notions on the public, had not a different necessary application of his time luckily prevented him.

When we peruse some portions of *Milton's* account of the rebellion and expulsion of the angels, we are almost led to imagine, on comparifon, that *Bramab* and he were both instructed by the same spirit; had not the soaring, ungovernable, inventive genius of the latter, instigated him to illustrate his poem with scenes too gross and ludicrous, as well as manifestly repugnant to, and inconsistent with, sentiments we ought to entertain of an omnipotent Being (as before remarked) in which we rather fear he was inspired by one of these malignant spirits (alluded to in the *Sbaftab* and elsewhere) who have from their original defection, been the declared enemies of God and Man.— For however we are astonished and admire the sublimity of *Milton's* genius, we can hardly sometimes avoid concluding his conceits truly diabolical.—But this by the by.—

Our readers are now possessed for the first time of a faithful account of the *Metempsychosis*

Psychosis of the *Bramins*—commonly called the transmigration of souls, a term hitherto we believe little understood, that this doctrine was originally peculiar to the *Gentoos*, will not admit of doubt, although in after times it was embraced by the *Egyptian* Magi, and by some sects amongst the *Chinese* and *Tartars*.—*Pythagoras*, who favored this doctrine, and was a convert to it, labored to introduce it amongst his country-men the *Greeks*, but failed in the attempt. He succeeded better with them in the theogony, cosmogony and mythology of the *Bramins* *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastab*, although these constituted no part of the original theology of *Bramah*.

As we have reserved a part expressly for a dissertation on the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, we will avoid further mention of it here; but as the *Bramins* of the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, inculcate and teach many corollary branches of doctrine which spring from this root, it is necessary that we recite a few of the most established ones.

“ When the delinquent *Debtah*, by the mediation of *Birmah*, *Bistnos* and *Moisoor*, and the faithful angelic host, were released from the *Onderab*; all, except *Moisajoor*,
 Part II. F *Rhaabon*,

Rhaabon, and the rest of the rebel leaders, were so struck with the goodness and mercy of the Eternal ONE, that they persevered in a pious resignation and true penitence, during the first of the *four Fogues*, and multitudes ascended, and passed through the fifteen *Boboons*, and regained their forfeited estate. — This period of time is called in the *Shastab* the *Suttee Fogue*, when the term of the spirits probation in *Mburd*, was extended to one hundred thousand years.

“ In the *second* of the *four Fogues*, *Moisafoor* and the rebel leaders so effectually exerted their influence over the delinquent *Debtah*, that they soon began to forget their crime and disregard their punishment in the *Onderah*; they rejected the councils and examples of the guardian *Debtah*, and stood a *second time* in defiance of their Creator; and *Moisafoor* drew over *one third* of the remaining unpurified spirits. — This period is distinguished in the *Shastab*, by the name of the *Tirtah Fogue*, in which the Eternal ONE retrenched the term of the spirits probation in *Mburd*, to ten thousand years. In this *Fogue* however, many persevered in goodness, ascended through the fifteen *Boboons*, and regained the *Mahab Surgo*.

“ In the third of the four *Jogues*, *Moisafoor*'s influence increased, and he drew over half of the remaining unpurified spirits, in each of the eight *Boboons* of punishment and probation. This period is called in the *Shastab*, the *Duapaar*, or *Dwapaar Jogue*, in which the term of probation in *Mburd*, was reduced to one thousand years; yet in this *Jogue* there were many who ascended and regained the *Mahab Surgo*.

“ In the fourth *Jogue*, *Moisafoor* acquired as full possession of the hearts of the remaining delinquent *Debtah* as when they first rose in rebellion with him, with very few exceptions; this period in the *Shastab* is called the *Kolee Jogue*, in which the term of probation in *Mburd* is limited to one hundred years only.—Yet even this *Jogue* affords some instances of the delinquent spirits surmounting the eight lower *Boboons*, by penitence and good works; notwithstanding the unwearied diligence of *Moisafoor*, *Rhaabon*, and the rest of the rebellious leaders, and delinquent *Debtah*, who had a second time fallen under his influence.”

The four *Jogues* or ages having been so frequently mentioned in the last paragraphs, we cannot do better than explain their mean-

ing here, as such explanation would prove too long for a note, it may be remembered, they are called the *Suttee Jogue*, the *Tirtab Jogue*, the *Duapaar Jogue*, and the *Kolee Jogue*; we will speak to each in their order.

The *Suttee Jogue*, or the first age, literally the age of truth, figuratively the age of goodness;—in this age *Endeer* is fabled to be born, according to the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; and appointed King of the Universe—the word *Endeer* literally signifies good, and is in that *Shastab* opposed to *Moisafoor* or *evil*, and the various battles said to be fought between this rebel angel and *Endeer*, and their descendants in every *Jogue*, allegorically exhibit the conflicts and progress of *good* and *evil* in the universe; *Endeer's* being appointed universal Monarch in the *Suttee Jogue*, alludes to the state of the delinquent *Debtah* in this age, upon their emerging from the *Onderah*, when the impression of God's mercy acted so powerfully on their hearts, as to preserve them in penitence and purity, during this age, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of *Moisafoor* (or *evil*) and his adherents, to engage them in a second defection.—From the word *Suttee* (truth) the word *Sansah* in *Bengals*, and *Sutch*, in the *Moors* are derived,—any one acquainted in

in the least degree with those tongues, knows that the phrase *Sansab Kotab*, in the one, and *Sutch Bhaat*, in the other, is commonly used to assert the verity of any thing advanced, and simply signifies, *words of truth*.

The *Tirtab Fogue*, or second age.—By the term prefixed to this age, the order of the *Fogues* should seem inverted, as the word in its simple construction signifies *third*.—The words *teen*, *tarab*, *tise*, *trese*, and *tetrese*, which express the numbers three, thirteen, twenty-three, thirty and thirty-three, are all derivatives from the *Sanscrit*, *Tirtab*, or *Tirtea*, as it is sometimes wrote, and means the third, but oftener the *third part*, as in the present instance, where the term *Tirtab Fogue* given to the second age, is allusive to the second defection of one third of the remaining unpurified delinquent spirits, from that penitence and purity which governed them in the *Suttee Fogue*.—In this age *Rhaam* is fabled to be born for the protection of the delinquent *Debtak*, against the snares and attempt of *Moisafoor* and his adherents.—The word *Rhaam* in the *Sanscrit*, literally signifies protector, but in many parts of the *Aughtorrah Bhade* this personage is mentioned in a more extended sense, as the protector of kingdoms, states and property.—

Rhaam! Rhaam! is used as a pious salutation, between two *Gentoo*s when they meet in the morning, thereby recommending each other's person and property to the protection of this Demi-god.

The *Duapaar Jogue*, or third age.—This term prefixed to the third age, alludes to the second defection from penitence and goodness of *one half* of the remaining unpurified *Debtah*—*dua*, or *dwa* simply signifies, two, or the second, but here by the addition of *paar*, it means the half; thus *duapaar deen*, expresses half the day, and *duapaar rhaat*, half the night,—that is if the phrase issues from the mouth of a polite *Gentoo*—but the vulgar would say *adab deen* and *adab rhaat*, *adab* being the common *Bengal* word for half.—In the beginning of this *Jogue* the *Aughtorrah Bhade* fixes the birth of *Kissen Taghoor*.—The word *kissen* in the *Sanscrit* signifies a scourge, and this *being* is in that *Bhade* frequently distinguished as the scourge of tyrants and tyranny.—*Tagoor* literally means *revered*, *respected*, and is a common appellation given to *Bramins*.

The *Kolee Jogue*, or the fourth and present age.—*Kolee* in the *Sanscrit* signifies corruption, pollution, impurity, consequently

Kolee

Kolee Jogue means the age of pollution.—In this age (say the *Bramins*) children shall bear false witness against their parents, and before the expiration of it—the stature of the *Mburd* by the wickedness of the rebellious *Debtah* that animates it, shall be so reduced, that he will not be able to pluck a *Bygon* (*berengelab* *) without the help of a hooked stick.—We have often, whilst at the head of the judicial court of *Cutcherry* at *Calcutta*, heard the most atrocious murders and crimes confessed, and an extenuation of them attempted, by pleading, *it was the Kolee Jogue*.—How far the poetical conceits of *Ovid*, and others, touching the golden, &c. ages, have been framed from *Bramah's* four *Jogues*, we leave to the investigation of the curious.

It is an established doctrine of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, that the three primary created personages, as well as the rest of the heavenly angelic faithful spirits, have from time to time according to the permission given them by God, descended to the eight *Bo-boons* of punishment, and have voluntarily subjected themselves to the feelings of natural and moral evil, for the sake of their brethren, the delinquent *Debtah*. And to

* The *Egg Plant*.

this end, have undergone the eighty-nine transmigrations * ; and that it is those benevolent spirits, who have at different times appeared on this earthly region, under the mortal forms and names of *Endeer*, *Bramah*, *Jaggernaut*, *Kissen Tagoor*, *Rhaam*, *Luccon*, *Kalkee*, (or *Kallee*) *Sursuttee*, *Gunnis*, *Kartic*, &c.—that have opposed and fought against *Moisafoor*, *Rhaabon*, and their iniquitous adherents——and have proved themselves under the various characters of Kings, Generals, Philosophers, Lawgivers and Prophets, shining examples to the delinquent *Debtah*, of stupendous courage, fortitude, purity and piety.—That their visitations were frequent during the *Tirtah*, and *Duapaar Jagues*, but rare since the commencement of the *Kolee Jogue*, because in this age the delinquent *Debtah* in general are deemed utterly reprobate, and hardened in their wickedness beyond the power of counsel or example ; so that they are in a manner left, and given up to their *own powers*, and abandoned to the full influence of *Moisafoor*.——But that there are still in every

* Hence the *Gentoos* dread of killing even by accident any thing that has life, as thereby they may not only dispossess the spirits of their allied *Debtah*, but also, those of the celestial *Debtah*, who are working for their redemption.

period of time some few instances of the delinquents exertion of their *own powers* for their salvation, and that when this is manifest to God, he permits the celestial *Debtak* invisibly to aid, confirm, and support them.

Although the *Shaftak* of *Bramah* denies the prescience of God respecting the actions of free-agents, yet the *Bramins* maintain that his knowledge extends to the thoughts of every created being, and that the moment a *thought* is conceived by the soul or spirit, it is sympathetically conveyed to God.—It is upon this principle that the adorations, prayers, petitions and thanksgivings, which the *Gentoos* prefer to the Deity himself, are offered in solemn silence; but it is not so with regard to the invocations and worship, instituted by the *Aughtorrah Bhade* to be paid to the subordinate celestial beings, for these are addressed in loud prayer, joined to the clang of various musical instruments.

We have already slightly touched on the religious veneration paid to the *Ghoij* in a particular district of *Bengall*, although it is beyond doubt, that their devotion to this animal was universal throughout *Indostan* in former times.—The original source of this regard, was of a two-fold nature, as a religious

religious and political institution: first, in a religious sense; as holding in the rotation of the *Metempsychosis*, the rank immediately preceding the human form; this conception is the true cause of that devout, and sometimes enthusiastic veneration paid to this animated form, for the *Bramins* inculcate that when the *Ghoij* suffers death by accident or violence, or through the neglect of the owner, it is a token of God's wrath against the wickedness of the spirit of *the proprietor*, who from thence is warned that at the dissolution of his human form, he will not be deemed worthy of entering the first *Boboon* of purification, but be again condemned to return to the lowest region of punishment: hence it is, that not only mourning and lamentation ensue on the violent death of either cow or calf—but the proprietor is frequently enjoined, and often voluntarily undertakes, a three years pilgrimage in expiation of his crime, forsaking his family, friends and relations, he subsists during his pilgrimage on charity and alms.—It is worthy remark, that the penitent thus circumstanced, ever meets with the deepest commiseration, as his state is deemed truly pitiable; two instances have fallen within our own knowledge where the penitents have devoted themselves to the service of God, and a pilgrimage during the term of their life.

Secondly,

Secondly, the *Gboij* is venerated by the *Gentoos* in a political sense, as being the most useful and necessary of the whole animal creation, to a people forbid feeding on flesh, or on any thing that had breathed the breath of life; for it not only yielded to them delectable food, but was otherways essentially serviceable in the cultivation of their lands; on which depended their vegetable subsistence.

The *Gentoos* hold that the females of all animated forms are, more or less, favored of God, but more eminently in the form of *Moiyab* in the eighty-ninth transmigration; the word signifies *excellent*, and is applied to the female of *Mburd*; *Rbaan* is the common name for woman, though it usually means a married *Moiyab*, and the *Gentoo* Princesses have no higher title than *Rbaanee*. The female or *Moiyab* of *Mburd*, is supposed to be animated by the most benign and least culpable of the apostate angels, and that from this form, in every period of the *four Jagues*, an infinitely greater number of the delinquent spirits, have entered the first region of purification, than from the form of *Mburd*.

The sudden death of infants, the *Bramins* say, marks the spirits favored of God, and
that

that it is immediately received into the bosom of *Bistnoo*, (the preserver) and conveyed to the first region of purification.—The sudden death of adults, on the contrary, they pronounce a mark of God's wrath against the animating spirit, as it's term of probation in *Mburd*, is cut short.—The great age of man, when it is accompanied with the enjoyments of his faculties and understanding, is pronounced by the *Bramins* to be the greatest blessing God can bestow upon this mortal state, as thereby the term of the spirits probation is prolonged; adding that the limited space of one hundred years, decreed by God in the present *Kolee Jogue*, is full short for the works of repentance and goodness, and that when the life and understanding is preserved beyond that limited term, it ought to be deemed a signal mark of God's special grace and favor.

Longevity, in (what we call) the brute creation, is by the *Bramins* esteemed a mark of the great delinquency of the spirits which animate those tribes, because they are so long debarred and withheld from their great and chief state of probation in *Mburd*.—The *Gentoos* estimate the greater or lesser delinquency of the apostate spirits, by the class of mortal forms they are doomed to inhabit;

thus,

thus, all voracious and unclean animals are supposed to be animated by the most malignant spirits;—if a hog or dog touch a *Gentoo*, he is defiled, not from the animal form, but from the persuasion, that the *Debtah* animating that form, is a malignant spirit.—Every voracious animal, that inhabits the earth, air and waters, and men whose lives and actions are publicly and atrociously wicked, come under that class of spirits:—On the contrary, those spirits that animate the forms which subsist on vegetables, and do not prey upon each other, are pronounced favored of God.

The *general warfare* which is observed in the animal world, whereby the destruction of one species is the necessary support and subsistence of others, the *Bramins* assert is the lot of punishment decreed by God for the most guilty of the apostate angels, who are thereby made *his* instruments of punishment to *each other*, every of these tribes being a destined prey to one another.—The natural enmity which some classes of animals bear to others, whereby they live in a continued state of war and contention, whenever they meet, although they do not subsist on each other, proceeds they say from the same cause; the delinquent *Debtah* being
destined

destined as a punishment, in those forms to exercise that propensity to hatred, envy, and animosity, on one another, which they had so impotently dared to exert against their Creator.

The rotation of animal forms destined for the habitation of the delinquent *Debtah*, are not, say the *Bramins*, precisely the same, on repetition of the eighty-nine transmigrations; but are arbitrary and rests with the will of God; but it is their belief that the least guilty of the *Debtah*, transmigrate only through those forms which by their nature are destined to subsist on the vegetable creation; and that the three changes immediately preceding the spirits animating the *Gboij* (that is the eighty-fifth, eighty-sixth, and eighty-seventh) are into the most innocent of the species of *birds*, the *goat* and the *sheep*, the animals most favored of God, next to the *Gboij* and *Mburd*.—From hence the rigid *Bramins* execrate with bitterness, the cruelty of those nations, who wickedly and wantonly select and slaughter the best beloved created forms of God, namely the birds, the goat, the sheep, and the cow, to satisfy their unnatural lust of appetite, in defiance not only to his express command and prohibition, but in opposition to the
 natural

natural and obvious construction of the mouth and digestive faculties of *Mburd*, which marks him, destined with other forms most favored of God, to feed and subsist on the fruits and produce of the earth, with the additional blessing of the milk of the *Gboij*, and of other animals.—For this degeneracy, they account no otherwise, than piously lamenting the pitiable state of *Mburd*, since the commencement of the *Kolee Jogue*, adding, that by just consequence the transgression carries its punishment along with it, for by this assemblage of unnatural and forbidden food, variety of diseases are entailed, which cut short the term of probation in *Mburd*, by which the delinquent spirit robs himself of more than half of that space of indulgence and trial which his Creator has graciously bestowed upon him, and which he by a fresh instance of his disobedience, ungratefully rejects.

Ovid in his fifteenth book of *Metamorphoses* introduces *Pythagoras* dissuading mankind from killing and feeding on his fellow creatures. Our readers will excuse us, if we transcribe such parts of his pathetic arguments, as are strictly in point with the subject of the preceding paragraph.

“ He

“ He first the taste of flesh, from tables drove;
 And argued well, if arguments could move.
 O mortals ! from your fellows blood abstain,
 Nor taint your bodies, with a food prophane ;
 While corn and pulse by nature are bestow'd,
 And planted orchards bend their willing load ;
 While labor'd gardens wholesome herbs produce,
 And teeming vines afford their gen'rous juice ;
 Nor tardier fruits of cruder kind are lost,
 But tam'd by fire or mellow'd by the frost ;
 While kine to pails, distended udders bring,
 And bees their honey, redolent of spring ;
 While earth, not only can your needs supply,
 But lavish of her stores, provides for luxury ;
 A guiltless feast, administers with ease,
 And without blood, is prodigal to please ;
 Wild beasts their maws, with their slain brethren fill,
 And yet not all,—for some refuse to kill ;
 Sheep, goats, and oxen, and the nobler steed,
 On browse and corn, and flow'ry meadows feed ;
 Bears, tigers, wolves, the angry lions brood,
 Whom heaven endu'd with principles of blood,
 He wisely sunder'd, from the rest to yell,
 In forest, and in lonely caves to dwell ;
 Where stronger beasts oppress the weak by night,
 And all in prey, and purple feasts delight.

“ O impious use ! to Nature's laws oppos'd,
 Where bowels are in others bowels clos'd ;
 Where fatten'd, by their fellows' fat they thrive,
 Maintain'd by murder, and by death they live ;

'Tis then for nought, that mother Earth provides
 The stores of all she shows, and all she hides ;
 If men with fleshy morsels must be fed,
 And chaw with bloody teeth the breathing bread ;
 What else is this, but to devour our guests,
 And barb'rously renew Cyclopean feasts.
 We by destroying life, our life sustain,
 And gorge th' ungodly maw, with meats obscene.

“ Not so the golden age, who fed on fruit,
 Nor durst with bloody meals their mouths pollute ;
 Then birds, in airy space, might safely move,
 And tim'rous hares on heaths securely rove,
 Nor needed fish the guileful hooks to fear,
 For all was peaceful, and that peace sincere.
 Whoever was the wretch, and curs'd be he,
 That envy'd first, our food's simplicity ;
 The essay of bloody feasts, on brutes began,
 And after forged the sword to murder man ;
 Had he the sharpened steel, alone employed
 On beasts of prey, which other beasts destroyed,
 Or man invaded, with their fangs and paws,
 This had been justified by Nature's laws,
 And self defence :—but who did feasts begin
 Of flesh, he stretch'd necessity, to sin.
 To kill man-killers, man has lawful power,
 But not the extended licence to devour.

“ Ill habits gather, by unseen degrees,
 As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas ;
 The sow, with her broad snout, for rooting up,
 Th' entrusted seed, was judg'd to spoil the crop ;
 And intercept the sweating farmer's hope.

The covetous churl, of unforgiving kind,
 The offender to the bloody priest resign'd ;
 Her hunger was no plea, for that she dy'd ;
 The goat came next in order to be tried.
 The goat had crop'd the tendrils of the vine,
 In vengeance the laity, and clergy join,
 Where one had lost his profit, one his wine.
 Here was, at least, some shadow of offence ;
 The sheep was sacrificed, on no pretence,
 But meek, and unresisting innocence. }
 A patient, useful creature, born to bear,
 The warm and woolly fleece, that cloth'd her murderer ; }
 And daily to give down the milk she bred,
 A tribute for the grass on which she fed :
 Living both food and raiment she supplies,
 And is of least advantage when she dies.

" How did the toiling ox, his death deserve,
 A downright simple drudge, and born to serve ?
 O tyrant ! with what justice canst thou hope,
 The promise of the year a plenteous crop,
 When thou destroy'st thy lab'ring steer, who till'd
 And plough'd with pain, thy else ungrateful field ;
 From his yet reeking neck, to draw the yoke,
 That neck with which the surly clods he broke ;
 And to the hatchet, yield thy husbandman,
 Who finished autumn, and the spring began.

" Nor this alone ! but heaven itself to bribe,
 We to the gods, our impious acts ascribe ;
 First recompence with death, their creatures toil,
 Then call the blest above to share the spoil,

The fairest victim, must the pow'rs appease
 (So fatal 'tis sometimes too much to please)
 A purple fillet his broad brow adorns,
 With flow'ry garlands crown'd and gilded horns ;
 He hears the murd'rous prayer the priest prefers,
 But understands not ! 'tis his doom he hears :
 Beholds the meal, betwixt his temples cast,
 (The fruit and product of his labors past,)
 And in the water, views perhaps the knife,
 Uplifted to deprive him of his life ;
 Then broken up alive, his entrails sees
 Torn out for priests t'inspect the gods decrees.

“ From whence, O mortal man ! this gust of blood
 Have you deriv'd ? and interdicted food ?
 Be taught by me, this dire delight to shun,
 Warn'd by my precepts, by my practice, won ;
 And when you eat the well-deserving beast,
 Think, on the lab'rer of your field, you feast.

“ Then let not piety be put to flight,
 To please the taste of glutton appetite ;
 But suffer inmate souls secure to dwell,
 Left from their seats your parents you expell ;
 With rabid hunger feed upon your kind,
 Or from a beast dislodge a brother's mind.”

That *Pythagoras* carried such sentiments
 from the *Bramins*, and labored to obtrude
 them upon his countrymen, is beyond con-
 troversy ; the pathetic persuasives he urged
 to them in that age to abstain from the
 feeding

feeding on their brethren of the creation, proved however as ineffectual then, as we conceive it would be in the present, the more's the pity—for it is to be feared we shall to the end of the chapter—Rise, kill, and eat.

Regarding the description (which *Ovid* puts in the mouth of *Pythagoras*) of the ancient religious sacrifices, we must in justice to the *Bramins* say he could not borrow it from them; in this particular the original religious tenets of the *Gentoo*s differ from all the ancients, for they were strangers to those bloody sacrifices and offerings; neither of the *Gentoo Bhades* having the least allusion to that mode of worshipping the deity; and the *Bramins* say, nothing but *Mojisfoor* himself could have invented so infatuated and cruel an institution, which is manifestly so repugnant to the true spirit of devotion, and abhorrent to the Eternal ONE.

That every animal form is endued, with cogitation, memory and reflection, is one of the most established tenets of the *Bramins*; indeed it must consequentially be so, on the supposed *Metempsychosis* of the apostate spirits, through these mortal forms.—Every state of the delinquent spirits abode in the eight *Boboons*, they say, is a state of humilia-

humiliation, punishment and purgation, that of *Mburd* not excepted; and that the purpose of the Eternal ONE would be defeated by himself, had he not endued them with rationality and a consciousness of their situation.—In the form of *Mburd* alone, is the spirit's state of probation, because in this form only, he again becomes an absolute and *free agent*; and in this alone lies the difference between *Mburd*, and the rest of the animal created forms, for in these, the spirit's intellectual faculties are circumscribed, more or less, by the varied construction of the forms, and limited within certain bounds, which they cannot exceed,—that consciousness of those confined powers, and envy at the superior state of *Mburd*, constitutes their chief punishment; that this unceasing envy, and *resentment* of the usurped tyranny which *Mburd* assumed over the animal creation (from the beginning of the *Kolee Fogue*) are the causes which made them in general shun his society, and live in a state of enmity with him, according to the force of the natural powers, which the Eternal ONE has endued them with; that where some of the species appear an exception to this general bent, it proceeds from the weakness of their natural powers; or the superior craft and subtlety of *Mburd*, who first deceitfully allured

allured them to slavery and destruction.—
 That neither *envy* or enmity in the animal
 created forms, nor usurped tyranny on the
 part of *Mburd*, had existence in the breasts
 of either, before the beginning of the *Kolee*
Jogue, when a universal degeneracy of al-
 most all the remaining unpurified *Debtah*
 prevailed through all their mortal forms—
 which until that period had lived in amity
 and harmony, as conscious of being involved
 under the same sentence and displeasure of
 their Creator; and lastly—That the usurped
 tyranny of *Mburd* over the rest of the de-
 linquent angels was displeasing to the Eternal
 ONE, and will be a charge exhibited against
 the spirit by *Bistnoo* at the dissolution of
Mburd, for that in place of cherishing the
 unhappy delinquents during their state of
 humiliation and punishment, they do, by the
 force of their tyrannic usurpation, labor
 to make their state more miserable, than the
 Eternal ONE intended it should be, in viola-
 tion of his express injunction, *that they should*
love one another.

The *Bramins* hold, that every distinct
 species of animal creation have a compre-
 hensive mode of communicating their ideas,
 peculiar to themselves; and that the *Metemp-*
sychosis

psychosis of the delinquent spirits extends through every organised body, even to the smallest insect and reptile;—they highly venerate the bee, and some species of the ant, and conceive the spirits animating those forms are favored of God, and that its intellectual faculties, are more enlarged under them, than in most others.

Although we have already shewn that the bloody sacrifices of the ancients was no part of the *Gentoo* tenets, yet there subsists amongst them at this day, a *voluntary sacrifice*, of too singular a nature, to pass by us unnoticed; the rather as it has been frequently mentioned by various authors, without we conceive that knowledge and perspicuity which the matter calls for; the sacrifice we allude to, is the *Gentoo wives burning with the bodies of their deceased husbands*. We have taken no small pains to investigate this seeming cruel custom, and hope we shall be able to throw some satisfactory lights on this very extraordinary subject, which has hitherto been hid in obscurity; in order to which we will first remove one or two obstructions that lie in our way, and hinder our nearer and more perfect view of it.

The cause commonly assigned for the origin of this sacrifice (peculiar to the wives of this nation) is, that *it was a law constituted to put a period to a wicked practice that the Gentoos wives had of poisoning their husbands*;—for this assertion we cannot trace the smallest semblance of truth, and indeed the known fact, that the sacrifice must be *voluntary*, of it's self refutes that common mistake.—It has also been a received opinion, that *if the wife refuses to burn, she loses her cast (or tribe) and is stamped with disgrace and infamy*; an opinion equally void of foundation in fact as the other.—The real state of this case is thus circumstanced.—The first wife (for the *Gentoo* laws allow bigamy, although they frequently do not benefit themselves of the indulgence, if they have issue by the first) has it in her choice to burn, but *is not permitted* to declare her resolution before twenty-four hours after the decease of her husband;—if she refuses, the right devolves to the second,—if either, after the expiration of twenty-four hours, publicly declare, before the *Bramins* and *witnesses*, their resolution to *burn*, they cannot then retract. If they both refuse at the expiration of that term, the worst consequence that attends their refusal, is lying under the imputation of being wanting to their own

2

honor,

honor, purification, and the prosperity of their family, for from their infancy, they are instructed by the household *Bramin* to look upon this catastrophe, as most glorious to themselves, and beneficial to their children : the truth is, that the children of the wife who burns, become thereby illustrious, and are sought after in marriage by the most opulent and honourable of their *cast*, and sometimes received into a cast superiour to their own.

That the *Bramins* take unwearied pains to encourage, promote, and confirm in the minds of the *Gentoo* wives, *this spirit of burning*, is certain (their motives for it, the penetration of our readers may by and by probably discover) and although they seldom lose their labor, yet instances happen, where fear, or love of life, sets at nought all their preaching; for it sometimes falls out that the first wife refuses, and the second burns; at others, they both refuse; and as but one can burn, it so happens, that when the second wife has issue by the deceased, and the first none, there commonly ensues a violent contention between them, which of the two shall make the sacrifice; but this dispute is generally determined by the *Bramins*, in favor of the first, unless she is pre-
 vailed

vailed on by persuasion, or other motives to wave her right, in favor of the second.—Having elucidated these matters, we will proceed to give our readers the best account we have been able to obtain of the origin of this remarkable custom.

At the demise of the mortal part of the *Gentoo's* great Law-giver and Prophet BRA-MAH, his wives, inconsolable for his loss, resolved not to survive him, and offered themselves voluntary victims on his funeral pile.—The wives of the chief *Rajabs*, the first officers of the state, being unwilling to have it thought that they were deficient in fidelity and affection, followed the heroic example set them by the wives of *Bramah*;—the *Bramins* (a tribe then newly constituted by their great legislator) pronounced and declared, *that the delinquent spirits of those heroines, immediately ceased from their transmigrations, and had entered the first Boboon of purification*—it followed, that *their* wives claimed a right of making the same sacrifice of their mortal forms to God, and *the manes* of their deceased husbands;—The wives of every *Gentoo* caught the enthusiastic (now pious) flame.—Thus the heroic acts of a few women brought about a general custom, the *Bramins* had given it
the

the stamp of religion, they foisted it into the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, and instituted the forms and ceremonials that were to accompany the sacrifice, strained some obscure passages of *Bramah's Chartab Bhade*, to countenance their declared sense of the action, and established it as a religious tenet throughout *Indostan*, subject to the restrictions before recited, which leaves it a voluntary act of glory, piety and fortitude.— Whether the *Bramins* were sincere in their declared sense, and consecration of this act, or had a view to the securing the fidelity of their own wives, or were actuated by any other motives, we will not determine.—

When people have lived together to an advanced age, in mutual acts of confidence, friendship and affection; the sacrifice a *Gen-too* widow makes of her person (under such an affecting circumstance as the loss of friend and husband) seems less an object of wonder; —but when we see women in the bloom of youth, and beauty, in the calm possession of their reason and understanding, with astonishing fortitude, set at nought, the tender considerations of parents, children, friends, and the horror and torments of the death they court, we cannot resist viewing such an

an act, and such a victim, with tears of commiseration, awe and reverence.

We have been present at many of these sacrifices: in some of the victims, we have observed a pitiable dread, tremor, and reluctance, that strongly spoke repentance for their *declared resolution*; but it was now too late to retract, or retreat; *Bistnoo* was *waiting for the spirit*.—If the self doomed victim discovers want of courage and fortitude, she is with gentle force obliged to ascend the pile, where she is held down with long poles, held by men on each side of the pile, until the flames reach her; her screams and cries, in the mean time, being drowned amidst the deafening noise of loud musick, and the acclamations of the multitude.—Others we have seen go through this fiery trial, with most amazing steady, calm, resolution, and joyous fortitude.—It will not we hope be unacceptable, if we present our readers with an instance of the latter, which happened some years past at the *East India* company's factory at *Cossimbuzaar*, in the time of *Sir Francis Russel's* chiefship; the author, and several other gentlemen of the factory were present, some of whom are now living:—from a narrative, which the author then transmitted to *England*, he is

now

now enabled to give the particulars of this most remarkable proof of female fortitude, and constancy.

“ At five of the clock in the morning of the 4th of *February*, 1742-3, died *Rhaam Chund Pundit* of the *Makabrattor* tribe, aged twenty-eight years; his widow (for he had but one wife) aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection, immediately declared to the *Bramins* and witnesses present her resolution to burn; as the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of *Cossimbuzaar*, and her relations, left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it—Lady *Russel*, with the tenderest humanity, sent her several messages to the same purpose;—the infant state of her children (two girls and a boy, the eldest not four years of age) and the terrors and pain of the death she fought, were painted to her in the strongest and most lively colouring—she was deaf to all,—she gratefully thanked Lady *Russel*, and sent her word *she had now nothing to live for, but recommended her children to her protection.*—When the torments of burning were urged in terrorem to her, she with a resolved and calm countenance, put her finger into the fire, and held it there a considerable
time,

time, she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, Iprinkled incense on it, and fumigated the *Bramins*. The consideration of her children left destitute of a parent was again urged to her.—She replied, *he that made them, would take care of them.*—She was at last given to understand, she should not be permitted to burn *; this for a short space seemed to give her deep affliction, but soon recollecting herself, she told them, *death was in her power, and that if she was not allowed to burn, according to the principles of her cast, she would starve herself.*—Her friends, finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent.

“ The body of the deceased was carried down to the water side, early the following morning, the widow followed about ten o'clock, accompanied by three very principal *Bramins*, her children, parents, and relations, and a numerous concourse of people. The order of leave for her burning did not arrive from *Hosselyn Khan, Fouzdaar of Morshabad*, until after one, and it was then brought by one of the *Soubah's* own officers, who

* The *Gentoos* are not permitted to burn, without an order from the *Mahommedan* government, and this permission is commonly made a perquisite of —

had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily. — The time they waited for the order was employed in praying with the *Bramins*, and washing in the *Ganges*; as soon as it arrived, she retired and stayed for the space of half an hour in the midst of her female relations, amongst whom was her mother; she then divested herself of her bracelets, and other ornaments, and tyed them in a cloth, which hung like an apron before her, and was conducted by her female relations to one corner of the pile; on the pile was an arched arbor formed of dry sticks, boughs and leaves, open only at one end to admit her entrance; in this the body of the deceased was deposited, his head at the end opposite to the opening. — At the corner of the pile to which she had been conducted, the *Bramin* had made a small fire, round which she and the three *Bramins* sat for some minutes, one of them gave into her hand a leaf of the bale tree (the wood commonly consecrated to form part of the funeral pile) with sundry things on it, which she threw into the fire; one of the others gave her a second leaf, which she held over the flame, whilst he dropped *three times* some ghee on it, which melted, and fell into the fire (these two operations, were preparatory symbols of her approaching dissolution

by

by fire) and whilst they were performing this, the third *Bramin* read to her some portions of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, and asked her some questions, to which she answered with a steady, and serene countenance; but the noise was so great, we could not understand what she said, although we were within a yard of her.—These over, she was led with great solemnity *three times* round the pile, the *Bramins* reading before her; when she came the third time to the small fire, she stopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers, and put them to her other ornaments; here she took a solemn majestic leave of her children, parents, and relations; after which, one of the *Bramins* dip'd a large wick of cotton in some ghee, and gave it ready lighted into her hand, and led her to the open side of the arbor; there, all the *Bramins* fell at her feet;—after she had blessed them, they retired weeping;—by two steps, she ascended the pile and entered the arbor; on her entrance, she made a profound reverence at the feet of the deceased, and advanced and seated herself by his head; she looked, in silent meditation on his face, for the space of a minute, then set fire to the arbor, in *three places*; observing that she had set fire to leeward, and that the flames blew from her, instantly seeing her

her error she rose, and set fire to windward, and resumed her station; ensign *Daniel* with his cane, separated the grass and leaves on the windward side, by which means we had a distinct view of her as she sat. With what dignity, and undaunted a countenance she set fire to the pile the last time, and assumed her seat, can only be conceived, for words cannot convey a just idea of her.—The pile being of combustible matters, the supporters of the roof were presently consumed, and it tumbled upon her.”

We see our fair country-women shudder at an action, which we fear they will look upon, as a proof of the highest infatuation in their sex.—Although it is not our intention here to defend the tenets of the *Bramins*, yet we may be allowed to offer some justification on behalf of the *Gentoo* women in the action before us—Let us view it (as we should every other action) without prejudice, and without keeping always in sight *our own* tenets and customs, and prepossessions that too generally result therefrom, to the injury of others;—if we view these women in a just light, we shall think more candidly of them, and confess they act upon heroic, as well as rational and pious principles: In order to this we must consider them as a race of females

trained from their infancy, in the full conviction of their *celestial rank*; and that this world, and the corporeal form that incloses them, is destined by God, the one as their place of punishment, the other as their prison.—That their ideas are consequently raised to a soothing degree of dignity befitting angelic beings.—They are nursed and instructed in the firm faith—that this voluntary sacrifice, is the most glorious period of their lives, and that thereby the celestial spirit is released from its transmigrations, and evils of a miserable existence, and flies to join the spirit of their departed husband, in a state of purification: add to this, the subordinate consideration of raising the lustre of their children, and of contributing by this action to *their* temporal prosperity;—all these it must be owned are prevalent motives, for cheerfully embracing death, and setting at nought every common attachment which the weakness of humanity urges, for a longer existence in a world of evil.—Although these principles are in general so diametrically contrary to the prevailing spirit and genius of our fair country-women, who (from a happy train of education) in captivating amusements and dissipation, find charms sufficient in this world, to engage their wishes for a perpetual residence

residence in it; yet we will depend on their natural goodness of heart, generosity and candor, that they will in future look on these their *Gentoo* sisters of the creation, in a more favorable, and consistent light, than probably they have hitherto done; and not deem *that action* an infatuation, which results from principle. Let them also recollect that their own history affords illustrious examples in both sexes of voluntary sacrifices by fire, because they would not subscribe even to a different mode of professing the same faith. Besides—a contempt of death, is not peculiar to the women of *India*, it is the characteristic of the nation; every *Gentoo* meets that moment of dissolution, with a steady, noble, and philosophic resignation, flowing from the established principles of their faith.

Before we close this subject, we will mention one or two more particulars relative to it.—It has been already remarked in a marginal note, that the *Gentoo* women are not allowed to burn, without an order of leave from the *Mahommedan* government; it is proper also to inform our readers this privilege is never withheld from them.—There have been instances known, when the victim has, *by Europeans*, been forcibly rescued

from the pile; it is currently said and believed (how true we will not aver) that the wife of Mr. *Job Charnock* was by him snatched from this sacrifice; be this as it may, the outrage is considered by the *Gen- toos*, an atrocious, and wicked violation of their sacred rites and privileges.

Having now brought our fourth general head to a conclusion, and faithfully, to the best of our knowledge (with the materials we are possessed of) exhibited the original tenets of the ancient *Bramins*, according to the first book of *Bramah's Chartab Bhade*; and having in our remarks given such elucidations as we thought our subject called for, we submit our imperfect work (for imperfect we must still call it) with all due deference to the public; hoping that some more capable head and hand, will be stimulated by our endeavours, to produce a more full, and satisfactory relation, of the rest of his doctrines.—A large field is yet left open, for the exercise of industry and talents. *Bramah's* first section of his second book on the creation of this globe, will be the subject of our next general head.—His third book, directing the plain and simple modes of worship to be paid to God, and the three primary created beings, and

his fourth *sublime book*, (which the *Gentoo*s commonly call *Bramah Ka*, *Inseff Bhade*, or, *Bramah's book of justice*) wherein is expressly recited and enjoined, the duties and offices which the delinquent *Debtah* shall observe and pay to each other; these two last mentioned books, and part of the second, we say, must lie in oblivion, until some one, blessed with opportunity, leisure, application, and genius, brings them to light.

The End of the Fourth Chapter.

C H A P. V.

Of the Creation of the Worlds.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

IN the fifth section of our last general head, *Bramah* recites, that the Eternal ONE, (after he had promulged his gracious intention, of mitigating the punishment of the fallen angels, at the intercession of the remaining faithful host;) “retired into himself, and became invisible to them, for the space of five thousand years.”—In his introduction to the act of creation of the worlds in his second book, he takes again occasion to repeat the above mentioned passage, and explains it by an inference, that during THAT SPACE, the Eternal ONE was employed in meditation on his intended new creation;—and although it appears, from the same section, that this stupendous work, was produced by an *instantaneous fiat* of the Deity,

Deity, yet *Bramab*, to display the infinite and amazing wisdom of his Creator, enters into a sublime, and philosophic disquisition and description, of his modes (if we may be allowed the expression) and manner of creation, in the marvellous construction of the fifteen *Boboons*, that constitute the *Dunneaboudab*, or universe;—these descriptions, he couches under allegories, then commonly and familiarly understood, at which the reader will the less wonder, when he knows, that at this day it is the usual mode of conversing, amongst well educated *Gentoo*s.

In this exhibition of infinite wisdom, *Bramab* gives a short, simple and elevated description, of each of the fifteen *Boboons*, their situation, their rank, and peculiar destination, with the appellations appropriated to the angelic inhabitants, in their progressive passage from one sphere to another. Our memory only supplies us with the names of the sojourners of the ninth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, that is, the first, and three last of the seven regions of purification, to wit, the spheres of the *Pereeth logue* *, the *Munnoo*

* *Logue*, literally people. *Pereeth logue*, purified people.

*logue**, the *Debtah logue* †, and the *Biramab logue* ‡; in the last mentioned sphere, according to the *Bramins* computation, a complete day is equal to twenty-eight *Munnunturs* of vulgar time. (Vid. sixth or next general head.)

On the foundation of *Bramab's* description of the fifteen *Boboons*, the compilers of the *Aughtorrah Bshade* have raised an elaborate chimerical superstructure, that confounds the understanding.

As the *Bramins* conceptions and calculation of the age and future duration of the universe, will be the subject of our next general head, we shall say nothing more of it here, than to remind our readers, that they date it's existence from the rebellious angels being released from the *Onderah*.

We again lament the loss of our materials, which confines us to the eighth section of

* *Munnoo logue*, people of contemplation, from *mun*, or *mon*, thought, reflection, alludes to God's being worshipped in this sphere in silent meditation.

† In this sphere the angels are first supposed to regain properly their title of *Debtah*.

‡ In this sphere the delinquents are supposed to be cleansed from the pollution of their sin, regenerated, and fit to enter again the *Mahab Surgo*, and to be re-admitted to the presence of their Creator.

Bramah's second book that treats only of the creation of this terrestrial planet, to which we will now proceed, premising that it is distinguished by the title of *the eighth Boon of Murto*, which literally signifies *the region of earth*.

S E C T. VIII.

“ *Birmahab* * or *Creation*.

“ And it was———that when the
 “ Eternal ONE, resolved to form the
 “ new creation of the *Dunneabou-*
 “ *dab*, he gave the rule of *Mabah*
 “ *Surgo* to his first created *Birmah*,
 “ and became invisible to the whole
 “ angelic host.

“ When the Eternal ONE, first began
 “ his intended new creation of the
 “ *Dunneaboudab*, he was opposed by two
 “ mighty *Ossoors* †, which proceeded
 “ from the *wax* of *Brum*'s ear; and
 “ their names were *Modoo* ‡ and *Kytoos* §,

“ And the Eternal ONE, contended
 “ and fought with *Modoo* and *Kytoos*,
 “ five thousand years, and he smote

* This title is prefixed to every section of *Bramah*'s second book, *Birmah* in the figurative sense (before explained) signifying *creation*.

† The common appellation given to *giants*, but is variously used in the *Shastah*, to express *excrescence*, *excretion*, and *secretion*.

‡ *Discord*, *enmity*.

§ *Confusion*, *tumult*.

“ them

“ them on his *thigh**, and they were
 “ *lost* and assimilated with *Murto*.

“ And it was,—that when *Modoo*
 “ and *Kytoo* were subdued, the Eternal
 “ ONE emerged from his state of in-
 “ visibility, and glory encompassed him
 “ on every side!

“ And the Eternal ONE spoke, and
 “ said, Thou *Birmab* † shalt *create* and
 “ form all things that shall be made
 “ in the new creation of the fifteen
 “ *Boboons* of punishment, and purifi-
 “ cation, according to the powers of the
 “ spirit, wherewith thou shalt be in-
 “ spired.—And thou, *Bistnoo* ‡, shalt
 “ superintend, cherish, and *preserve* all
 “ the things and forms which shall be
 “ created.—And thou, *Sieb* §, shalt
 “ *change*, or *destroy*, all creation, ac-
 “ cording to the powers, wherewith I
 “ will invest thee.”

* Reduced them to subjection, or obedience: *touching the thigh*, amongst the ancient *Gentoos*, was a token of subjection.

† *Power of creation*. Vid. introduction to the fourth chapter.

‡ *Preserver*. Vid. introduction to the fourth chapter.

§ *Mutilator, destroyer*. Vid. introduction, &c.

“ And

“ And when *Birmah*, *Bistnoo*, and
 “ *Sieb*, had heard the words of the
 “ Eternal ONE, they all bowed obe-
 “ dience*.

“ The Eternal ONE spoke again,
 “ and said to *Birmah*, Do thou begin
 “ the creation and formation of *the*
 “ *eighth Boboon*, of punishment and pro-
 “ *bation*, even the *Boboon* of *Murto*,
 “ according to the powers of the spirit
 “ wherewith I have endued thee, and
 “ do thou, *Bistnoo*, proceed to execute
 “ thy part.

“ And when *Brum* † heard the
 “ command, which the mouth of the
 “ Eternal ONE had uttered; he straight-
 “ ways formed a *leaf of beetle*, and he
 “ floated on the *beetle leaf* over the sur-
 “ face of the *Jhoale*; and the children ‡
 “ of *Modoo* and *Kytoo*, fled before

* The foregoing exordium of the general act of creation of the *Dunneaboudah*, preceeds every one of the fifteen sections of *Bramah's* second book.

† *Birmah* and *Brum*, are, in the act of creation, synonymous terms.

‡ Supposed remains of discordant matter. The *Bramins* supposed the first principles of things prior to the creation of the universe, to have been in a fluid state.

“ him,

“ him, and vanished from his pre-
 “ fence.

“ And when the agitation of the
 “ *Jhoale* had subsided, by the powers
 “ of the spirit of *Brum*, *Bistnoo* straight-
 “ ways transformed himself into a
 “ *mighty boar* *, and descending into
 “ the abyss of *Jhoale*, he brought up
 “ *the Murto* on his tusks.—Then spon-
 “ taneously issued from him, a *mighty*
 “ *tortoise* †, and a *mighty snake* ‡.

“ And *Bistnoo* put the snake erect
 “ upon the *back* of the tortoise, and
 “ placed *Murto* upon the *head* of the
 “ snake.

“ And all things were created and
 “ formed by *Birmah* in the eighth
 “ *Boboon* of punishment and *probation*,
 “ even the eighth of *Murto*, according
 “ to the powers of the spirit, where-
 “ with the Eternal ONE had endued
 “ him.

* The *Gentoos* symbol of *strength*, because, in pro-
 portion to his size, he is the strongest of all animals.

† The *Gentoos* symbol of *stability*.

‡ The *Gentoos* symbol of *wisdom*.

“ And

“ And *Bistnoo* took upon him the
 “ superintendance and charge of all
 “ that was created, and formed, by
 “ *Birmah* in the eighth *Boboon* of
 “ *Murto*; and he cherished and pre-
 “ served them, as the words of the
 “ Eternal ONE had directed, and com-
 “ manded.”

R E M A R K S.

IN the same sublime allegorical manner; has *Bramah* described the creation of *Surjee* *, and *Chunder* †, and the other twelve *Boboons* of the *Dunneaboudah*, without pretending, or aiming to dive into, and explain, the principles of matter, or the nature of those essential laws of motion by which the Deity guides and governs his creation; the wisdom of *Bramah* has elsewhere marked such fruitless enquiries, with the stamp of presumption and folly; and that the knowledge of *these*, and the mode of the existence of God, is concealed even from the three primary created beings themselves.

From the foregoing specimen of the creation of the eighth region, as well as

* The Sun.

† The Moon.

from *Bramah's* historical discussion of the other fourteen, it is most obvious, that the personages which he introduces as actors in the work of that creation were intended by him to be taken only in a figurative sense, as expressive of the three supreme attributes of the Deity, his power *to create*, his power *to preserve*, and his power *to change or destroy*, as before hinted*.—For if they were to be understood in any other sense, it would expressly contradict his own text, where he represents the creation of the *Dunneaboudah* as proceeding from the *instantaneous fiat* of the Eternal ONE; and a further proof of *Bramah's* plain intention, results from his prefixing the same exordium to each of his sections of creation.

But as the real sense and meaning of the allegory (then clearly understood by all) was, in process of time, lost to the generality of the *Gentoos*, the compilers of the *Chartab* and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, took the advantage (which ignorance and time gave them) and not only realised *Bramah's* three mystical beings, but created also a multitude of subordinate actors, and made Demi-gods and Divinities of them all, instituting particular days, fasts, and festivals, and other exterior

* Vid. Introduction to the fourth chapter.

worship, to each:—Thus *Surjee* and *Chunder*, *Modoo* and *Kytoo*, and a race of their children and descendants, became Demi-gods and heroes; and scorning to confine themselves to the eighth *Boboon*, they ransacked the fourteen, and framed divinities of the principal personages which their wild imagination supposed resident in each of them, and allotted to them peculiar divine worship, which subsists to this day.

It will not, we hope, be thought an improbable conjecture, if we say, that the allegorical parts of *Bramah's Chartab Bhade*, (which truly bears a divine semblance) being thus perverted or grossly mistaken by the very tribe, which he had instituted guardians over it, and being subsequently communicated to the *Egyptian* Magi, and by them circulated through the states of *Greece*, afforded them, as well as *Rome* and the whole *Western* world, those inexhaustible supplies of *mythological systems*, which held their existence and authority even long after the light of christianity had shone upon them.—But to resume our more immediate subject.

The act of creation of the *Boboon of Murto*, is represented in the annexed plate No. 1. which (with others we shall have occasion to

to present to the reader) was drawn by the instructions, and under the eye of a judicious *Bramin* of the *Battezaar* tribe, the tribe, as before noticed, usually employed in expounding the *Sbastabs*.

Brum * is represented lying and floating on a leaf of *beetle*, over the troubled surface of the abyfs of *Jhoale*; the three primary beings appear before it, in the posture of adoration, *Birmah* on the right, *Bistnoo* in the middle, and *Sieb* on the left.—On the right, above the abyfs, is figured a huge *boar*, bearing on his tusks a lump of earth.—On the left, above the abyfs, is represented a *tortoise*, on which a snake rests his tail, bearing *Murto* (or the *earth*) on his head.—*Brum* and *Birmah* are habited alike; and are each figured with four heads and four arms.—The *three* primary beings, are supposed in the posture of adoration, to be receiving the commands of the Eternal ONE, touching his projected new creation; and the other figures express the *three* gradations of the work, namely the beginning, the progress, and completion †.

* *Spirit* or *essence* of the Eternal ONE: vide Introduction to the fourth chapter.

† Vide Plate No. I.

Notwithstanding the sagacious reader, by a bare reference to the marginal notes which we have affixed to the text of *Bramah*, will readily conceive the spirit of the allegory contained in it; yet as some passages of it require a further explanation than could be huddled into a note, we will add the whole interpretation of it under one connected view.

The Eternal ONE having determined on the creation of the universe, like a supreme wise architect, he *retired* for a space to project his stupendous plan, and prepare his materials.—He was *opposed* in the operation by the *discord, confusion and tumult* of the elements that compose the *abyss of Jhoale*; —he separated, subdued, brought them under *subjection*, and prepared them to receive his intended impressions.—He exerts his *three* great attributes, to *create, preserve, or destroy*, which are figuratively represented by the *three* primary created beings—His *spirit* floats upon the surface of the *abyss of Jhoale*, or fluid matter,—Creation takes place.—*Birmah* (or Creation) is represented with four heads and four arms, to denote the *power* of God in the act of creation. *Bistnoo the preserver* is transformed into a mighty *boar*, emblematically signifying *the strength* of God in the act of creation.—

The

The tortoise mystically denotes the *stability* and *permanency* of the foundation of *the earth*, and the snake the *wisdom* by which it is *supported*. These latter operations are given to *Bistnoo*, because the *earth* was the grand principle or parent, from whence he was to draw the means for the *preservation* of the future animal creation, destined for the prisons of the rebellious *Debtah*; a work which we may gather from *Bramah's* text, was reserved for the hand of *God himself*, as *they* were to be endued with *rational powers*.—It may be asked why *Brum*, is represented floating, particularly on a *beetle leaf*? To this we can only reply, that the plant is deemed sacred amongst the *Gentoos*, it's culture is made under the auspices of the *Shastah*, and instruction of the *Bramins*; *unclean persons* are prohibited entering into a *beetle garden*, as the approach of any impurity is pronounced fatal to the plant, in the infancy of its growth.

To conclude this general head—How far *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Lucretius*, *Ovid*, *Lucian*, &c. have in their conceptions of the creation, (by means of the *Egyptians*) built on, and availed themselves of the simple *cosmogony* of *Bramah*, we leave the learned and curious to trace.—Although in fact, it is obvious,

that this ancient sage, aimed at no other solution of that stupendous and incomprehensible act, than to inculcate, that the universe was produced by *the essence* and voluntary *power, strength* and *wisdom* of God. That it is *preserved* and sustained by original constituent *powers* impressed on it by the Deity, and that it is liable *to change* and dissolution, at his divine pleasure and will.

The End of the Fifth Chapter.

C H A P. VI.

The Gentoo manner of computing Time, and their conception of the age of the universe, and the period of its dissolution.

[From Bramah's Chartah Bhade, in the supplement to his Birmahah.]

SIXTY *mimicks*, or winks of the eye, make one *pull*.

Sixty *pulls*, make one *gurree*.

Sixty *gurrees*, make one complete day, or one day and one night.

Three hundred and sixty-five complete days and fifteen *gurrees* make one solar year.

The *Gentoo*s divide the complete day into eight parts, to which they give the term *paar*, commencing their day at six in the morning;—thus *ek paar dbeen* * equals our nine in the morning; *duapaar dbeen*, our noon; *teenpaar dbeen*, our three afternoon; *Chaarpaar dbeen*, our six in the evening:—the divisions of the night are distinguished by the word *rhaat* (night) in place of

* Literally, *one part of day.*

dbeen, as *ek paar rbaat*, equals our nine at night; and so on.

It is the province of the *Bramins* in this country to keep the account of time, and there is no *Gentoo* of distinction but retains in his house and on his journeys one of these time keepers, whose intire business it is to regulate time, and strike the *gurrées* as they pass, on the *Ghong*, an extended sheet of copper, which yields the sound of a solemn bell.

Bramah measures space or duration of time, from the creation of the *Dunneaboudah*, or universe, by the revolutions of the *four Jagues*.

	Years.
The first age, or <i>Suttee Jogue</i> , contains thirty-two lac years of vulgar time, or	3,200,000
The second age, or <i>Tirta Jo-</i> <i>gue</i> , sixteen lac, or	1,600,000
The third age, or <i>Dwapaar</i> <i>Jogue</i> , eight lac, or	800,000
The fourth age, or <i>Kolee Jo-</i> <i>gue</i> , four lac, or	400,000
	<hr/> 6,000,000 <hr/>
	<i>Ekutter</i>

Ekutter (seventy one) revolutions of the four *Jogues* make one *Munnuntur* of vulgar time, or years 426,000,000.

(The word *Munnuntur*, is in this place strictly applied by *Bramah* to *space of time*, but it is by him frequently used with a retrospect signification to the act of *creation*, and is sometimes given as an additional name to *Birmah*, as *Birmah Munnuah*, alluding to the creation being the result of thought and meditation;—the word, as we before remarked in a marginal note, springs from *Mon*, or *Mun*, thought, reflection; *Munnoo Logue*, the people of thought, or contemplation.—The compilers of the *Aughtorrah Bhade* derive the word *Munnuntur* from *Munnuah* or *Munnooah*, whom (by perverting the sense of *Bramah*) they make to be the fabulous personal offspring of *Birmah*, and report mighty feats of his prowess in war, against *Moisafoor*, and his adherents.)

When *Bramah* descended to promulge the written law and commands of the Eternal ONE to the *Gentoos*, he at the same time (namely, the beginning of the present *Kolee Jogue* *) declared, “from the registers

* Vide Introduction to the fourth chapter.

of *Surgo*, that the *Dunneaboudah*, was then entering into the eighth revolution of the four *Jogues*, in the *second Munnuntur*;" consequently, according to *Bramah's* account, (and if our calculation be right) the precise age of *this*, and the other fourteen planets of the universe, amounted to, at that period, four hundred and sixty eight millions of years. And if we subtract the 4866 years, which have elapsed since the descent of *Bramah*, we shall find the remainder of the *Kolee Jogue* will be 359,134 years; at the expiration of which, *Bramah* pronounced and prophesied, that the patience and forbearance of the Eternal ONE would be withdrawn from the delinquent *Debtah*, and destruction by fire fall upon the eight regions of punishment, purgation and probation †.

In the supplement to his BIRMAHAN, *Bramah* likewise taught, that the *Boboon* of *Murto*, had undergone *three* remarkable changes, and would undergo *three* more, before its final dissolution in common with the other seven *Boboons*; but he specifies not of what nature *those changes* were, or would be;—he also declares, "that after a long space, a second new creation will take place; but of what kind, or on what principles it

† Vide towards the close of the fifth section.

“ would be constructed, was only known to the
 “ ETERNAL ONE.”

The cause of the superstitious veneration paid by the *Gentoos* to the numericals ONE and THREE has, we conceive, been obvious to the discerning reader as he travelled thro' these sheets.—It is remarkable, that a *Gen-teeo* never gives or receives an obligation for an even sum; if he borrows or lends a hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand rupees, the obligation runs for a hundred and one, a thousand and one, ten thousand and one, &c. The *Mahommedans*, in conformity only, have generally adopted this custom; hence it was, that the revenues stipulated to be paid annually by *Soujah Khan* into the royal treasury, were one khorore, one lac, one thousand, one hundred, and one rupee.

The End of the Sixth Chapter.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Gentoo Fasts, and Festivals, &c.

[From the Chatah and Aughtorrah Bhade
Shaftahs.]

INTRODUCTION.

AS the *Gentoo* year begins the first of *April*, we will trace their holy days as they fall in turn from that day, premising that the word *Oupofs* signifies a fast, *Pur-rup* a feast, and *Poojab* worship, but when accompanied with an offering, it is then called *Birto Poojab*.—*Poojab* is also sometimes used to signify the altar on which they offer.

The *Gentoo* holy days are guided by the course and age of the moon, and generally take their denomination from that, or from the religious duties that are enjoined on those particular days, and sometimes from both.

Their

Their offerings consist of fruits, some particular sacred plants and flowers, powdered sugar, salt, meal, and different kinds of grain.

First Holy Day. *Oupofs.*

OKHUIJ TERTEA, falls on the *third* day of the new moon in *April*, and is dedicated to the giving *alms* and benefactions to the *Bramins*, as the word *Okhuij* imports. — This day is also ordained for making the *Gentoo* pickle called *Koffundee*, made only on this day, by the wives of the *Bramins*; it is composed of green mango's, tamarind, mustard seed, and fresh mustard seed oil; it is deemed a holy pickle, and the only one the *Gentoo*s use with their food. April.

Second. *Oupofs.*

POORNEMEE †, falls on the full moon in *April*, and is strictly ordained for washing and purifying in the river *Ganges*, and for distributing charity.

Third. *Oupofs Poojab—Purrup.*

ORUN ‡ SUSTEE, falls on the sixth day of the new moon in *May*, and is dedicated May. to the goddesses *Sustee*, the goddesses of gene-

† *Poorab*, full.

‡ *Orun*, the *morning star*, often used to express the dawn of day.

ration,

ration, who is worshipped when the *morning star* appears, or at dawn of day, for the propagation of children, and to remove barrenness.—On this day presents are usually made by the parents to their sons in law, and the day ends with a *purrup* or feast.

Fourth. *Purrup*, at night *Poojab*.

DUSSARRAH, as the word imports, falls on the tenth day of the new moon in *May*; it is dedicated to the God *Gunga*, the God of the *Ganges*, who is fabled to have arrived on earth on this day of the moon, and in this month—it is also dedicated to the Goddess *Moonshee Tagooran* *, Goddess of snakes, and fabulous daughter of *Sieb*.

Fifth. *Ouposs-Poojab*.

POORNEMEE falls on the full moon in *May*, and is dedicated to *Jaggernaut*, (synonymous with *Bistnoo*.) This day is otherwise called from the duty enjoined on it, the *Sinan* †, *Jattra* ‡, or *general washing* in the *Ganges*—and it is almost incredible to think the immense multitude of every age and sex that appears on both sides of the river,

* *Tagooran*, priests, sometimes goddesses.

† *Sinan*, bathing.

‡ *Jattra*, literally signifies a dance of many.

throughout

throughout it's whole course, at one and the same time.

Sixth. *Ouposs-Purru*.

RHUTT JATTR, falls on the second day of the new moon in *June*; it is dedicated to *Jaggernaut* and *Bistnoo*.—On this day the *Rhutt*, or triumphal car of *Jaggernaut*, is carried forth about a mile, rests, and is returned on the ninth day of the moon.—From the seventh day of the moon to the tenth, both inclusive, is the *UMBOOBISSEE*; *June*, during which space, the earth is left to her purgations, and neither plough, spade, or any other instrument of tillage, permitted to molest her.—The term *UMBOOBISSEE*, which needs no further explanation, is applied to women under the same circumstances.

Seventh. *Ouposs*.

SYON † *EKKADUSSEE*, as the last word imports, falls on the *eleventh* day of the new moon in *June*, and is a solemn fast. *Jaggernaut* (or *Bistnoo*) is fabled to *sleep* for four months;—which only signifies that the rainy season about this time setting in for four months, the care of *Bistnoo* (the pre-

† *Syon*, sleep, repose.

ferver)

server) is suspended, as immaterial, the rains securing their crops of grain.

Eighth. *Ouposs.*

POORNEMEE, as the word imports, falls on the *full moon* in *June*, and is dedicated to washing in the *Ganges*, and charity to the *Bramins*.

Ninth. *Ouposs.*

DUADUSSEE, as the word signifies, falls on the *twelfth* day of the new moon in *July*, and is devoted to washing in the *Ganges*, and giving alms.

Tenth. *Ouposs-Purruap.*

EKKADUSSEE, TERADUSSEE, CHOWTADUSSEE and POORNEMEE, the eleventh, thirteenth, fourteenth, of the new moon in *July*, to the *Poornemee* or full inclusive, are dedicated to the *Joolna Jattrra* of *Kissen Tagoor*; but these are not directed by the *Shastah*, and are only observed by the *Gen-toos* of the *Kettery* tribe.

Eleventh. *Ouposs.*

JURMO† OOSTOOME falls on the eighth day after the full, or twenty-third day of

† *Jurmo*, nativity.

the moon in *July*, and is dedicated to the birth of *Kissen Tagoor*, who is fabled to have then descended for the destruction of *Kunksoo Rajab*, a famous *Ossoor* and tyrant. It is observed as a solemn fast,

Twelfth. *Purru*.

Lukee † *Poojab* falls on the first *Thursday* in the month of *August*; she is the *Gentoo* Goddess of all kinds of grain, and is August. fabled to be the wife of *Bistnoo*, the *preserver*; she is worshipped at this time on the coming in the *Paddy*, the name given to rice in the husk.—The day concludes with a feast.

Thirteenth. *Purru*.

UNNUNTO BIRTO, falls on the fourteenth day of the moon in *August*, and is dedicated to *Bistnoo* with the epithet of *Unnunto*, or the *unknown*; an offering of grain is made to him, and the day concludes with a feast.

Fourteenth. *Ouposs*.

ARUNDAH POOJAH falls on the thirtieth day of *August*, and is dedicated to *Moonshree Tagooran* (the feminine of *Tagoor*) Goddess of snakes.—The precise interpretation of *Arundah* we have lost, and will not impose

† *Lukee*, plenty, affluence.

on our readers.—Although this day is a fast, it ends in a feast of the *new rice*, boiled early, and *eaten cold*; to which essential circumstance we think the word *Arundab*, given to this *Poojah*, alludes; but we are not positive.

Fifteenth. *Purru*.

DRUGAH POOJAH falls on the seventh day of the new moon in *September*, and continues the eighth and ninth. The eighth is observed as a fast by those who have no children.—*This* is the grand general feast of the *Gentoos*, usually visited by all *Europeans*, (by invitation) who are treated by the proprietor of the feast with the fruits and flowers in season, and are entertained every evening whilst the feast lasts, with bands of singers and dancers.—This Goddess is the first in rank and dignity, and the most active of all the fabulous deities of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, and is styled the wife of *Sieb*, the *destroyer*, the third of the three primary created beings. She is as often styled *Bowannee* †, as *Drugah* ‡; and frequently *Bowannee Drugah*: the cause of her descent is thus derived:—God having appointed *Ender* § and his descendants uni-

Septem-
ber.

† *Persevering.*

‡ *Virtue.*

§ *Goodness.*

verfal

versal *Rajabs* of the world, the appointment was illy brooked by *Moisafoor* *; he thereupon drew together his adherents, and waged war against *Endeer* and his descendants, who were at last in the *Duapaar Jogue* obliged to fly, and leave the government of the world to *Moisafoor*; which proved the source of ravages, murders, and confusion.—*Endeer*, and his few adherents, were confined to a small portion of the world, from whence, in compassion to mankind, they with piety and humility petitioned the three primary created beings to implore the Eternal ONE to redress the grievances resulting from the usurped power of *Moisafoor*.—The three beings interceded, and obtained permission that *Bowannee Drugab* should descend on the earth, for the destruction of *Moisafoor* and his adherents, which the *Gentoos* are taught to believe she will in the end effect, and finally restore the government of the world to *Endeer* and his descendants, according to the first intention of the Eternal ONE. Hence was the *Drugab Poojab* instituted, during which the Supreme Being is invoked, through her mediation, to hasten that wished-for period.—The allegory in the foregoing recital is so plain by a reference to the marginal notes,

* *Evil.*

that we will not affront the understanding of our readers by offering an explanation, although we shall illustrate it further when we give a particular interpretation of the plate N^o. 2.

Sixteenth. *Purru*.

DUSSUMEE, or the tenth day of the new moon in *September*, when the image of DRUGAH is cast into the *Ganges*, with the universal acclamations of the people, and is said to be returned to her husband *Sieb*. Purification by washing in the *Ganges* on this day is strictly enjoined.

Seventeenth. *Ouposs*.

LUKEE POOJAH falls on the full moon in *September*, on which she is worshipped all night, during which nothing is drank but the water of the coco nut.

Eighteenth. *Ouposs*.

KALLEKA, *Kalkee* or *Kalle Poojah*, (for they are synonymous) falls on the last day of the moon in *September*. This goddess is worshipped all the night of that day universally, but in a more particular manner at *Kallee Ghat*, about three miles south of *Calcutta*; an ancient *Pagoda* dedicated to her there, stands close to a small brook, which
is

is by the *Bramins* deemed to be the original course of the *Ganges*.—The parts of the *Gentoo* Goddes (like the parts of some modern saints) are worshipped in various parts of *Indostan*; her eyes at *Kallee Ghat*, her head at *Banaras*, her hand at *Bindoobund*; but where the remains of her are distributed has escaped our memory*.—She takes her name from her usual habiliment, which is *black*, and is frequently called the *black Goddess*; *Kallee* is the common name for ink.—She is fabled to have sprung, completely armed, from the eye of *Drugah*, at a time when she was hard pressed in battle by the tyrants of the earth †.—On this fast, worship and offerings are paid to the *manes* of deceased ancestors. Besides the last mentioned annual custom, every *Gentoo* keeps the anniversary of their father's death, in fasting and worship to his *manes*, which is called *Baap ka Surraad* ‡.—It is worthy remark (by the bye) that in all *Devonshire*, the word *Kallee* expresses black or smut: why the same combination of letters should convey the same idea to people so far removed from each other, we leave the curious to account for.

* Plate N^o. 3.

† The various heads which appear scattered over the plate, signify the many tyrants and monsters she slew in conjunction with *Drugah*.

‡ Sacred to the father.

Nineteenth. *Purrup.*

RAAS † JATTRA, falls on the full moon in *October*, and is continued to the seventeenth of the moon; it is dedicated to *Kiffen Tagoor Kettry*.—This feast is universally observed, but in a most extraordinary manner celebrated at *Bindoobund*, in commemoration of a marvellous event which is fabled to have happened in the neighbourhood of that place.—A number of virgins met to celebrate, in mirth and sports, the descent of *Kiffen* §: in the height of their joy, the God appeared amongst them, and proposed to them a *dance*, to which they objected, as *they* were many, and *he* but one; to obviate this objection, he divided himself into as many *Kiffens* as there were virgins, who immediately entered into a *circular* dance with them, as represented in the plate N^o 4. In the centre circle he is represented standing in a disengaged attitude, attended by the nymphs *Nundee* and *Bringbee* (joys and sports) who are making him offerings of flowers and fruits.

Twentieth. *Ouposs.*

KARTIK *Poojab* falls on the last day of the moon in *October*.—This divinity is fabled to be the youngest son of *Moisoor* (or *Sieb*)

† A circle.

§ Plate N^o 4.

and

and *Drugab*; he is worshipped on this day by those who have not been blessed with children, and man and woman are enjoined a strict fast.—The word *Kartik*, strictly means *consecration*, hence this divinity is said to be the invisible guardian, and superintendent of the *Gentoo Pagodas*. The word also sometimes signifies *holiness*. The month of *October* takes its name from him, because in this month the *Pagodas* are generally consecrated.

Twenty-first. *Purruup*.

NOVONO † is celebrated on the first *lucky Thursday* in *November*, on the first coming in of the new grain of the second crop; the *lucky Thursday* is fixed in a consultation of *Bramins*, and is a general feast.

Novem-
ber.

Twenty-second. *Ouposs-Purruup*.

LUKEE POOJAH falls on the first *Thursday* in the month of *December*, on getting in all the new harvest, when this favorite Goddess of the *Gentoo*s receives a solemn thanksgiving for all the blessings of the year; the day is passed in fasting, worship, washing and purifying in the *Ganges*; at night they feast.

Decem-
ber.

† *New rice*.

Twenty-third. *Purru*.

LUKEE POOJAH SANKRANTEE * falls on the last day in *December*, when this Goddess is again worshipped as on the last mentioned holy-day, excepting the fast. On this day bread is distributed in alms, according to every one's ability.

Twenty-fourth. *Purru*.

SEEREE PUNCHEMEE falls on the fifth day of the new moon in *January*, and is dedicated to *Sursuttee* †, the *Gentoo* Goddess of arts, and letters.—She is fabled to be the daughter of *Birmah* and *Birmaanee*.
 January. The *Koyt Cast*, or tribe of writers, are prohibited the use of pen and ink on this festival, *which* are consecrated to her for the day, and a cessation is put to business of every kind.—*Seeree* signifies *fortune, success*, and is the *first* word of every epistolary correspondence in the *Gentoo* language.

Twenty-fifth. *Birto*.

ORUN OODEE, ‡ SUPTIMEE, falls on the seventh day of the new moon in *January*, and is called *Soorjee Poojah*, or *worship to the*

* *Sunkrantee* signifies the last day in every month.

† *Invention, contrivance, ingenuity, genius.*

‡ *Rising of the dawn.*

sun ; to whom offerings are made of peculiar flowers in the *Ganges*.

Twenty-sixth. *Ouposs*.

BHIM EKADUSSEE falls on the eleventh day of the new moon in *January* ; the day is dedicated to *Kissen*, and commemorates the abstinence of *Bhim*, a voracious *Eater*, who fasted on this day ; he is called the brother of *Judisteen*. *Bhim* is the common name of reproach for a *Glutton*, but who this *Judisteen* is, or what the occult meaning and real signification of this fast, has slipped our memory, and we will not substitute any interpretation that is not warranted by our materials, or from our certain and clear knowledge.

Twenty-seventh. *Ouposs*.

POORNEMEE, or the full moon in *January*, is dedicated to *Bistnoo*, the *cherisher*.—Fasting, washing and alms.

Twenty-eighth. *Ouposs*.

SIEBRATEER, *Chowturduffee*, or the fourteenth after the full, falls on the twenty-ninth day of the moon in *January*, and is dedicated to *Sieb*, the destroyer, who is worshipped with fasting, offerings, and prayer *all the night*, as the additional *rateer* annexed to the title of this holy-day imports.

Twenty-ninth. *Ouposs.*

GOVINDUSSEE falls on the twelfth day of the moon in *February*, and is dedicated to *Bistnoo* the comforter, as the word *Govin*, or *Govindu* signifies, and is one of the many appellatives given to the second of the three primary created persons, and he is worshipped on this day with fasting, prayer, &c.

Thirtieth. *Purru.*

DOLE † JATTRA falls on the *Poornemee* or full moon in *February*, and is sacred to *Kissen Tagoor*. On this feast day it is that the *Gentoos* cast the powder of a certain red flower, called *Faag*, on all they meet; but whence this custom, or for what cause this feast was first instituted, has escaped us.

Thirty-first. *Ouposs.*

BARRANEE JATTRA, or *Modoo Kistna* ‡ *Tiradusse* (the thirteenth after the full) falls on the twenty-eighth day of the moon in *February*: if this falls on a *Saturday*, it is called *Barranee*, and if the star *Satoo Bissab* is then on the meridian, it is called *Mabab Barranee*; and again, if the star *Soobo Jogue* is in conjunction with *Satoo Bissab*, it is

† *Dole*, a drum.

‡ *Kissen*, *Kistna*, are synonymous with *Bistnoo*, but allude to different attributes,

then

then called * *Mahab Mahab Barranee*.
 —These conjunctions are uncertain, but when they happen, it is deemed a most holy day, and is observed by universal purification in the *Ganges*, and worship and offerings to *Soorjee*, or the *sun*. It fell out last 'on the twenty-eighth of *February*, 1759.—As we have lost the precise meaning and etymology of the word *Barranee*, and confess ourselves ignorant of the astronomy of the *Bramins*, we will not attempt an explanation of this fast.

Thirty-two. *Ouposs-Purruup*.

LUKEE POOJAH falls on the first *Thursday* in *March*, when this goddess is wor- March.
 shipped universally, and thanked for all the productions of the earth, all being brought forth by this time.

Thirty-second. *Purruup*.

DURGAH Poojah, and *Bhasuntee* † *Poojah*, falls on the seventh day of the new moon in *March*, and continues the eighth, ninth and tenth—on the last, her image is cast into the *Ganges*. This feast is instituted for the

* *Most great*.

† *The end, final, conclusive*, alluding to this being the last feast of the year, preceding the *Gentoo Lent*.

same purposes as the other grand one, but not with that parade and universality.

Thirty-third. *Oupofs.*

SIEB, or *Sunnias* * *Poojab*, is from the first to the thirtieth of *March*, with only a short suspension during the term of the *Durgab Poojab* above-mentioned—The *Sunnias Poojab*, is the *Gentoo Lent*; their penances, mortifications, and *self* corporal punishments, have been so often described, we will not particularize any of them. The *Churruck* †, or day of *swinging*, falls on the thirtieth. From this penance the three casts, or tribes, of *Bramins*, *Bydees* ‡, and *Koyts*, are exempted by the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; and, in fact, none but the very lowest of the people go through any of the public penances; but, every cast fasts and worships the twenty-ninth, the day preceding the *Churruck*.—This solemn fast is dedicated to *Sieb*, or *Moideb*, or *Moisoor*, the *Mutilator*, and *avert* of *evil*; through whom, at this season, the Eternal ONE is invoked, to defend them from the influence of *Moisajoor* and his adherents, and avert

* *Penitents.* † Literally signifies a *Wheel*—but the circle which the penitent describes in swinging round has given it this appellation.

‡ *Bydees*, the tribe that profess the practice of physick.

the final doom pronounced against the delinquent *Debtah*.

There is a festival instituted to *Rhaam*, the *protector*, which is entitled the RHAAM JATTRA, but the precise time of its celebration we have utterly forgot.—*Rhaam* is another of the multitude of names, or rather attributes, given to *Bistnoo*, the *preserver*.

How far the origin of the fasts, festivals, terms, &c. of the *Egyptians*, *Greeks* and *Latins*, may be traced from the *Chatab* and *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastabs*, we submit and recommend to the elucidation of our learned readers, who will be the better enabled to make such an enquiry from what follows.

Explanation of the Plate or Representation of the Gentoos grand feast of the Drugah.

Plate N^o 2.

The representation of the Drama in this grand *Gentoo* feast will, we doubt not, appear genuine to many thousands now in *England*, as it is a sight that few who have visited *Bengall* have not indulged themselves with; and we may take the liberty of saying, that but very few amongst the multitude who
have

have seen it could form the smallest judgment of it's *intention* or signification; to these, therefore, we flatter ourselves it will afford some pleasure, the having a subject explained to them, on which they have often looked with pity and amazement! because they did not understand it.—The intention of this feast we have already given in it's proper place, to which the reader may advert, under the title of *Drugah Poojah* N^o 15. and shall now proceed to the explanation of the chief personages in the plate.

The center and principal figure is DRUGAH or Virtue; she is represented, with ten arms, descending on a dragon—mystically shewing the *power* and irresistible force of *virtue*, when exerted with vigor.—She is crowned, one of her hands is armed with a spear, and she is environed with a snake—with another hand she binds *Moisafoor* (or Evil) with a *snake*, and kills him by thrusting her spear through his *heart*, thereby implying that Virtue's safest and surest guard against vice or *evil* is *wisdom*, of which the *snake*, as before observed, is the symbol.—The battles * said to have been fought between *Endeer* †, and *Moisafoor* ‡, in which the latter generally proved victorious, with-

* Vide *Drugah Poojah*, fifteenth.

† Good. ‡ Evil.

out the assistance of *Drugab Bowannee*, or *persevering virtue*, implies that *moral evil* can only be successfully combated *therewith*. --The ravages, murders, and confusion, which are said to be the consequences in the world of the flight of *Endeer* and victory of *Moisafoor* *, emblematically signify the fatal and natural effects of vice or evil triumphant, which must necessarily be attended with destructive scenes of violence.—Hence, *Moisafoor* is fabled to have transformed himself, after his victory, into a *mad buffola*, the symbol of ungovernable rage, whose head is seen in the annexed plate lying at the feet of *Drugab*.—Although *Moisafoor* in the plate appears to be slain by *Drugab*, yet this act is only a prophetic representation of the death and destruction he will in the end suffer by her hand, when *Endeer* shall be restored, and *Good* be predominant in the world again, and triumph over *Moisafoor* or *Evil*.—*Endeer* being appointed by God universal *Rajah* of the world, mystically points out his benevolent intentions, that it should be governed by goodness and piety, and the allegory is as obvious where *Moisafoor* is said *illy to brook the appointment* †.

On the right of *Drugab* are represented the figures of *Sieb*, her husband, and of

* Vide *Drugab Poojah*.

† Vide *Drugab Poojah*.
Lukee,

Lukee, the goddess of grain.—*Sieb* is sitting on a *white bull*, the symbol of purity and dominion; he is environed with a snake, holding in one hand a *Dumboor* †, and in the other a *Singee* ‡, musical instruments in use at all the *Gentoo* festivals; allegorically pointing out that wisdom is the most effectual *averted* of evil, and that mirth, joy and gladness, are the natural effects of it's being averted from us.

The goddess *Lukee* is represented standing in an easy attitude; she is crowned with ears of grain, and is encircled by a plant bearing fruit, which passes through both her hands, the root of which is under her feet; she (as all the superiour *Gentoo* divinities are) is environed by a snake.—The meaning conveyed by this figure is so obvious it needs no explanation.

Underneath the figure of *Sieb* is represented the divinity named *GHUNNIS* §.—He has no peculiar day of worship instituted in honour of him, for this manifest reason, because all the addresses, offerings and worship, which are made to the supreme, and superior beings, are preferred through his mediation, and promoted by a prior offering

† A small drum.

‡ A musical horn.

§ Purity, or sincerity of heart.

and worship paid to him; so that he may be properly stiled the *God of offerings*.—He is fabled to be the first born of *Moisoor* (or *Sieb*) and *Drugab*; all worship and offerings being made through him, mystically signifies that *purity* and *sincerity of heart* must be the source from whence the Deity is invoked.—He is represented with four arms, sitting on an altar, environed with a snake, and with the head of a *white elephant*, the symbols of *purity*, *riches* and *dominion* or *strength*, which, the *Gentoo*s say, includes every blessing, and cannot be justly and properly acquired but by pure and sincere acts of devotion to God, and good works to man and his fellow creatures.—His four arms are only representative of the power, force and efficacy of sincerity in worship and prayer.

On the left of *Drugab* is represented the figure of *Sursuttee*, the *Gentoo* Goddess of arts, letters and eloquence, so fully described under the feast called *Seeree Punchumee* (twenty-fourth.) In the plate, she appears environed with a snake, standing in a careless, disengaged posture, holding in her hands a reed, of which the writing pens are usually made.

On the left of *Sursuttee* is represented the idol of *RHAAM*, the protector of empires,

pires, states, and property, already explained.*
 —In the plate, he is figured crowned, encircled with a snake, and riding upon a monkey; in his left hand he holds a bow, and is represented in the attitude of having just discharged an arrow from it. To understand this representation, a short historical recital becomes necessary.—*Rhaaboon* †, the subverter of empires, states and *property*, is ever contrasted with *Rhaam* in the course of the *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastab*—This prime agent of *Moisafoor* is fabled to have run away with *SITHEE* ‡, the wife of *Rhaam*; and for the recovery of her, that book exhibits a long detail of furious battles fought between *Rhaam* and *Rhaaboon* with various success; mystically painting the contentions that ever have subsisted in the world touching *empires* and *property*, in general. Under these the ancient history of *Indostan* and its *Rajahs* is obscurely couched.—In one of the most bloody of these battles, *Rhaam* being fore pressed, was obliged to call in as an auxiliary, *Hoonmhon* Prince of the *monkeys*, by whose assistance he routed *Rhaaboon* and recovered his wife—*Sithee*; implying only, that *lawless force*, must be sometimes

* Vide explanation of the *Tirtah Jogue*, or second age, chap. 4.

† *Lawless violence.* ‡ Literally, *property.*

to combated

combated with craft, policy, and stratagem, of which the *monkey* throughout *Indoſtan* is the known emblem.—The laſt mentioned battle is repreſented in the plate number 5. where *Rhaam* appears engaged with *Rhaaboon*, and the attitude of *Rhaam* (in the plate of the *Drugah*) as having diſcharged the fatal arrows from the back of the monkey, alludes to *that* battle: in the plate No. 5. *Rhaam* is ſupported by his brother *Lukkon*, or *fortitude*, each encircled with ſnakes; and *Rhaaboon* (as he generally is) is repreſented with ten arms, and as many heads of monſters, which intimate the *force* of lawleſs tyranny and power.—Although the emblematic ſenſe of the *monkey* is ſo obvious, yet the crafty *Bramins* have eſtabliſhed a belief that *Rhaam* transformed himſelf into, and is always preſent under *that form*; the people ſwallowed the deluſion in a literal ſenſe, and it is upon this principle, that numerous colleges of *Bramins* are ſupported by the people for the maintenance of thoſe animals, near the groves where they uſually reſort; one of them is at *Amboah* in the neighbourhood of *Culna*, on the *Ganges*.—In the time of the *Rhaam Jattr* the *Bramins* exhibit a kind of theatrical maſque, wherein the many flights, and eſcapes of *Sithee*, and the various ſtratagems of *Rhaaboon* to retain her, and of

Rhaam to recover her, with the final battle, which gave him the repossession of her, are all thrown into action, and the dialogue taken from the *Aughtorrah Bhade Shastab*. We have been frequently present at this theatrical exhibition, and received much pleasure and amusement; one circumstance at the conclusion is worth mentioning—when *Rhaam* had recovered his wife *Sitbee*, he refuses to cohabit with her, until she has given some signal proof, that she had suffered no contamination, or violation, during her abode with *Rhaaboon*; on which (by an ingenious piece of machinery) she passes thro' a fire, comes out unhurt, and then *Rhaam* with raptures, receives her to his arms.

Below the idol of *Rhaam* on the plate of the *Drugah*, is that of *Kartik*; for the explanation of this fast, see number twenty-four.—He is represented, armed at all points for war, and riding on a *peacock*, the *Gentoo* symbol of *pride* and *ostentation*, intimating that those qualities and vices of the mind must be subdued, as being previously necessary to the approach and admission into their *Pagodas*; he is armed as a guardian, capable of defending from violation the divinity within; wherever there is a congregation of idols, in a *Tagoor Bharree**, his idol is placed

* Literally a house for divinities.

at the door.—A *Gentoo* had within our memory an only son dangerously ill of a fever; he paid solemn worship, vows and offerings, for his recovery, not only to the *goddeſs of fevers*, but to all the other Gods, and Goddesses beſides—His ſon died—the father, frantic with grief and deſpair, ſallied out before day, broke open a *Tagoor Bharree* in a buzaar ſouth of the town of *Calcutta*, where *Kartík* being off his guard and mingled with the other divinities—he cut all their heads off; his intention was to have proceeded round the town (as he confeſſed on examination) and to have decollated every God in all the *Tagoor* bharries of the place; but the ſecond he came to, *Kartík* was upon his guard at the door, and preſenting his dart at him, brought him to his ſenſes, and providentially ſaved the reſt of his brother divinities.

Below the figures of *Lukee* and *Surſuttee*, ſtand the representation of two divine nymphs, *Nundee* joy, and *Bringee* ſports; they are both encircled by *ſnakes*, implying, that joy and ſports at all their feſtivals, ſhould be circumscribed by prudence and *wiſdom*.

On the right between *Sieb* and *Ghunnis*, is repreſented a boat, in which *Nundee* and *Bringee* are carrying *Drugab* to her huſband

band *Sieb*, after she had been cast into the *Ganges*; and in the copartment opposite between the figures of *Rhaam* and *Kartík*, are represented two nymphs in a kind of threatening posture, advising him to take better care of *his wife* another time, and keep her at home.

In the centre of the arch is represented *Sursuttee* and four female attendants, one presenting to her the palmira leaf, the original paper, another a piece of wax, the third an ink stand, the fourth a pen, the use of which are all interdicted on her festival, and made an offering to her.—The two end copartments *Kallee* and *Drugab*, each engaged with two giants tyrants of the earth.—The other division of the arch, allude to different passages of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*, which have escaped our memory.

End of the Explanation of plate N^o 2.

As we reserve the eighth chapter or general head, namely, “the dissertation on the metempsychosis,” for a third and *last part* of this work, there remains nothing more to close this chapter, but to add a short recital of the genealogy of the *Gentoo* divinities, on which subject, as our materials are few, we shall not, we fear, afford any great satisfaction to the curious, as we are confined to

the

the progeny of *Birmah* and *Birmaanee* only. The fabulous legend of the *Aughtorrah Bhade* says,

That God created *three* females, or associates, for the *three* primary created Beings. To *Birmah* he gave *Birmaanee*, to *Bistnoo Lukee*, and to *Sieb Bowannee Drugah*.

That to *Birmah* and *Birmangee* were born two sons, the eldest named *Kussiebmunnoo*, the youngest *Dookee Rajah*; the eldest was governed by a pious and laudable spirit, the youngest by a vicious and turbulent one.

Dookee Rajah had a daughter (but how he came by her the legend sayeth not) named *Dithee*, whom he married to his brother *Kussiebmunnoo*, and she brought him a son, whom he called ENDEER; he and his descendants, after the example of their father *Kussiebmunnoo*, were truly virtuous, and observant of the laws of God, communicated to them by *Birmah* and *Birmaanee*.

Dookee Rajah had a second daughter, whom he called *Odithee*, who was also married to *Kussiebmunnoo*, and she likewise brought him a son, who was named MOISASOOR; he and his descendants, after the example of their grandfather *Dookee Rajah*,
 fleeing

flighting the precepts of *Birmab* and *Birmaanee*, became abandoned to every vice, and contemners of the laws of God.

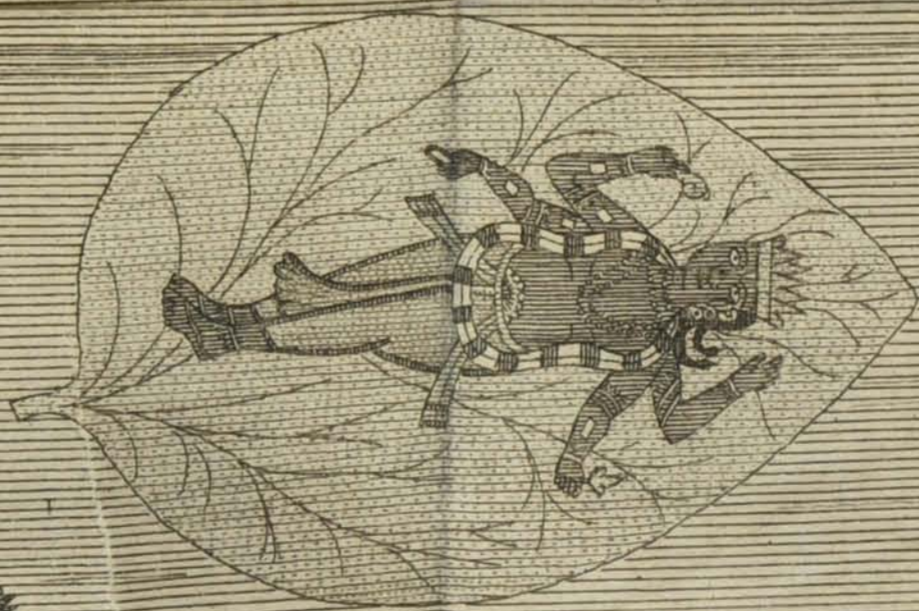
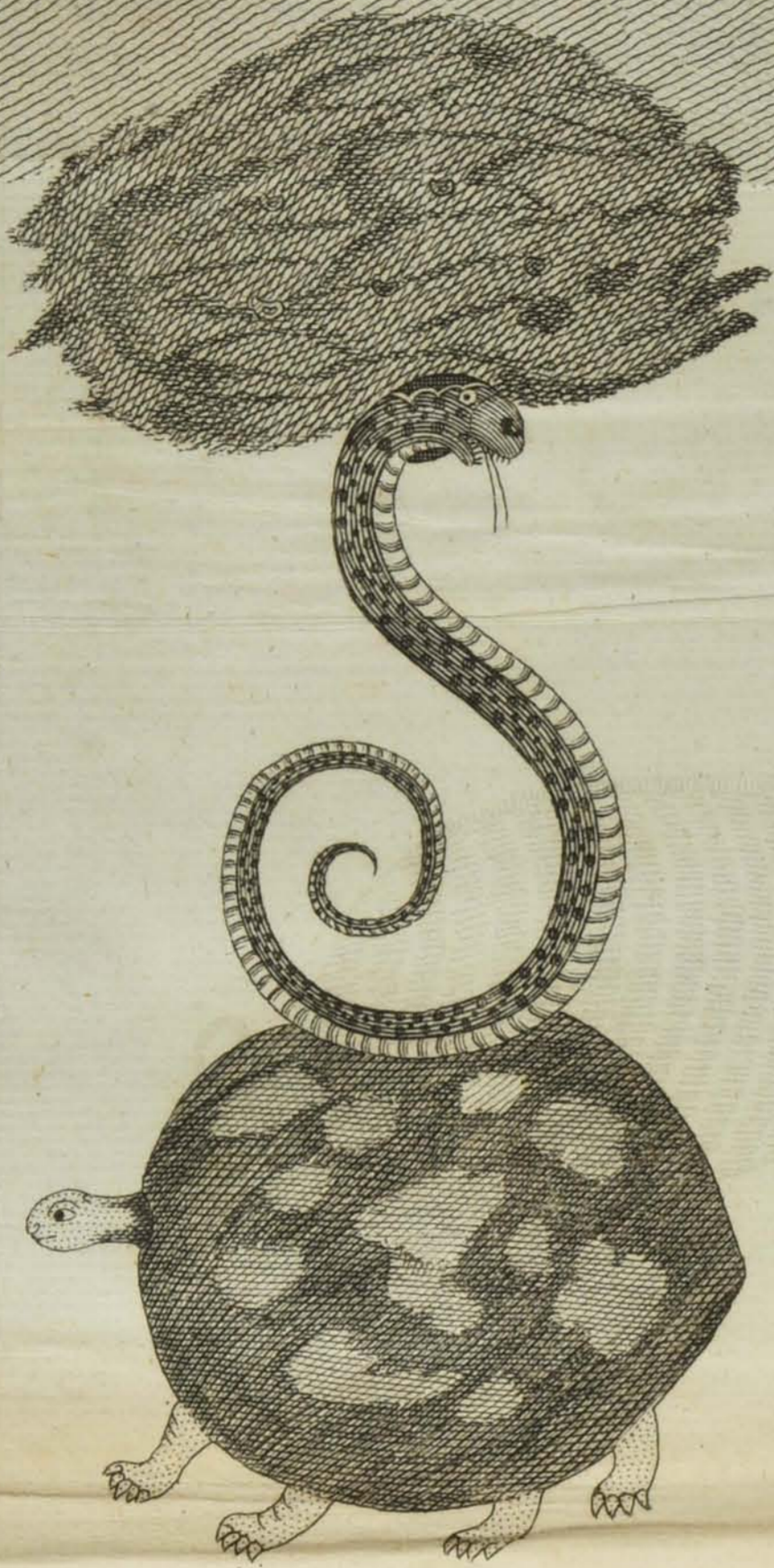
All the benefit that accrues from the foregoing short recital of the progeny of *Birmab* and *Birmaanee*, is, that thus we find in *Endeer*, and *Moisafoor*, the roots from whence the doctrine of two contending principles in nature, *Good* and *Evil*, sprung; that this was the ground-work of all the doctrines of the *Bramins*, after they had lost sight of the simple and sublime theology of the *Chartab Bhade* of *Bramab*, is beyond all controversy; as the whole tendency of the two *later Bhades*, exemplify the natural history of those two contending principles in the *human mind*, and the concomitant effects, they will have on *it*, and on the government of the *world*, as they alternately happen to preside.—Hence the unceasing struggles and conflicts for superiority between *Endeer* and *Moisafoor* and their adherents, which say the *Bramins* subsist to this day; so well founded, was the conjecture of the learned and ingenious Mr. *Bayle*, touching the great antiquity of the origin of the *Maneckean* doctrine—nor is it at all improbable, that arch heretic *Manes* might have received some notions of this doctrine from the tenets of the *Bramins*, which he per-
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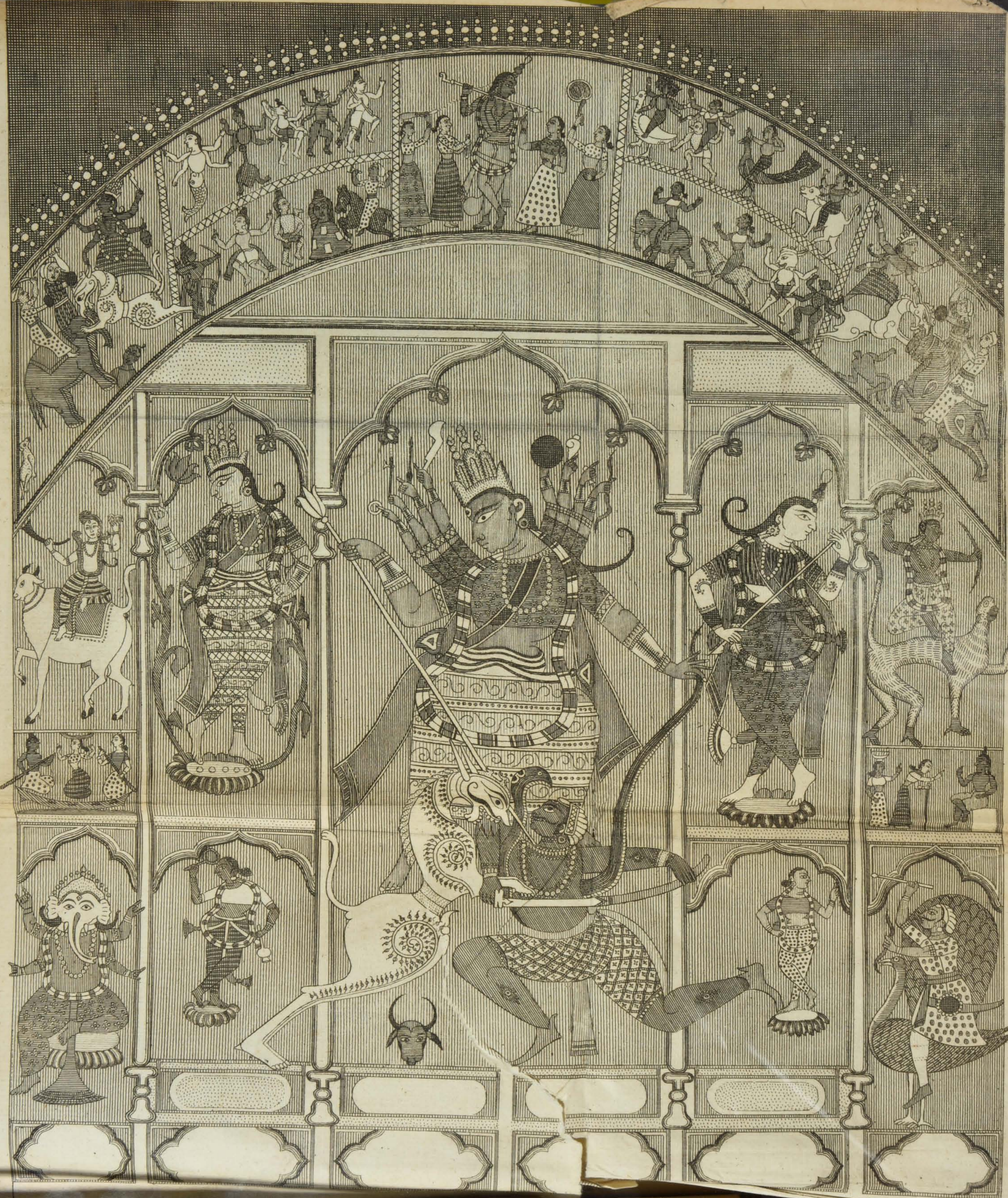
verted to the worst and most dangerous purposes and opinions:—on the contrary the simplicity, with which the doctrine is professed by the *Gentoos*, has in it's self (but *otherwise* in it's consequences) no such manifest tendency; although by their adherence to it, they seem utterly to forget the consideration of their original existence and delinquency, and the merciful cause of their establishment, in the eight *Boboons* of punishment and probation, as well as the laws and injunctions of their prophet *Bramah*, who obviously rests the restoration and salvation of the offending *Debtah*, upon *two* simple and plain conditions, *a sincere penitent impression of their original delinquency; and an atonement by good works, according to the powers of exertion, which God annexed to their animal forms.*—But it is not at all to be wondered at, that they should thus lose sight of their *original sin* and defection, as well as the means laid down for their salvation; when the very spirit of the fasts and festivals, and whole conduct of the drama of the *Chatab*, and *Aughtorrah Bhades*, are relative only to the *averting* the evils of their present existence, without the smallest retrospect to their first transgression, or the means of atoning for it.—This is the situation of the bulk of the people of *Indostan*, as well as of the modern *Bramins*; amongst the latter, if

if we except one in a thousand, we give them over measure; the consequences from these premises are obvious—the *Gentoos* in general, are as degenerate, crafty, superstitious, litigious and wicked a people, as any race of beings in the known world, if not eminently more so, especially the common run of the *Bramins*; and we can truly aver, that during almost five years, that we presided in the judicial cutcherry court of *Calcutta*, never any murder, or other atrocious crime, came before us, but it was proved in the end, a *Bramin* was at the bottom of it: but then, the remnant of *Bramins* (whom we have before excepted) who seclude themselves from the communications of the busy world, in a philosophic, and religious retirement, and strictly pursue the tenets and true spirit of the *Chartab Bhade of Bramah*, we may with equal truth and justice pronounce, *are the purest models of genuine piety that now exist, or can be found on the face of the earth.*—

And now, my friends, and most respectable readers, we will, with your permission, adopt one custom of the *Gentoos*, and make an offering, for some time at least, of our pen, ink, and paper, to the goddess *SUR-SUTTEE*.

The End of the Second Part.









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INTERESTING
HISTORICAL EVENTS,
Relative to the
PROVINCES OF BENGAL,
AND THE
EMPIRE OF INDOSTAN.

WITH
A Seasonable HINT and PERSUASIVE
To the Honorable
The COURT of DIRECTORS of the
EAST INDIA COMPANY.

AS ALSO
The MYTHOLOGY and COSMOGONY, FASTS
and FESTIVALS of the GENTOOS,
Followers of the SHASTAH.

AND
A DISSERTATION on the METEMPSYCHOSIS,
commonly, though erroneously, called the
PYTHAGOREAN Doctrine.

By J. Z. HOLWELL, Esq;

PART III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, near
Surry-Street, in the Strand.

MDCCLXXI.

TO THE MOST NOBLE
THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,
NOT MORE CONSPICUOUS
FROM
THE SPLENDOR OF HIS TITLES,
THAN
DISTINGUISHED BY THE LUSTRE OF HIS MERITS,
BELOVED FOR HIS AMIABLE QUALITIES,
REVERED FOR HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE VIRTUES,
THE LOVER OF ARTS, THE FRIEND OF LEARNING,
THE PATRON OF SCIENCE,
THIS ESSAY
(INTENDED TO RESCUE FROM ERROR AND
OBLIVION THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF INDOSTAN)
IS DEDICATED,
BY (A LOVER OF TRUTH, AND AN ADMIRER OF
HIS GRACE'S EXALTED CHARACTER)

J. Z. HOLWELL.

C H A P. VIII.

A Dissertation on the Metempsychosis of the Bramins, or Transmigrations of the fallen Angelic Spirits; with a Defence of the original Scriptures of Bramah, and an occasional comparison between them and the Christian Doctrines.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

P A R T I.

WE have hitherto floated upon the materials which the wreck of *Calcutta* in the year 1765 afforded us, and now for the first time, launch out into the ocean of hypothesis and speculation upon our own bottom. Difficult and hazardous as our course is, we will hope our voyage may not be unprosperous. We invoke no aid to lead us on our way, but that POWER ALONE, which can ALONE ENLIGHTEN; that POWER! which in every age (but more particularly in some) has graciously been

B pleased,

pleased to convey a divine revelation to the
HEART OF MAN.

2. Various soils and climates, as they influence the constitutions, so they do in part the dispositions of mankind; and this it is, that may have made it necessary to dispense different modes of revealing the WILL OF GOD to the different parts of this (and possibly every other) habitable globe; and as the minds of societies, and even nations, are subject, with all things else, to revolution and change; it may also have been necessary to vary the mode of revelation *to the same people*, at different periods of time, as the immoral state, or imperfections of mankind may have indicated. The history of the world is pregnant with many instances in support of these probable conclusions, besides that of the double revelation to the Hebrews, the Mosaic, and the Christian: the minds of men are impressed by, and open to conviction, and the acceptance of TRUTH, under one peculiar form, which they will reject under another: How deeply then ought we to adore and reverence that supreme Being, who thus condescends to model his commands, and inspire his chosen writers, in conformity to the weakness, and failings of his creatures?

3. It is an allowed truth, that there never was yet any system of theology broached to mankind, whose first professors and propagators did not announce *its descent from God*; and God forbid, we should doubt of, or impeach the divine origin, of any of them; for such eulogium they possibly all merited in their primitive purity, could they be traced up to that state, notwithstanding many learned pens have labored to prove, that such a claim was generally a political imposition only; a suggestion that we think has not much contributed to the advancement of either the piety, or morals of mankind, and therefore better had it been suppressed, and kept from their knowledge, as we hope to make appear presently.

—Various as we may observe the religious systems scattered throughout the world, and singular as our following opinion, and our reasoning thereon may appear to be; we shall not hesitate to lay it down as a principle, That—howsoever mankind, either of *Europe, Asia, Africa* or *America*, may differ in the exterior modes of worship paid to the DEITY, according to their various genius; yet, that there are some *fundamental points* of every system, wherein *all agree* and profess unanimous faith; as may be gathered, either from their *express doctrines*, or evidently implied, from their

modes, or ceremonials of worship, howsoever differing in manner and form, from each other.

4. The *fundamental points* of religion above alluded to, we chuse to distinguish by the title of PRIMITIVE TRUTHS, truths! which forceably struck, and impressed the human heart at the period of man's creation, and although from an original unhappy taint, he in succeeding times, strangely deviated from them, yet he never has, nor ever will be able, wholly to obliterate and efface them, however he may sometimes for a greater, or lesser space, utterly lose sight of them.—We will enumerate the principal of these *primitive truths*—*1st*, The being of a GOD, eternal, creator, and conservator of all things, animate and inanimate;—*2dly*, The existence of three prime created celestial beings, either confounded with the Deity, or exclusive of, and subordinate to him;—*3dly*, The creation of angelic beings;—*4thly*, A defection, or rebellion of a portion of those beings;—*5thly*, Their expulsion from the heavenly regions;—*6thly*, The immortality of the human soul;—*7thly*, A future state of rewards and punishments of the human soul;—*8thly*, That man is here in a state of punishment and probation, for
a transf-

a transgression committed in a prior state of existence against his Creator;—*9thly*, That there exists a Being, who instigated the revolt of the angelic spirits, and still continues the enemy and deceiver of mankind;—*10thly*, The necessity of a mediator, or mediators, between GOD and man, over and above repentance and good works, for the expiation of sin, and obtaining a restoration to a state, from which he now stands expelled;—*11thly*, That there is an intermediate state of punishment and purification between death and the perfect restoration of the human soul;—*12thly*, The existence of a *golden age*;—*13thly*, That there existed a period when mankind was sustained by, and subsisted only on the fruits of the earth;—and *lastly*, The doctrine of the ministration of angels, in human affairs. These were the *primitive truths* revealed by a gracious GOD to man, in the early days of his creation, at a time when it may be reasonably presumed he retained a lively sense of his soul's former transgression; as well as of the grace then offered to him. That these are the only *primitive truths* necessary to man's salvation, and restoration, appears from hence, that they have, from the earliest records of time to this day, remained more or less *the stock* upon which the blindness, or wickedness

of man has engrafted very extravagant, unprofitable, as well as unintelligible doctrines, to delude their fellow-creatures, and seduce them from a strict adherence to, and reliance on, those *primitive truths only*.

5. This being the case, how much is it to be lamented, that our learned divines, some of whom are the greatest ornaments of our church and profession, have not taken the advantage of the concurring testimony of all mankind, touching these *fundamental principles*, to enforce their relative duties, in their preaching and writings? in place of which, moved by a vain ostentation, and shew of deep learning, the rubbish of antiquity is raked up, and sifted, to prove that nations, and individuals amongst the ancients, and some of the wisest and best of mankind, were infidels with respect to any sincere faith in religion at all; and that the fable of religion was invented by lawgivers, purely to keep the populace in awe: and we are told by these profound researchers, that the great *Socrates* was the only one amongst the ancient philosophers, who believed what he taught, *the unity of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments*:—a strange mode this, of enlightening modern times! to record and circulate

circulate such sentiments in the mother tongue of a Christian people, although on supposition only, that such principles ever existed in any country or age whatsoever.

6. We are aware that the motives and plea urged in defence of the publication of the infidel opinions of the ancient philosophers are, the reputation of modern atheists, deists, and free-thinkers: vain pretence, and no less vain the attempt, where the slightest review of the bent and genius of *man* would have convinced them, that when once a writer, can so far get the better of shame and decorum, as to dare publish opinions, not only contrary to, but subversive of all religious faith, that man is incorrigible, and beyond the reach of conviction. To reason with writers of that stamp, carries as much propriety with it, as if our divines would go and display their oratory upon the miserable inhabitants of Bedlam; and their endeavors would be as salutary. The same may be said of fanatics in every religion; as the one believes nothing at all, these believe too much, and both have always thrived, and acquired strength from disputation and persecution.

7. Religious controversy never yet did, nor ever will do good to the cause of true
 B 4 religion,

religion, for this plain and cogent reason; conviction on either side cannot follow, because the nature of the subject matter in dispute cannot, like a proposition in *Euclid*, admit of demonstration;—besides another mischievous consequence results from the canvassing and laying open the opinions of the ancient philosophers touching sacred matters, for it puts weapons into the hands of the modern enemies of religion, which probably they would otherwise never have been in possession of; and it must be the height of glory to infidels and free-thinkers, to find themselves classed with the *Platos*, *Plutarchs*, *Ciceros*, &c. of antiquity.—A similar mode of reputation possessed the primitive fathers of the church, which, added to an inflamed mistaken zeal and doctrines never dictated by their divine master, laid the foundation of those schisms, and heretical evils, which have ever since distracted and divided the Christian states, so that they may with more propriety be stiled *the destroyers*, than *the fathers* of it.

8. For how long a space man after his creation retained a lively sense of the special grace offered to him by his Creator, or benefited himself by a strict adherence to, and observance of the divine *primitive truths*, then revealed to him, are circumstances not determinable;

determinable ; but we may with reason conclude, that a long series of time passed away, before he possibly could, from the nature of things lose sight of them. All nations have by tradition a conception that there once existed a *golden or comparative age* of innocence ; and if there ever did exist such a period (which we think highly probable at least) it should appear to have been the space just above hinted at, between man's creation, and the time when first he began to set at nought the saving precepts which had been graciously delivered to him. Although mankind differ so widely respecting the epocha of the creation of the universe and man, yet they are generally agreed, that they were coeval ; the enlightened *Moses* did not venture to say when, nor is it very material to us, so we believe that GOD made it for wise and necessary purposes, subsequently to be considered in a new point of view.

9. When we attentively peruse *Moses's* detail of the *creation and fall of man*, we find it clogged with too many incomprehensible difficulties to gain our belief, that that consummate legislator ever intended it should be understood in a literal sense ; and as a part of the law of *Moses* was
 " typical to the *Jews* of the coming of
 " their

“ their Messiah, and calculated to prepare “ them for it,” (as has been proved by the Author of the Divine Legation) so we hope to prove that his detail of *the fall of man* was *typical only* of the angelic fall; to which, we doubt not, but *Moses* believed (and had good grounds for that belief) that man^d had a much *nearer relation* than is commonly imagined.

10. It is pretty manifest, that the *golden age* of innocence and truth was not a consequent of *Moses's supposed creation*; for, excepting a very few individuals, mankind by his own shewing were far gone in wickedness, almost as soon as created; therefore, we must look higher for it, which we will do in good time, for we cannot relinquish the fact, that there was a period of time, in which *such an age* really existed.

11. We find that mankind throve and grew in vice until God, perceiving the measure of their wickedness was full, thought it necessary to bring about a stupendous change on the face of this habitable globe, by which we are told the whole race of animated beings, saving a remnant of each, were destroyed; and of these, that the human species scarcely emerged drip-
ping

ping from the deluge, than they were again *drowned in sin*; and from the earliest accounts which can be depended upon, free from fable, we learn that the supposed most ancient inhabitants in the world, to wit, the *Chaldeans, Egyptians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, &c.* were all profoundly sunk in rank idolatries, and every species of wickedness; and we find, that the so much boasted and celebrated wisdom of *Egypt*, consisted only in their superior art and cunning in political legislation; whereby they were better enabled to deceive and enslave the unhappy people, who fell under their government: thus we see that all the benefit we gain by our deep and learned researches into the antiquities of those nations, is, to be ascertained that men were as bad in the most early known times as they well could be; a piece of knowledge for which we need not have travelled farther than our own scriptures. If the *Egyptians* must have the honor of being the most wise of the ancients, they have undoubtedly the honor also of being the most wicked and superstitious, not excepting the ancient possessors of the land of *Canaan*. This part of their character we will not contest with the learned explorers of their tenets; but we think ourselves well warranted to dispute, both the superiority of

of their wisdom and antiquity *. Indeed the contest respecting the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, as well as the *Persian Magi*, and the whole tribe of the *Grecian* and *Roman* philosophers, who copied from them (*Socrates* alone excepted) may be reduced into a very narrow compass; for the whole total of it, upon summing up the evidence produced by the advocates in its favor, amounts to FOLLY; and folly of so egregious a nature, that nothing less than the *wit of a Lucian* is equal to the exposing it in a just point of ridicule.—Of what utility is that kind of wisdom (howsoever profound) either to the possessors, or to mankind, which leads to the establishment of laws, doctrines, and worship, most unworthy the conceptions we ought to harbor of the *Divine Nature*, and his attributes?—Such was the wisdom of the *Egyptians*, &c. and yet these men acquired the venerable titles of Sages and Philosophers, to the utter violation of the true spirit and meaning of the words; for every species of what is commonly called wisdom, that does not lead us into just ideas of God, and of *ourselves*, is folly.—It is said—they were *the first* who cultivated the arts and sciences: suppose it granted, were they the better men

* Vid. Introduction to Part ii. from page 23. to 29.

for it? It is proved they were not, but rather worse, by those very pens who labored to demonstrate that prior claim.— Indeed the history of mankind affords us this melancholy truth, that the most enlightened ages, in the kind of spurious and useless wisdom we have been speaking of, have been *the most wicked*, and we could wish the application did not reach the present age.

12. That the *Egyptians* were an ancient race we do not deny, and yet modern times have brought us to the knowledge of an empire of people, who, from the most probable concurring circumstances, were a potent and numerous nation in the earliest known times, although from causes peculiar to themselves, which we have before recited in our second Part, *they were little known to the world*. Our readers will not be at a loss to guess, that we here mean the people of *Indostan*, a people that existed a *separate and unmixed nation*, without any intercommunity of manners or religious worship, from the period of the *first migrations* of the inhabitants of the earth;— (a period, which is hid, as well from our knowledge, as our conceptions) and so continue to this day, notwithstanding they groan under *Mahomedan* tyranny: a strong presumption,

presumption, almost amounting to proof, of this people being, *as a nation*, more ancient than any other.—Such a *separation* was the great aim of the inspired Legislator of the *Hebrews*, although he was never able to accomplish it: he was able to separate their bodies, but their souls still languished for the *flesh-pots* of *Egypt*, and their infamous idolatries, until captivity had softened their hearts, and made them look (when it was too late) towards their ONE GOD, and King.—The difference between the cases of the *Gentoo*s and the *Hebrews* was, that whereas the former for a deviation from their *primitive truths* were enslaved at home, and the latter were driven for deviating from the law into captivity in a foreign land; as a greater punishment (we may rationally suppose) for the greater crime. For,

13. Although the *Gentoo*s had offended by raising an idolatrous superstructure upon the *primitive truths* of *Bramah*, (which they had held sacred and inviolate for the space of a thousand years, as elsewhere shewn) yet, his fundamentals, *viz.* the unity of the Godhead, the Metempsychosis, and its concomitant essential doctrines, the angelic origin, and immortality of the human soul, and its present and future state of rewards and punishments, &c. still kept their
 6 ground;

ground; and remained, as they do to this day, the basis of their faith and worship.

14. The angelic fall, and the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, the one the crime, the other the punishment of those unhappy free-agents, being the *sine qua non* of the *Gentoo* system, it is incumbent upon us to prove from reason and the nature of things, that *the latter* was the original growth of *Indostan*, and not borrowed by them from the *Egyptians*, as has been more than once insinuated by that learned casuist and divine, the Author of the *Divine Legation of Moses*, and investigator of the *Eleusinian* mysteries.—When his Lordship, with great strength of argument, labors to refute the supposition that the *Egyptians* borrowed any of their superstitions from the *Hebrews*, he urges with great propriety, “the utter
 “ improbability of a potent, and powerful
 “ nation, borrowing any part of their re-
 “ ligious worship from a people, who was
 “ then in a state of slavery to them, and
 “ held by them in the highest detestation;”
 or words to this effect;—now, surely it is *much more improbable to conceive*, that a *potent, and powerful nation* (for such *Indostan* was found to be at the first known intercourse with them) should borrow a *fundamental*, on which the whole system of their
 most

most ancient worship hinged, from a few straggling *Egyptians*.—If we grant that it is probable the rest of the world adopted the doctrine of the Metempsychosis from the *Egyptians*, after *they* had stolen it from the *Gentoo* Bramins, and imposed it as their own, we grant a circumstance which is not clearly proved;—but another circumstance is pretty evident, and will be subsequently proved, that, at the time they stole this doctrine, they also purloined other fundamentals of the *Chartab Bhade Shastab*, namely, *the unity of the Godhead, the immortality of the soul, a general and particular Providence, and a future state of rewards and punishments.*

15. As a proof of the boasted wisdom of of the *Egyptian* Magi, we shall see the use they nobly made of *the above fundamentals*:—they instituted *rites* to their two principal fabulous divinities *Isis* and *Osiris*, of which (amongst others, truly diabolical, of their own invention) those *fundamentals*, and the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, were the chief, and *grand mysteries*; to which (as the learned investigator has shewn) none were admitted but Kings, Princes, Lawgivers, and Heroes, and that admission not granted, but under the most solemn oaths and ties of secrecy; for “these were truths of too im-
portant

“ nature to be entrusted with the people,
 “ who, it was supposed, were better kept
 “ in subjection by a belief in their titular,
 “ and local Deities.”—Thus these detestable
 race of Governors kept the knowledge of
 the TRUE GOD from their people, as well
 as those other *important truths*, so necessa-
 ry for their salvation, in which those Magi
 had been instructed by the Bramins.—But
 how are we moved to a mixture of laughter
 and compassion, when we are ultimately
 told, (by the same learned enquirer into an-
 cient Theology) that not one of the *Egyptian*
Magi, and all of the *Grecian* or *Roman*
 legislators, or philosophers (*Socrates* ex-
 cepted) *really believed* in ONE GOD, or the
 immortality of the soul, or a future state of
 rewards and punishments, *although they all*
taught them in their mysteries: and in sup-
 port of the fact, his Lordship produces ma-
 ny evidences, as well as learned arguments.
 —We cannot quit this subject without say-
 ing, that we can by no means entertain that
 high opinion of the wisdom of the *Egypti-
 ans* in their legislative capacity, which his
 Lordship seems to do; for by their secreting
 the being of ONE GOD, and a future state
 of rewards and punishments (whether they
 themselves believed them or not), they as-
 suredly quitted the safest hold they had
 upon the obedience of rational minds, on
 whom *such principles, if firmly rooted*, must
 operate

operate more powerfully, in securing subjection to government, than any others, which the wit or wisdom of *man* could possibly devise. It will probably be urged against us, that these doctrines are seen to lose their influence in states where they are professed, and form a part of their religious code.—If man is incorrigible we cannot help it; but we should rather think, that in these cases——*they are not firmly rooted.*

16. But suffer us, candid reader, to change the unpleasing scene, and, in contrast to *Egyptian* wisdom, to turn our eyes towards the great Legislator, Prince, and High-priest of the *Gentoos*, who, in his scriptures, taught not only the *four great fundamentals*, of the unity of the Godhead, his providence, the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments, but also every other divine and *primitive truth*, necessary for man's knowledge in his present state of miserable existence; and these he taught (as elsewhere we had occasion to remark), not as *mysteries* confined to a *select few*, but as public religious tenets, known and received as such *by all*;—and so forcible and efficacious was the influence of these doctrines upon the people, that they adhered strictly to them, and kept them inviolate for the space of one thousand years

years (as before remarked), and until they were perverted by their own priests, and led to new modes of worship, before unknown to themselves and their forefathers. In these innovations on their original pure scriptures, we will not dispute but that the Bramins might have taken some hints for reducing the people under sacerdotal dominion from the infamous political systems of their brethren the *Egyptian* Magi, who, it is more than probable, did, about this period, first straggle into Indostan (i. e. at the promulgation of the *Chatab Bhade*).

17. Here we cannot help observing, that the learned author of the *Divine Legation* laboured unwittingly under two other mistakes, in supposing the *Hebrews* were the only nation in the ancient world who worshipped *one God*, and in whose government *religion* and the *magistracy* were *united*; for by these the *Gentoo*s were eminently distinguished in the most early known times: but of this his Lordship was ignorant, and therefore stands not accountable. The labored apologies his Lordship makes for the *imperfect mission* of *Moses* may require our future notice, we shall only remark here, the difficulty the mind has to encounter in comprehending, how any *mission* dictated by *God himself* can possibly be *imperfect*?

If the mission of *Moses* contained a *spiritual*, as well as *temporal* allusion to the salvation of the *Hebrews*, and the spiritual sense was hidden from them, it was then indeed imperfect, and the *Gentoo*s should seem to have been *the chosen people of God*, in place of the *Israelites*; for to them was revealed by *Bramah*, with God's permission, not only the *real state and condition of man*, but his doctrines also taught, the existence of *One Eternal God*, and *temporal* as well as *future* rewards and punishments. This being the case, although we admit, with his Lordship, that "the mystery of life, and
 "immortality, and a future state; which
 "had been hid for ages, and from generation to generation; was *then* made manifest to the saints" in the gospel-dispensation; yet, at the same time, we think we have undoubted authority for saying, that these mysteries, as before shewn, were taught, and universally professed some thousands of years antecedent to that period, by a distant, distinct, and numerous nation, with whom indeed his Lordship was not acquainted; which is to be the more lamented, because, with his profound abilities, unwearied application, and consummate learning, he would have been enabled, by a knowledge of the original tenets of *Bramah*, highly to have illustrated his subject, and his perform-

performance, we conceive, would have borne a very different aspect. For

18. We cannot help again regretting, that so much learned pains has been taken to prove, that there ever existed any nation of people, who did not profess, or really believe in, a future state of rewards and punishments. Facts of this nature, which have so manifest and dangerous a tendency to influence the minds and manners of mankind, cannot be hid from *the learned*; but they might easily have been obscured to the bulk of the species, by all controversy relative to them being confined to, and carried on in the original dead languages; whereas the contrary practice of every nation in Europe for the last century, by bringing these dangerous subjects home to us, as we may say, into our native tongues, unavoidably confounds, and raises doubts in the soul, and leads it into a train of thinking, which otherwise, most probably, would never have struck the imagination.

19. Infidelity treads close upon the heels of scepticism; and notwithstanding so much has been said to justify the wise purposes of Moses, “in *studiously rejecting* the doctrine of a *future state* in his law to the *Hebrews*;” yet the event shewed, and the

fact is confirmed by the greatest part of their history, that they remained without any check upon their hearts or conduct. In the belief of a future state they were not instructed, and *therefore*, they naturally doubted, and could not be brought to adhere for any time together in the belief of *One Eternal God*; nor could it be rationally thought they would, when the *one* so absolutely and mutually depended on *the other*. The “wise provision” (as it is stiled) made by *Moses* to supply the want of this doctrine of a future state, to wit, the menace of “God’s visiting the sins and disobedience of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation,” we have seen had none effect upon either; and he must be very little acquainted with the *original*, and continued depravity of the *human soul*, who thinks it can be restrained from evil by any other check than that of a confirmed belief, and expectation of a *temporal as well as a future state of rewards and punishments*, which brings the matter home to the breast of every *individual*.

20. We shall now proceed with our Dissertation on the Doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, as a consequent of the *angelic fall*; and we hope in the course of it, to point out, and elucidate upon a rational hypothesis,

thesis, many *important truths*; and account for, and explain some appearances in this state of human and animal existence, which are, we conceive, utterly unaccountable, and inexplicable, without the assistance of *that ancient doctrine*.

A DISSERTATION, &c.

21. **T**HE prophets, philosophers, moralists, and sages of all ages; whether, moved by the inspiration of God himself, or by other intelligent agents; or actuated by the mere force of their own rational powers; howsoever they may have differed in other speculative points, yet agree unanimously in this important, and interesting one; namely, *that the human soul carries the stamp of original depravity, and is naturally prone to evil.*—Deplorable as this sort of humanity is, it is rendered much more so, by that almost universal propensity in the species, either to a total dissipation of their time and talents; or, employing both, in *fruitless studies*, in place of devoting all his intellectual powers, to pry into, and examine *the real state of his own existence*, for which he discovers an unaccountable aversion, and backwardness.

22. It has been wisely said, that the summit of human wisdom is comprised, in this short adage, **MAN KNOW THY SELF**; but, instead of dedicating all his researches to this essential pursuit, *Man knows every thing but himself*;—he goes on, from age to age,

age, and from day to day, in cultivating the arts and sciences, with a view only to the better accommodation and enjoyment of his present sojourn. With this unhappy delusion, and with these non-essential acquirements, he rests perfectly easy, and satisfied; *here he pitches his tent*, as if he was never to decamp.—Man knows not who he is, what he is, how he came by his existence in this world, nor for what real purposes he was brought originally into it; nor does he seem much to concern himself about it, so long as he passes smoothly, and supinely, through it.

23. The doubts and difficulties which man encounters, and labors under, in forming any precise judgment respecting *the nature and obligations of his present existence*, we conceive to have always been the great *impeding causes*, that have ever withheld him from deep reflection, and a proper retrospect into himself; could therefore, *that nature*, and these *obligations*, be clearly ascertained to him, the relative duties of his destination would be also clear and positive; and mankind would no longer inseparably attach themselves to the transient considerations, and enjoyments of this life only.

24. How far the doctrines of the Metempsychosis tend, upon a cool and unprejudiced hearing, to clear up the doubts and difficulties above alluded to, is the important subject of our enquiry. In this disquisition we shall not hesitate to assert, that the doctrine is far from being new in this our hemisphere; it was professed by our ancestors, when the sage druids led and governed their faith and politics, as the most learned records of our ancient history vouch, although it does not appear from their shewing, that it was taught by the ancient *Britons* (for the first *Britons* we know nothing of) in that simple purity, and extent, as it was originally by the *Bramins* of *Indostan*.

25. Tender consciences have no cause of alarm from our reviving the consideration of a doctrine, which in the most early known ages was followed by at least four-fifths of the inhabitants of the earth; the more especially as we hope to prove, that this doctrine is not repugnant to the doctrines of Christianity.

26. Communications between the Deity and man, either personally, or by his angels or prophets, was, in early times, no uncommon event: these recorded facts we
must

must believe, or reject and set at nought our own scriptures; and shall we suppose the children of the East to have been less the care of God, than the children of *Israel*? or that the whole of his creatures, howsoever dispersed and separated from each other, were not equally the unhappy objects of his benevolence and attention?—Such a supposition would arraign his justice and impartial dispensations to all his creatures: it is not becoming us to doubt the authority and divinity of *any original religious system*, unless it *evidently* is repugnant to the idea of a just and omnipotent God.

27. To bring our Essay to method and perspicuity, we must again have a short retrospect to the several essential concomitant parts of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as promulged by *Bramah*; and we shall proceed to the discussion of *each*, reduced, as follows, under five general heads, *viz.*

FIRST GENERAL HEAD.

The existence of angelic beings.

Their rebellion, or fall.

Their

Their expulsion from the heavenly regions.

Their punishments.

SECOND GENERAL HEAD.

The universe *formed* by God, for the residence, sustenance, and imprisonment of the apostate angels.

THIRD GENERAL HEAD.

Mortal organized bodies formed for their more immediate, or closer confinement.

Their transmigrations through those mortal forms.

Those transmigrations: their state of purgation as well as punishment.

The human form their chief state of trial and probation.

FOURTH GENERAL HEAD.

Liberty given to the apostate angels to pervade the universe.

Permis-

Permission given to the faithful angelic beings to counteract them.

FIFTH GENERAL HEAD.

The seven regions of purification, wherein the fallen angels cease from their mortal transmigrations.

The dissolution of the universe, or material worlds,

28. Before we enter upon the discussion of these five general heads, we beg leave to be indulged in a few preparatory reflections: *first*, that it is obvious, from the above particulars collectively considered, one general conclusion may be formed as the basis of this ancient doctrine of the Metempsychosis, viz. *That the souls, or spirits, of every human or other organised mortal body, inhabiting this globe, and all the regions of the material universe, are precisely the remainder of the unpurified angels, who fell from their obedience in heaven, and that still stand out in contempt of their Creator.*

29. Strange as *this system* may appear in these our days, and howsoever seemingly clogged with difficulties, it is worth consideration,

deration, how far it will elucidate, and account for, many theological mysteries, and other phenomena that are annexed to this our present state of existence; and which are, we conceive, otherwise unaccountable, as before hinted.—If, in the course of our enquiry, we advance no opinions contrary to our own *pure original scriptures* (to which we profess ourself, an unworthy, although zealous subscriber), nor endeavour to propagate any system, but what may co-incide with *every religious Creed, that has been, or is now* professed throughout the known world, we are then void of offence, both to GOD and *man*.—Endless have been the disputes about religion, whilst we see the chief contention is, Who shall the least practise its precepts:—therefore how laudable is the pursuit of that man, who labors to point out *one universal faith*, that would infallibly reconcile all jarring principles, and unite all mankind in the bands of mutual love and benevolence. We write not to this, or that sect, or to this, or that nation, but to *mankind in general*; who seem not to advert to, or be in any degree acquainted, either with the real dignity of their original nature, or the relation in which they stand, to their GOD, to their brethren, or to the rest of the animal creation.—“ Let us read, let us
 “ meditate, let us reason, let us dispute;
 “ but

“ but all for the sake of TRUTH, which is
 “ the great property of mankind, consti-
 “ tutes all our happiness, and therefore our
 “ common interest to pursue.”

FIRST GENERAL HEAD.

30. In our remarks, p. 36, of our second 1st General Head.
 part, we have given our conceptions of the
 sublime causes assigned by *Bramah* for the
 creation and existence of angels; nor need
 we dwell long on a fact, the firm belief of
 which has been received by all mankind, a
 single inconsiderable sect amongst the *Jews*
 alone excepted.—There must undoubt-
 edly, and consequently have subsisted, some
striking evidence of this great truth in the
 early and later times exhibited *to man*, that
 should influence and determine him to this
 general belief, and the propagation of it to
 his posterity; which *evidence* (for causes best
 known to GOD himself) he is now, and
 has been for near eighteen centuries back,
 deprived of.

31. On recollection, we find we have
 been too hasty in our conclusion touching
this truth;—a modern philosopher, more
 remarkable and famed for genius, and the
 sprightly irony of his wit, than for solidity
 of

of argument, or sound philosophy, and who has all his life endeavoured to laugh religion out of countenance, has been bold enough to ridicule the existence of angels, as beings purely ideal, and an invention of the poets; and alleges the silence of *Moses* in proof, who, he says, in his law to the *Jews*, nowhere mentions their existence; and urges also his silence touching *their fall*, which he insinuates is equally fabulous as their existence.

32. To say nothing of the inconsistency of this merry philosopher's drawing his negative proofs and conclusions from a book he puts no faith in, nor allows to be of any authority, we will consider the force of his reasoning; for should we subscribe to this author's assertion touching the silence of *Moses* in the law to the *Jews*, it by no means amounts even to a negative proof of the non-existence of angelic beings, nor of *their fall* being only fabulous.

33. Whatsoever may have been the opinion of *Moses* on *those subjects*, it would have been more extraordinary had he made mention of them, than his silence can possibly appear to be; as it is most evident, that these were matters that lay utterly out of his way, commissioned, as he only seems

to be, to preach the *unity of the Godhead* to the *Jews*; a people under *the sole* protection of the Deity, their King and Governor, a situation wherein the introduction of angelic beings would have been impertinent, and not in point to *the law* he was dictating to them.—After all, that *Moses* did believe the existence of angels, although he makes no mention of them *in the law*, is obvious from his 24th verse of the 3d chapter of *Genesis*: “So he (God) drove out the man; and he placed *cherubims* at the east end of the garden of Eden,” &c. And that *Moses* was also as well acquainted with the angelic fall, we doubt not our being able to prove, in a subsequent part of our Dissertation, notwithstanding the insinuations of our modern Democritus; who, it is no wonder, should discountenance the notion of the existence of angels, when he owns that the gospel-dispensation is *founded on their fall*.

34. It is not necessary to recite the particular concurring testimony of all antiquity to the supposed existence of angels, when we have so much greater authorities to support us; the Old Testament, throughout the whole historic parts, and the gospel of Christ, afford us so many striking instances of these beings employed occasionally by God, ei-
 D ther

ther as active instruments against the wickedness of man, or as agents, saviors and comforters to the just and good, that we may with equal propriety, when we are about it, as well deny the existence of God himself, as of his angels.

35. A belief of ministring angels under *corporeal forms*, suffers no impeachment from their *spiritual nature*; for, as they are endued by an omnipotent God with all powers necessary for the execution of their respective commissions, it is no great marvel, if we conceive them capable of assuming every shape and form needful for those ends and purposes for which they are delegated; and, notwithstanding they are in their own nature and essence spiritual and immaterial, yet it is no great strain of faith to conclude they can occasionally assume corporeal forms, functions, and faculties, and divest themselves of them again at pleasure, as in the instances of those that sojourned with Abraham, and Lot; and thus CHRIST manifested himself after his resurrection.—But more of this, when we come to discuss this subject in its proper place, under our fourth general head.

36. On this fundamental doctrine of existence of angels, and their rebellion, expulsion,

tion, and punishment, rests not only the Metempsychosis, but the whole religion of the ancient, as well as modern Bramins; the text of *Bramah* says, that “ the ETER-
 “ NAL ONE, in the fulness of time, first
 “ created BIRMAH, *Bisnoo*, and *Sieb*, then
 “ *Moisafoor*, and all the *Debtah-Logue*, and
 “ divided the *Debtah* into different bands
 “ and ranks, and placed a leader, or chief,
 “ over each: he gave pre-eminence to BIR-
 “ MAH, and appointed *Moisafoor* chief of
 “ the first angelic band, &c.”—These original tenets and principles are confirmed by our own similar Christian doctrines and belief, with the difference of names only: thus the creation and existence of angels stand manifested beyond controversy, by two of the greatest authorities of *ancient* and *modern times*.

37. Respecting *the fall* of these beings, the text of *Bramah* further says, “ That
 “ envy and jealousy taking possession of the
 “ hearts of *Moisafoor*, and *Rhaboon* (the
 “ next in dignity to him), and of other lead-
 “ ers of the angelic bands, they stood, in
 “ contempt of the commands of their
 “ Creator, threw off their allegiance, and
 “ drew with them into disobedience *a large*
 “ *portion* of their angelic brethren.” The text also adds, “ that before the expulsion

“ of the rebels from the heavenly regions,
 “ the three prime created beings, BIRMAH,
 “ *Bistnoo*, and *Sieb*, were sent to admonish
 “ them, but that they continued in con-
 “ tempt.”

38. As the gospel-dispensation is allowed by our most learned divines to be *founded upon the angelic fall*, great is the degree of veneration which every *Christian* owes to the *Gentoo scriptures*, which taught minutely circumstances of that fall, more than three thousand years *a priori*.—The *gospel-dispensation*, being undoubtedly the most perfect, sublime, yet plain system of divinity and morals hitherto promulged to man (when divested of the dreams and reveries of its early and latter professors), we cannot too highly prize the great rudiments it conveys to us, of the love of GOD, repentance for sin, mutual love from man to man, and a proper faith and reverence for that *divine being*, who was delegated from the presence of his GOD to preach these great primitive truths as necessary, not only for man's happiness here, but hereafter.

39. Yet, divine and essential as these doctrines are, and necessary to our salvation, permit us to ask, How can this gospel-dispensation, which *so nearly affects man*, be
 said

said with any propriety to be founded upon *the angelic fall*?—unless there is a nearer relation between man and angel, than appears to have hitherto been imagined or adverted to by the professors of Christianity?—if man has not this nearer relationship, what has he to do with *their fall*?—or how can *that fall* serve as a foundation for a doctrine on which his future salvation depends?—This (otherwise) incomprehensible difficulty is solved only by the doctrine of the Bramins, which teaches, that the apostate angelic and human souls are one and the same spirit; nor can we, upon any other rational principle, conceive how the gospel-dispensation can be founded upon the angelic fall.

40. An ingenious, speculative, and learned divine of our church, published, in the year 1762, a treatise, entitled, “A Pre-existent Lapse of Human Souls *, &c.” This truly valuable performance relieves us from much labor in the prosecution of our work, as it confirms, *from our own scriptures*, many leading and essential points of the Metempsychosis, as, the existence of angels, their rebellion, their expulsion from

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their blessed abodes, the cœval creation of the angelic and human spirits, and the association of the latter with the former in their apostacy; that their situation on earth is a state of *degradation* and *probation* for that lapse, and that *original sin* is not that which is erroneously imputed to us from *Adam*, but springs from a much higher source, *viz.* the *pre-existent* lapse of the (human) spirit from its primæval purity.

41. In support of this hypothesis, the Rev. Author exhibits many clear, striking, and convincing texts of scripture, as well as the opinions of the most ancient and modern philosophers and theologians. The authorities quoted by this writer, and his subsequent reasoning on his subject are so full and conclusive, that nothing can be added by us to illustrate it. Therefore we beg leave to refer our readers to the book itself, (and particularly to his last chapter, in refutation of the strongest objections that can be raised against his system), which contains every proof and confirmation from our own scriptures which we stand in need of to support the *Gentoo* doctrine of our first general head, namely, The existence of angels, their fall, their expulsion, and their punishments.

42. In the year 1729, an Essay was published, dedicated to the then Lord Mayor, bearing the title of an Oration, by one Mr. J. Ilive, under four general heads, *viz.* endeavouring to prove, *1st*, The plurality of worlds. *2dly*, That this earth is the only hell. *3dly*, That the souls of men are the apostate angels. *4thly*, That the fire, which will punish those who shall be confined to this globe at the day of judgment, will be immaterial.—We just mention this *extraordinary oration* here, but we shall subsequently have occasion to notice it farther.

43. Before we take leave of this part of our subject, we will remind our readers of what we advanced in our 4th paragraph, where, enumerating the sundry *primitive truths* which had forcibly been impressed on the mind of man, in the beginning; one of the most important was, the notion of *three prime created celestial beings, either confounded with, or exclusive of, and subordinate to the Deity*; thus the Bramins have their *Birmah, Bistnoo, and Sieb*; the Persians their *Oromazes, Mythra, and Mythras*; the Egyptians their *Osyris, Isis, and Orus*; the ancient Arabs their *Allat, Al. Uzza, and Manab*, or the *Goddesses*; the Phœnicians and Tyrians, their *Belus, Urania, and*

Adonis; the Greeks and Romans their *Jupiter Olympus*, *Minerva*, and *Apollo*; the Christians their *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*; the Americans their *Otkon*, *Messou*, and *Atabauta*, &c. &c. And we doubt not but a similar doctrine might be traced amongst all the different nations of the earth, had we authentic records of their primitive religious institutes; it was a principle adopted by all the ancient western world, probably introduced by the *Phœnicians*, and confirmed to them by the *Romans*. Vide *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, on the nature of the Gods; the *Abbé Banier's* *Mythology of the Ancients*; *Warburton's* *Divine Legation of Moses*; the *Chevalier Ramsay's* *Discourse on the Theology and Mythology of the Pagans*, &c.

44. To a notion so universal in the first times, we think ourselves warranted in giving the title of a primitive truth; which must have had unerring fact, and a divine revelation for its source and foundation, as well as the other primitive truths of the rebellion, fall, and punishment of part of the angelic host, under the instigation and leading of an arch apostate of the first rank; hence the *Moisafoor* of the Bramins; the *Arimanius* of the *Persians*; the *Typhon* of the

the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, &c. and the *Satan* of the *Christians*.—And that other *great truth*, the necessity of a mediator, or mediators, employed either in imploring the divine mercy in behalf of the delinquent angels, or in combating or counteracting the wiles and influence of the arch apostate, and his prime adherents;—hence the *Birmah*, &c. of the *Bramins*; the *Mythras* of the *Persians*; the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*; the *Adonis* of the *Tyrians*; the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, &c. and the *Messiah* of the *Christians*, whose glorious and voluntary task it is, to work out the restoration of the *golden age*, by the subduction of *the first author of evil*.

45. From hence it is manifest, that the notion of a golden age, so frequently mentioned, and minutely described by all the ancient philosophers and poets, was purely ideal, respecting either any part of this material world, or any period of time subsequent to its creation; but obviously could only be allusive to that state of beatitude and harmony which reigned in the heavenly abodes until the fall of the angelic inhabitants; for, notwithstanding the variety and confusion of opinions touching the *origin of evil*, we may confidently say it never had existence, until (from the gracious root of freedom) it first sprang up, in the bosom
of

of the first *grand traitor*.—As the remembrance of this celestial golden age of the first creation of beings, must have been strongly impressed on the minds of the delinquents at their fall, it was hence by a tradition easily conceived, handed down to later times, and lost in the ideal conceit of a golden age in this terrestrial globe.

46. We have already been accused of partiality to the doctrines of *Bramah*, but that shall not deter us from *asserting*, what before we only hinted at, namely, that that prophet and divine legislator first taught, by written precepts, the pure theology of *the unity* of the Godhead, the three prime created beings, the creation of angelic intelligents, their fall, and the rest of the *primitive truths* that were followed by all the ancient world. From this conviction it was, that in the foregoing paragraphs, where we had occasion to mention the theology of the ancients, we have given precedence to that of *the Bramins*; and that we are not singular in our opinion, we could cite many authorities, but a few shall suffice: the Chevalier *Ramsay*, who has, with great strength of genius, and accuracy, labored to elucidate this subject, in the 88th page of his Discourse on the Theology of the *Pagans*, speaking of the atheistical tenets of *Anaximander*,

mander, says, "*Pythagoras, Anaxagoras,*
 "*Socrates, Plato, Aristotle,* and all the
 " great men of *Greece,* opposed the im-
 " pious doctrine, and endeavored to re-
 " establish the *ancient theology of the orien-*
 "*tals.*" Page 135 of his Discourse on the
Pagan Mythology, he has this conclusion,
 that, " as the doctrine of the *Persians* is
 " only the sequel of the *Indian Bramins,*
 " we must consult the one, to put the other
 " in a clear light." Again, p. 39, speak-
 ing of *Pythagoras,* he says, " This philoso-
 " pher taught nothing to the *Greeks,* but
 " what he learnt from *the Gymnosophists.*"
 —To these we will just add the sentiments
 of the very ingenious and learned Mr. *James*
Howell, in the 11th Letter of his 2d vol.
 where he reports, from *Diodorus Siculus,*
 " That the *Egyptians* had Kings 18,000
 " years since, yet, for the matter of Philo-
 " sophy and Science, he (the *Egyptian*)
 " had it from the *Chaldean,* and he from
 " the *Gymnosophists* and *Brachmans* of *In-*
 "*dia.*" —Which country, as it is the next
 neighbor to the rising Sun, so the beams of
 Learning (and consequently of Religion) *did*
first enlighten her. Thus we have shewn,
 that we are not singular in believing that
 the religion of *Bramah* is the *most ancient,*
 and consequently *most pure.* For

47. It has been well remarked, that the nearer we approach to the origin of nations, the more pure we shall find their Theology, and the reason of things speaks the justness of the remark; because *the period* when the angelic spirits were doomed to take upon them mortal forms, was doubtless the origin of all nations; and at that time, as the nature of their transgression and the terms of their restoration, were fresh upon their memories, their Theology was pure, universal and unerring; professing *one universal faith*, which they had as we say from the mouth of GOD himself.—Surely there must have been a time, when all nations had but *one system of Theology*, or else it is impossible to assign a cause for the uniform concurrence of all people touching the *primitive truths*, we have so often had occasion to mention; but here the cause is found in the rational supposition of *one faith* at the origin of all nations;—and we may without deserving the imputation of too great presumption boldly pronounce, that *until that is again the case*, there will be neither pure uninterrupted joy in heaven, nor peace on earth.—If the notion of a *terrestrial golden age* has any foundation, it can be only applicable to that season, which we rather think ought to be stiled, the age of repentance and sorrow, and possibly is
the

the only short period and pure piety since the creation of the universe.

48. This leads us naturally to another remark ; namely, that the farther any system of Theology *flows from its source*, the more its pure pellucid stream is vitiated, disturbed and rendered muddy, and unintelligible. This is verified by the ecclesiastic history of all nations, but none with more striking evidence than in that of the *ancient Bramins*, unless we except *our own*. —When we compare the original, august, although simple doctrines of the unity of the Godhead, and the three subordinate celestial personages, &c. of *Bramah*, with the later doctrines of his successors in the priesthood, how amazingly do we behold the sublimity and purity of them mutilated and lost ! The Text of *Bramah* says, “ God “ is one, Creator of all that is. —The “ eternal One first made *Birmah*, then “ *Bistnoo* and *Sieb*, then *Moisafoor* and the “ rest of the angelic host ; he made his “ first created *Birmah*, Prince of the an- “ gelic bands, and his occasional vice- “ gerent, destined him to acts of power, “ glory, and dominion ; and appointed the “ two next created beings *Bistnoo* and *Sieb* “ his coadjutors :” and when in process of time (by the defection and rebellion of *Moisafoor*)

Moisafoor) God in his mercy resolved to form the material universe, these three Divine Beings became the active representatives and executors of his three supreme attributes; his power to create, his power to preserve, and his power to change or destroy, as their names signify.

49. Here the people were presented with a doctrine plain, comprehensible, and suited to the capacity of every intelligent being, although imprisoned under a material form; the successors of *Bramah* did not indeed confound the three divine personages with the Godhead, but they at length did every thing else to cloud and obscure every other of his *primitive truths*, until they became as deeply plunged in idolatry, and in what we may call the useless parade of religion, as any people upon earth, and so continue to this day: thus the mission of *Bramah* was rendered fruitless, but the pure spring-head of his doctrines (that is, the first great primitive truths now under our consideration) were more sullied by the priests of other nations, who formed monstrous copies from the sublime original of *Bramah*.

50. The *Persian* Magi were the first who confounded the three prime created, subordinate celestial beings of the ancient *Bra-*
mins

mins with the Godhead, to hide him from the vulgar; and not satisfied with this, they gave the eternal One a wife in the second person. In this domestic oeconomy they were followed by the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, Tyrians, Phœnicians, Greeks* and *Romans*; and as the *Egyptian Magi* exceeded the *Persian* in rendering these original *primitive truths incomprehensible*, so these were surpassed by the *Tyrians*, and they again by the *Greeks*, and the *Romans* outwent them all. These instances afford a striking proof of the remark we made above, that the farther any divine system of Theology flows from its original source, the more it suffers and is corrupted.

51. Thus we see the two first most essential primitive truths, to wit, the unity of the Godhead, and the creation of the three superior Divine Beings subordinate to him, as originally taught by *Bramah*, were first loaded with superstitious and idolatrous rites by his successors, after it had subsisted inviolate for the long space of a thousand years, and the sublime spirit of it utterly evaporated and lost in the various systems of the *Persian* and *Egyptian Magi* and their followers, and sunk at last into incomprehensible jargon; as any one who has leisure and curiosity may convince himself,

by

by consulting the authors who have exhibited the religious tenets of these nations.

52. Would to heaven, that that confounding incomprehensible spirit had stopped, and vanished with the heathen priesthood! and that we ourselves had not, by dividing that supreme adoration, which is due alone to the ONE ETERNAL GOD, given rise to a schism in Christianity, that has sapped the very root of its simple, exalted and divine doctrines, and proved the source of a thousand heresies, as well as one of the great stumbling blocks, to the universal propagation of a religion, that speaks the finger of God in every sentence, without one single glance at a *Trinity in Unity, or Unity in Trinity*, an unintelligible dogma, in which the heathen leaven prevailed, and raised a fermentation in the church of Christ that probably will never subside, until God himself is pleased to exert and manifest once more his own supremacy in power and vengeance, for the daily repeated blasphemies uttered against his awful name; for the spirit of man will neither regard the words of God himself, nor those of his Christ. For,

53. "God spake these words, and said, "I am the Lord thy God, Thou shalt have none other Gods but me," and the congregation

gregation replies, " Lord have mercy upon
 " us, and incline our hearts to keep this
 " law," although they know they shall
 egregiously break it more than once in
 the course of the liturgy: and God him-
 self, speaking of the Messiah, which he
 purposed sending into the world, to pro-
 mulge a new revelation of his will, says
 unto *Moses*, " I will raise them up a PRO-
 " PHET from among their brethren, LIKE
 " UNTO THEE, and will put my words in-
 " to his mouth; and he shall speak unto
 " them all things I shall *command him*.
 " And it shall come to pass, that whosoever
 " will not hearken unto my words, which
 " he shall speak in my name, I will require
 " it of him."

54. When we consider the many and va-
 rious declarations which dropped from the
 mouth of Christ, so strongly expressive of
 his own dependent state and subordination
 to the will of God, how can we account for
 that degree of infatuation which first moved
 the heart of man to utter and propagate the
 blasphemous doctrine of his co-equality,
 and co-eternity with God? although the
 same extravagant rhapsody of faith, pro-
 nounces him *begotten of the Father*, and
 consequently both *created* and *made*, if
 words have any meaning. Where religion

is shrouded under the disguise of mysteries, symbols, allegories, hieroglyphics, and fable; they are sure and infallible criterions of that religion being spurious, and not of divine origin. These, as before remarked, were the inventions of the ancient priesthood and lawgivers, to cover, obscure, and hide the TRUE GOD from the PEOPLE; and indeed they could not have concerted a more effectual and iniquitous system. That religion which speaks not to the level of every degree of human understanding, as well as to the heart, we will pronounce, *never came from God*; the reason is obvious, for high and low, learned and unlearned, rich and poor, are all equal objects of his care and providence, and equally interested in the event of salvation, which is the sole aim of the Most High in every divine revelation of his will.

55. The religions which manifestly carry the divine stamp of God, are, first, that which *Bramah* was appointed to declare to the ancient *Hindoos*; secondly, that law which *Moses* was destined to deliver to the ancient *Hebrews*; and thirdly, that which *Christ* was delegated to preach to the latter *Jews* and *Gentiles*, or the *Pagan* world. These, and these only, bear the signature of divine origin; for the precepts they contain

tain, are plain, simple, and positive, not disguised by mysteries, allegories, &c. but adapted to every capacity of understanding, although the last is so utterly mutilated and defaced since the ascension, that Christ himself, when he descends again on earth, will disown it, and know it not to be his; and in Christian charity we wish he may not also disown those unhappy beings who have been instrumental, from time to time, in the adulteration of it, by introducing mysteries to be received as matter of faith necessary to salvation, which he never dictated, preached, or enjoined to his followers; as the Creed of *Athanasius*, &c. But, for the present, we will drop a Creed, which we believe every pious rational Christian wishes was struck out of the Liturgy (as well as some other articles, which also have proved obstructions to the early universal propagation of the gospel), and attend to what *Christ* himself says to these subjects, whom we think ourselves well warranted in believing, in preference to any equivocal expressions or sentiments, or reveries of either his apostles or disciples, or of those who are too liberally stiled *the saints*, and *fathers of the church*, whose dissentions, dreams, and doctrines, have been wrested by *Satan* and his disciples for a lasting foundation

dation to build their extensive kingdom upon.

56. We are here under some apprehension, that we may be charged with stepping out of our way, and with stumbling against what lies not in our path. To obviate which, we say, that as our view is to *revive* and *re-establish* the *primitive truths* which constituted the ground-work of the first universal religion, at the period of the creation of the material worlds and man, it became necessary to strip them of all disguise, mystery, and fable: in order to that, we found ourselves under a necessity, occasionally to analyze in part the three divine systems noted in our last paragraph, not under the guise in which they now appear before us, but as they really were at their first promulgation; for of all the theologic systems that have been broached to mankind, we think we are well supported in marking these alone as *true originals*; but our benevolent view extends still farther, and we flatter ourselves (however chimerical it may appear) mankind may be restored again to that *one unerring original faith*, from which, by undue influence in every age of the world, they have unhappily swerved: we are convinced, if they consulted their present
and

and future felicity, they would fly to embrace a rational hypothesis, that leads to such a blessed issue. And here we cannot help deeply regretting the want of that *stupendous gift of tongues*, that our system might thereby be conveyed to every corner of the habitable globe. Vain regret! says the sceptic. Vain as it is, it is the vanity of doing good, which is the most pardonable of all vanities. Having thus, we hope, guarded against any imputation of wantonly deviating from our subject, we will resume the track of our enquiries.

57. It is our purpose to trace our divine Mediator through every text of the four Gospels successively, wherein he expressly declares and maintains the unity and supremacy of God, and his own subordination; and that in such terms as leaves it beyond a possibility of being misunderstood. Indeed, it appears every where, that he was most anxiously solicitous that mankind should be quite clear in a doctrine so essential; and that his apostles and disciples, who were to preach and propagate his Gospel, should not be liable to error in a matter of such importance to Heaven and earth; and this wise precaution became the more necessary, as they themselves were but just emerged

from, and surrounded with, infidelity and Paganism.

58. We will begin with *St. Matthew*, chap. xix. vers. 17. where *Christ* replies to the man who asked him the interesting question—"Good Master, what good thing shall I do to attain eternal life?"—he said unto him, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but ONE, that is GOD." Chap. xx. vers. 23. when the mother of *Zebedee's* children petitioned *Christ* that her two sons should sit, the one on his right hand, the other on his left, in his kingdom, he said unto her, "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, *is not mine* to give, but it shall be given to those for whom it is prepared of *my Father*." And verse 28th of the same chapter, recommending humility to his disciples, he saith, "Even as the Son of man came *not to be ministered unto, but to minister*." Again, chap. xxiv. vers. 36. speaking of the day of judgment, he says,—“But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no not the angels of heaven, *but the Father only*." And chap. xxvii. vers. 46. in the extremity of his passion on the cross, he cried with a loud voice, "My God! my God! why hast thou forsaken me?" than which, as no-
thing

thing could more powerfully denote the last influence of *his human nature*, so nothing could more forceably imply his absolute and avowed dependance *on his God*.

59. We shall consider next the declarations of *Christ*, as they stand recorded in his Gospel according to *St. Mark*, chap. xii. vers. 29. when the Scribe asked him which was the first of all the commandments? *Jesus* answered and said, "The first of all the
 " commandments is, Hear, O *Israel*, the
 " *Lord our God is one Lord;*" and the Scribe answered and said, vers. 32. "Well, Ma-
 " ster, thou hast said the truth, for there is
 " *One God*, and there is none other but
 " *HE;*" and when he subjoins, vers. 33. that "the love of that *One God*, and his
 " neighbor, is more than all burnt-offer-
 " ings and sacrifice." *Jesus* applauds his answering discreetly, by telling him, vers. 34.
 " *Thou art not far from the kingdom of*
 " *God;*" thereby confirming him in his belief of *One God only*. Chap. xiii. vers. 32. *Jesus*, speaking of the day of judgment, is more particular than stands recorded in *St. Matthew*, for here he declares, that "of
 " that day and hour knoweth no man, no
 " not the angels which are in heaven, nei-
 " ther the Son, but the Father." Hence it appears, by *Christ's* own showing, that one

most important secret *was hid from him*, therefore not omniscient, and consequently not God, but *a distinct created being*. Indeed, howsoever conscious he appears to be of his own divine origin, yet he in no wise arrogates worship as due to himself, but directs it all to his God and Father.

60. The course of our enquiry leads us next to the Gospel according to St. *Luke*, chap. iv. vers. 43. where *Jesus* being pressed by the people not to depart from them, says unto them, " I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities, for *therefore was I sent.*" Chap. x. vers. 16. *Jesus* tells his apostles, " He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth *him that sent me.*" Vers. 21. *Christ*, after gently rebuking the seventy disciples for having expressed, with too much joy and exultation, their success in casting out devils or evil spirits in his name, breaks forth in the following pathetic strain of submissive devotion, the poetic and inspired evangelist, opening the verse with this short exordium, " In that hour *Jesus* rejoiced in spirit, and said, *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth*, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes; even so, Father, for so it seemed good *in*

“ in thy sight.” He then proceeds, vers. 22. to declare to them his *delegated powers* from his God. “ *All things are delivered to me of my Father*; and no man knoweth who the Son is, but the Father; and who the Father is, but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him.” Chap. xi. vers. 2. when one of his disciples besought him to teach them to pray, he said unto them, “ When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come, thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth, &c.” Here it is worthy remark, that in so very essential and interesting a matter as a proper address in prayer, *Christ* directs the followers of his Gospel to point their supplications and praises *to God alone*. Chap. xviii. vers. 19. records the same rebuke that we have already quoted from *St. Matthew*, with a small variation of expression—“ Why callest thou *me good*? none is good, *save one*, that is, God.” Chap. xxii. vers. 42. when *Christ* had separated himself from his disciples on the mount of Olives, he knelt down and prayed, “ Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me; nevertheless, *not my will, but thine be done.*”

61. We come now to the Gospel of our divine Mediator and Saviour, according to St. *John*, which exhibits more numerous and striking declarations of *Christ*, in support of the unity and supremacy of God, and his own subordination to his will, than all the other three put together. Chap. iv. vers. 34. *Jesus*, in answer to his disciples, touching his eating, says, " My meat is to do the will of *him* that sent me, and to finish *his work*." Chap. v. vers. 19. *Jesus*, in answer to the *Jews*, who accused him of breaking the Sabbath by healing the man at the pool of *Bethesda*, says, " Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing *of himself*, but what he seeth the Father do; for what things soever he doeth, these things doth the Son likewise." Vers. 20. " For the Father loveth the Son, and *sheweth him* all things that himself doeth, and he will *shew him* greater wonders than those, that ye may marvel." Vers. 22. " For the Father judgeth no man, but *hath committed* all judgment to the Son." Vers. 23. " That all men should honor the Son, even as they honor the Father, for he that honoreth not the Son, honoreth not the Father which hath *sent him*." Vers. 26. to the same *Jews* *Jesus* saith, " For as the Father hath life in himself,

“ himself, so *hath he given* to the Son to
 “ have life in himself.” Again, vers. 30.
 “ *I can of myself do nothing* : as I hear I
 “ judge, and my judgment is just, because
 “ I seek not mine own will, but *the will* of
 “ the Father, *who sent me.*” Chap. vii.
 vers. 16. when *Christ* preached in the tem-
 ple, the *Jews* marvelled, saying, “ How
 “ knoweth this man letters, having never
 “ learnt?” *Jesus* answered them, and said,
 “ My doctrine is not mine, but *his that sent*
 “ *me.*” Chap. viii. vers. 28. “ Then said
 “ *Jesus* unto them, When you have lift up
 “ the Son of man, then shall ye know that
 “ I am he, and that I do nothing *of myself,*
 “ but as the Father has *taught me:*” and
 vers. 42. *Jesus* said unto them, “ If God
 “ were your Father, ye would love me,
 “ for *I proceed forth,* and *came from God;*
 “ neither came I *of myself,* but *he sent me.*”
 Chap. x. vers. 18. *Christ*, speaking of the
 sacrifice of his life, says, “ No man taketh
 “ it from me, but I lay it down of myself.
 “ I have power to lay it down, and I have
 “ power to take it up again. *This com-*
 “ *mandment I have received of my Father.*”
 Chap. xi. vers. 41. *Jesus*, after the act of
 restoring *Lazarus*, addresses God in these
 words, “ *Father, I thank thee, that thou*
 “ *hast heard me.*” Chap. xii. vers. 27.
Christ, after having declared to his disciples
 the

the hour was come in which the *Son of man* should be glorified, breaks out into this doubtful interrogation with himself, " Now " is my soul troubled, and what shall I say? " Father, *save me* from this hour!—but for " this cause, came I unto this hour." *Christ*, after declaring to the *Jews* he came not to judge the world, but to save it, subjoins, vers. 49. " For I have not spoke of myself, but " the Father *which sent me, he gave me com-* " *mandment* what I should say." Vers. 50. " And I know that his commandment is " life everlasting; whatsoever I speak there- " fore, *even as the Father said unto me, so I* " speak." Chap. xiv. vers. 28. *Christ*, speaking to his disciples, " Ye have heard " how I said unto you, I go away, and " come again unto you; if you loved me, " you would rejoice, because I said unto " you, I go to the Father, FOR MY FA- " THER IS GREATER THAN I." Chap. xvii. vers. 3. *Christ*, in the most solemn invocation to the Deity, says, " And this is " life eternal, that they may know THEE, " THE ONLY TRUE GOD, and *Jesus Christ* " whom *thou hast sent.*" He proceeds, vers. 5. " And now, O Father, *glorify thou* " *me* with thine own self, with the glory " which I had with thee, *before the world* " *was.*" Chap. xx. vers. 17. in his short discourse with *Mary Magdalen*, after his

resurrection, *Christ* said unto her, “ Touch
 “ me not, for I am not yet ascended to my
 “ Father; but go to *my brethren*, and say un-
 “ to them, I ascend to *my Father*, and *your*
 “ *Father*, to *my God*, and *your God*.” The
 divine scribe closes this chapter with these
 words, “ But these things were written, that
 “ ye might believe, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*,
 “ the Son of God; and that believing ye
 “ might have life everlasting.” And God
 of his mercy and spiritual grace forbid, that
 any of us should believe otherwise.

62. We are not ignorant of the reveries
 of *St. Paul*, nor of the few texts in the first
 chapter of *St. John's* Gospel, which seem
 to countenance the unintelligible and *Pagan*
 rhapsodies of the *Athanasian* Creed; but we
 think ourselves well justified in deeming
 them of little estimation, when contrasted
 with the numerous *ipse dixit*s of *Christ*, re-
 corded in all the four Gospels, and more
 particularly by the same Evangelist, all of
 which are expressly repugnant to such a
 doctrine; and if those texts are to be under-
 stood in the sense usually applied to them,
 then this Evangelist witnesseth against him-
 self, in the many texts quoted from him in
 our last paragraph; and he must either stand
 self-condemned of recording contrary doc-
 trines, or we must conclude his sense of

“ THE WORD ” has been misunderstood and misapplied; the last is the most favorable sentence that can be passed upon this inspired writer, and is worth examining below.

63. We purposely avoid a recital of the many philosophical arguments, and logical discussions, that have been urged both in the early days of Christianity, and more modern times, by a multitude of learned pens, in refutation of the doctrine of a *Trinity in Unity*, and *Unity in Trinity*, as being not suited to every common understanding; and therefore have strictly confined ourselves to the lights that every one may receive from the plain dictates of *Christ*, who powerfully and expressly enforces to his followers *the belief* of ONE GOD, *the belief* of his own mission, and divine, although inferior, origin, as proceeding from God; and *the belief* of the Holy Ghost, as the divine attribute, Spirit, or Essence of God, operating upon all things, and on *all beings*, in the proportion he is pleased to infuse or shed upon them, and *by which Christ* himself, in proof of his divine mission, wrought his stupendous miracles, always directing the objects of them, “ to give the glory to God “ *alone* ” by the puissance of whose Holy Spirit he was enabled to accomplish them. These doctrines are sublime, yet plain, simple,

ple, and intelligible; they bear not the semblance of mystery, but are open to a ready faith: *Christ* neither deifies himself, nor the Holy Ghost; the making an *attribute* of the Deity a God, bears a glaring stamp of Heathenism: no rational being would say, in an absolute and literal sense, that the *fortitude*, or *chastity*, or any other virtue of a King, was the King himself, although it is, in a relative sense, a part or quality of him; nor would any man in his senses aver, that the son is the father, and the father the son, as one individual, when he knows the son must have *proceeded* from the father, and that the father must have *preceded* the son, and that therefore they cannot be ONE; the contrary belief would be a confounding of all ideas and things, as well as causes and effects, and must necessarily shock all rational faith. Therefore, when *Christ* says, “ I am in the Father, and the Father in me;—I and my Father are one,” &c. he can be only understood in a relative sense, to be consistent with himself; for he ever appears particularly anxious in marking his character, as a distinct being from God, in the relation of a son to a father; and, at a most interesting period, he declares to those who were soon after to be intrusted with the propagation of his gospel, “ *My Father is greater than I.*”

64. Therefore, since God has told us, " I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have " none other gods but me," and as *Christ* has also told us, there is *only one God*, and *one Son*, which is *Christ*, and one *Holy Ghost*; let us abide by, and intrench ourselves under this strong evidence, and for the sake of God, let us, with one accord, strike out, not only the *Athanasian Creed*, but every other part of our Liturgy, which so palpably gives the lie both to God and *Christ*. We are aware we shall be told that we utterly mistake the thing, for that the same Creed teaches, that God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, those *three Gods*, and *no three Gods*, those three Substances under one Essence, those three Incomprehensibles, Co-almighties, Co-equals, and Co-eternals, are but one Incomprehensible, &c.; and to be worshipped as ONE GOD. If, after all, this is the case, to what end those incomprehensible, contradictory jumble of words and ideas, that have only served for so many centuries to confound, perplex, and puzzle, every common as well as uncommon understanding, and stagger the faith of every well-disposed Christian? not adverting, that *this sense* of that Creed flatly contradicts the solemn declaration of *Christ*, recited at the close of our last paragraph; for if God the Father be (as he as-
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fures us) greater than God the Son, then God the Son cannot be co-equal, nor have been co-eternal with him : the Holy Ghost may with propriety be said to have been co-eternal with God, as being the essence of the Deity, inseparable from him, but not co-equal, because every attribute of God is subordinate to, and dependent on *his will*.

65. “ Glory be to the Father, and to the
 “ Son, and to the Holy Ghost;” to this we
 say, Amen: but let us not, like the mis-
 guided church of *Rome*, forget *God*, by trans-
 ferring that worship and adoration to *Christ*,
 and the chosen vessel of his incarnation,
 which are only due to *him*, and to his *Holy*
Spirit, his first and great attribute, to which
Christ eminently gives pre-eminence over
 himself, Matth. xii. 31, 32. “ Wherefore
 “ I say unto you, all manner of sin and
 “ blasphemy shall be forgiven unto men;
 “ but the blasphemy against the Holy Ghost
 “ shall not be forgiven unto men. And
 “ whosoever speaketh a word *against the*
 “ *Son of man*, it shall be forgiven him; but
 “ whosoever speaketh against *the Holy*
 “ *Ghost*, it shall not be forgiven him, nei-
 “ ther in this world, nor in the world to
 “ come.” And in this place we cannot do
 better, than to endeavor to clear the Evan-
 gelist St. *John* from the charge of contra-
 F diction,

diction, by urging, with all humble deference, the conception which leads us to imagine his term or phrase "THE WORD" has been misunderstood, and consequently misapplied; and that his record, to be consistent with itself, must allude to *the Holy Ghost*: and we submit it to the candor of every Christian, who, with unprejudiced heart and attention, peruses the first chapter of St. *John's* Gospel, whether or not every text of that chapter, which has been usually applied to *Christ*, may not be more justly applied to signify the *Holy Ghost*. And thus the Gospel of this inspired writer will stand unimpeached, which otherwise remains a witness against itself, as shewn in our 62d paragraph.

66. The other various contradictions and evil tendency of the Creed now under consideration (first established by persecution, fire, and sword), are so obvious they call for no further comment; its origin only wants to be accounted for, which is no very difficult task. SATAN, finding his kingdom on earth must fall, and come to an end, if the pure doctrines of *the gospel* obtained universally, had no means left to guard against, and prevent a catastrophe so fatal to his power, but exerting his influence to vitiate its pure stream at the fountain head:

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in order to this he most effectually attached himself and his emissaries to the primitive Christian disputants, and the reverend *saints* and *fathers* of the church, as they are called: these he well knew had not thoroughly shook off from their hearts the impressions of the *Grecian* and *Roman* mythology and *Polytheism*; on this knowledge he founded his hopes, and by the event showed he was no bad politician, for his success was answerable to the most sanguine wishes of his bad soul, and he soon had the malicious joy of beholding *three gods* start up in the Christian system, in violation of the doctrine of their divine Leader, who had so often preached to his followers there was but ONE. It is well known the advantages *Satan* and *Mahomet*, and his successors, took of the Polytheism introduced into the Christian faith, not only to the downfall and destruction of the seven churches of *Asia*, and the empire of the *Romans*, but also to the obstructing the universal progress of Christianity; and we may, with just boldness say, that had it not been for *that opening* given to that enterprising enemy of our faith, neither *Mahommed* as a prophet, nor *the Koran* as a religion, would ever have had existence, but the pure doctrines of *Christ* would have overshadowed the face of the earth, and its inhabitants probably,

bably, at this day, have been of one only *universal church*, unmixed with schisms, sects, or separations, to the saving of millions of souls, and deluges of blood. The ground-work of *Mahommed's* scriptures was the pure unity of the Godhead. (Koran, chap. iv.) "Surely God will not pardon the giving him *an equal*; but will pardon any other sin, *except that*, to whom he pleaseth: and whoso giveth a *companion* unto God, hath devised a great wickedness." Again, "Say not there are *three gods*; forbear *this*, it will be better for you; God is but ONE GOD." And upon the efficacy of this divine principle we may conceive, that God permitted the so amazing and rapid, as well as extensive progress, of *Mahommed's* Koran.

67. Another stumbling-block to the universal propagation of *Christ's* gospel, is the supposed supernatural mode of his *conception* and *incarnation*; which supposition has afforded a handle to the enemies of Christianity, to stamp it with the imputation of priest-craft, the fact being only recorded by two of the evangelists, *Mark* and *John* being entirely silent on the subject; and *Christ* himself, in all that stands recorded of him, gives not the smallest intimation of his miraculous or supernatural conception. Here-
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in our free-thinkers outdo *Mahommed*; for, in the sixth chapter of his Koran, he accedes to the fact, and condemns the *Jews* for their disbelief; but we imagine the objectors might, somehow or other, have arrived at the knowledge, that the miraculous conception of a virgin was a very ancient piece of *Pagan* priest-craft; it was first introduced by the adulterers of *Bramahs Shastab*, and afterwards adopted by the compilers of the *Viedam*, in the person of their *Vistnoo*; and from this origin might possibly descend to later times. Be this as it may, it is most certain, that the stupendous example, life, miracles, and doctrines of *Christ* stood in no need of a mystery of this nature to prop and give it weight and evidence; and therefore, by adding an incumbrance it did not want, rather weakened, than strengthened the whole fabric of Christianity. Had this mystery been a necessary article of faith to salvation, most assuredly *Christ* himself would have given some intimation of it to his followers: we do not find the mission of *Elijah* (who was invested by God with powers on earth near equal with *Christ*), nor any other of the inspired prophets stand impeached, because his or their *conceptions* were according to the natural course of generation, then why should that of *Christ*? So that the objectors gain nothing in the contest, supposing we should

give up the argument to them: although the conception and birth of *Christ* may in one indisputable sense be truly termed miraculous! when we see such an abundant portion of the spiritual essence of God in *Christ*, was thereby subjected by his permission to the flesh, for the salvation of mankind; but we trust we shall not offend, when we say, the event would not have been less miraculous, nor efficacious, had it happened according to the usual course of nature.

68. God forbid it should be thought, from the tenor of these our disquisitions, that, with *Hobbes*, *Tindal*, *Bolingbroke*, and others, our intent is to sap the foundation, or injure the root of Christianity. Candor and benevolence avert from us so uncharitable and ill-grounded an imputation! On the contrary, our sole aim is to *restore* its purity and vigor, by having those luxuriant injurious branches and shoots lopped off and pruned, which have so obviously obstructed, stunted, and prevented its natural, universal growth and progress; and as we have assumed to ourselves the title of *the reformed church*, by judiciously and piously abjuring *some* of the impious, idolatrous extravagancies and tenets of the church of *Rome*, let us boldly, *in the cause of God and his supremacy*, uniformly deserve the character we have assumed.

69. From all that has hitherto been advanced (supported with what will occasionally follow), three most important truths may be clearly gathered. Imprimis, that the FIRST and LAST revelation of God's will, that is to say, the *Hindoo* and the *Christian* dispensation, are the most perfect that have been promulged to offending man; secondly, that the FIRST was to a moral certainty the original doctrines, and terms of restoration, delivered from God himself by the mouth of his first created BIRMAH to mankind at his first creation in the *form of man*; and that, after many successive ages in sin, and every kind of wickedness, GOD, in his tender mercy, reminded mankind of *their true state and nature*, of their *original sin*; and by the descent of BRAMAH, gave to the *Hindoos* the first written manifestation of his will, which (by the common fate of all oral traditions), had most probably, from various causes, been effaced from their minds and memories: Thirdly, that every intermediate system of religion in the world between that of BRAMAH and CHRIST are corruptly branched from the *former*, as is to demonstration evident, from their being founded on, and partaking of, with more or less purity those *primitive truths*. Vide 3d and 4th paragraphs.

70. Let us next see how far the similitude of doctrines, preached first by *Bramah*, and afterwards by *Christ*, at the distinct period of above three thousand years, corroborate our conclusions; if they mutually support each other, it amounts to proof of the authenticity and divine origin of both. *Bramah* preached the existence of ONE ONLY, ETERNAL GOD, his first created angelic being, *BIRMAH*, *Bistnoo*, *Sieb*, and *Moisasoor*; the pure gospel-dispensation teaches ONE ONLY, ETERNAL GOD, his first begotten of the Father, *CHRIST*; the angelic beings, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Satan*, all these corresponding under different names, minutely with each other, in their respective dignities, functions, and characters: *Birmah* is made prince and governor of all the angelic bands, and the occasional vicegerent of the *Eternal One*; *Christ* is invested with all power by the *Father*; *Birmah* is destined to works of power and glory, so is *Christ*; *Bistnoo* to acts of benevolence, so is *Gabriel*; *Sieb* to acts of terror and destruction, so is *Michael*; the Holy Ghost is expressly signified in *Brum*, the Spirit or Essence of GOD, abundantly displayed in all the operations and behests of the *Eternal ONE*. The *Shaftah* of *Bramah* records the rebellion of a portion of the angelic host, and their expulsion from heaven; the fact is also inculcated

cated by the gospel; *Moisafoor* is represented as a prime angel, and the instigator and leader of the revolt in heaven, so is the *Satan* of the gospel; *ministering angels*, or the interposition of the heavenly beings in human affairs, is a principle of *Bramah's* *Shastah*, so it is of the gospel-dispensation; the necessary duties of *repentance*, *good works*, *universal love*, and *charity*, are indispensably enjoined in the *Shastah*, so they are in the gospel institutes; but in a more forcible, elaborate, and eminent degree, as being the last and most perfect mission that God in his mercy delivered to man. The immortality of the soul, and its future state of rewards and punishments, are fundamentals of the *Shastah*, so they are of the gospel; that man is here in a *state of purgation*, *punishment*, and *trial*, is also a fundamental of the *Shastah*, so it is of the gospel, supported by the opinions of the most learned divines and philosophers. That man is doomed to *this state*, for an unhappy LAPSE in a PRE-EXISTENT ONE, is another fundamental of the *Shastah*, and is evidently implied in the gospel. See the Rev. Mr. Berrow's Treatise on that subject before alluded to in our 40th paragraph. The necessity of *mediators* between God and man, and voluntary sacrifices for the transgressions of the latter in the persons of *Birmah*, *Bistnoo*, and *Sieb*, and others

others of the faithful angelic host, are doctrines of the Shaftah; and are all fully comprised in the gospel, by the sole voluntary sacrifice of CHRIST, our constant *Mediator*. That there is an intermediate state of *punishment* and *purification* between death and the perfect restoration of the human soul, is a positive tenet of the Shaftah, and is countenanced by the gospel, notwithstanding the church of *Rome* makes so bad a use of the first, in their system of purgatory. God's *general providence* over his whole creation, is an express doctrine of the Shaftah; and his *particular providence* over individuals is obviously *implied*, from its doctrine of the visible, or invisible ministration and interposition of the angelic beings in human affairs; these are also fundamental dogmas of the Christian system.

71. The comparison might be extended to a much greater length, but the above, we think, will suffice to prove, that the *mission of Christ* is the strongest confirmation of the authenticity and divine origin of the *Chartab Bhade Shaftah of Bramah*; and that they *both* contain all the *great primitive truths* in their original purity that constituted *the first and universal religion*; and that the very ancient scriptures now under our consideration, exhibit also the strongest conviction

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tion of the truth of the celestial origin of *Christ's* mission. Yet the former is the system of divinity and ethics which the Critical Reviewers have indiscriminately (as a specimen of their candor, erudition, and penetration) stigmatized with the opprobrious epithets of "*nonsense, rhapsodies, and absurdities;*" and in proof of their *profound judgment*, they unfaithfully took the liberty of re-printing our second part, *without* the errata prefixed to the 1st page, by which designed omission, they indeed circulate nonsense enough *of their own making*; but, requesting our readers pardon for bestowing so many lines upon a matter so little worth our notice we will pursue our subject.

72. In two points of doctrine the Hindoo and the Christian system differ (but the one in mode only), *1st*, The punishment of the damned, or those souls that shall remain reprobate at the dissolution of the universe, or expiration of their *term of probation*. *2dly*, The resurrection of the same body. Touching the first, *the Shastab* teaches, that those reprobate spirits shall be cast out, and languish *for ever in intense darkness*, in a particular region prepared for them; *the Gospel*, that they shall perish everlastingly in *actual fire*. Without discussing the point how, or by what mode of

action fire will operate on spiritual beings ; we will only say, that possibly the latter sentence may act more *in terrorem*, than in the other ; not that we think there is a pin to chuse between them, nor that the matter of difference is of much importance, whilst they both agree in the fundamental point, that those unhappy delinquents will be given over to everlasting punishment.

73. Touching the second, which is a matter of deeper concernment to be clear in, the Hindoo system teaches, that the corporeal part, or prison of the soul or spirit, being composed of the four elements, each again receives *its part* at the dissolution of the body, or death ; and that the spirit, according to its *merits* or *demerits*, is either conveyed to the first region of purification, or punished for a space, and doomed to enter and animate another corporeal form, body, or prison, that shall be prepared for its reception. The Christian system, without giving us any lights touching the state or existence of the soul or spirit, during the long intermediate space between death and the day of judgment, says, that at that day the graves shall give up their dead, and that there shall be a *resurrection of the same body*, to which its soul shall be re-united, and both receive judgment. By both these systems
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the doctrines of future judgment, rewards and punishments, are clearly revealed to us, but with this difference, that the Hindoo dogma pronounces, as we may say, a *daily judgment* of the soul (for multitudes are subject to death each revolving sun), as well as a final one, and the Christian postpones it to the day of resurrection, leaving the soul during the intermediate state to exist—the Lord knows where. The resurrection of the *same body* is a doctrine obviously repugnant to the Hindoo system.

74. The resurrection of *Christ*, or the re-union of his spirit to the body on the third day, is a stupendous proof of his divine mission, for he had *before declared*, “ He had power to lay down his life, and “ had power to take it up again; for that “ commandment (or power) he had received from the Father.” But this single instance, peculiar to *Christ*, does not, we conceive, countenance the general doctrine, as stated above, which is far from being universally believed or received; many learned pens have been drawn against it, and many texts of scripture urged in opposition, besides unsurmountable arguments and difficulties that we have to encounter, which stagger the strongest faith; such as the state and existence of the soul during the space above hinted

hinted at; the consideration that matter, of which the body is composed, being in its nature passive and inactive, cannot be the object of either rewards or punishment. But the *spirit alone*, which is the active, deserving, or offending part, can be the only object of judgment; the *non-identity* of the body (if we may be allowed the expression), which continues not the *same body* one hour together, will have its full force on every rational mind, notwithstanding the specious casuistry of a *Liebnitz* and *Locke* to invalidate the objection. How far the Metempsychosis of *Bramah* will solve these problems, and how far that doctrine will be supported by the gospel-dispensation, will appear when we come closer to that main spring of all our movements.

75. From what has been advanced in our 70th, and part of our 71st paragraph, we find that Christianity is, *bona fide*, as old as the creation, although in a very different sense from that of the libertine freethinker, who published, some years since, a labored treatise to undermine the gospel-dispensation, under that title: yet, let us not, although it springs from a truly learned and pious zeal, pretend to prove, that “the want
“ of universality is no objection to the Christian religion,” by bringing a chain of
events,

events, taken upon trust, from a spurious eastern scripture, as applicable to the conception, birth, miracles, and death of *Christ*, that are utterly destitute of true chronology to support it, lest it should give a handle to freethinkers of the complexion just mentioned to say, that the Christian system is only a copy of an *eastern fable*, as one of the Popes of the church of *Rome* is recorded to have said, or something like it. That the circumstances attending the walk of *Christ* on earth have been transmitted to the East we do not dispute, but that they could stand recorded in an eastern scripture, which was compiled some thousands of years before *Christ's* appearance in *Judea*, is not possible: the facts could not be before they had existence. But the misfortune is, that in disquisitions of this nature we are generally too apt to *prove too much*, and thereby hurt the cause we are laboring to defend. Had the learned and revered supporter of Christianity whom we allude to above, extended his view, and been acquainted with, the original *Chartah Bhade of Bramah*, he would have found that it is a fundamental doctrine of that scripture, that the angelic beings, prior to the *Kolee Joque* or age of corruption, frequently descended to the earth, and voluntarily subjected themselves

to undergo the eighty-eight transmigrations to animate the form of man, thereby to guard him from a second seduction of *Moisasoor* or *Satan*; that even *Birmah*, *Bistnoo*, and *Sieb*, did not exempt themselves from those voluntary sacrifices.

76. This being premised, it is no violence to faith, if we believe that *Birmah* and *Christ* is one and the same individual cœlestial being, the first begotten of the Father, who has most probably appeared at *different* periods of time, in *distant* parts of the earth, under *various* mortal forms of humanity, and denominations: thus we may very rationally conceive, that it was by the mouth of *Christ* (stiled *Birmah* by the easterns), that God delivered the *great primitive truths* to man at his creation, as infallible guides for his conduct and *restoration*: but the purity of *these truths* being effaced by time, and the industrious influence of *Satan*, assisted by the natural unhappy bent of the human soul to evil, it became necessary that they should be given on *record* to a nation that was most probably at that period much more extensive than we can at present form any idea of; and it appears as near to demonstration as a circumstance of this nature can admit of, that it was owing to this
divine

divine revelation delivered to them, that this people acquired so justly that early reputation for wisdom and theology, which the whole learned world has ascribed to them: but this by the bye.

77. The *same causes* subsisting, the above *truths* soon lost again, their original purity and simplicity, and a multitude of different *religious systems* were propagated through the world, having more or less (as intimated paragraph 3d) of *these truths* for a basis, according to the bent and genius of men, and talents of the first impostors that broached them, excited and furthered possibly, also, by the adventitious circumstances of air, soil, climate, situation, regimen, &c. By this deviation, wickedness continued to gather increase through every region of the earth, but still the mercy and forbearance of God was not exhausted; for in the fulness of time, *as his last grace*, he *once more* delegated his first begotten son, under the mortal form of JESUS, to *restore these truths* to their full primitive lustre, and pitched upon *Judea* as a proper center from whence the beams of the *Sun of righteousness* should be scattered, and spread over the face of the whole world. How the universality of this intended stupendous blessing was prevented, we have already shewn in

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part,

part, and shall more fully hereafter ; observing that the genuine scriptures of *Bramah* and *Christ* have shared the same fate, mutilated and betrayed by those who were appointed the guardians and supporters of them. We shall close this paragraph with a suggestion that appears to us most probable and rational, *viz.* that *every individual* of the angelic beings who have occasionally visited the earth, under the mortal form of humanity, either by special voluntary licence, or special appointment of God, for the example, defence, admonition, comfort, and correction of mankind, have *each* assumed different forms and names, at different succeeding times, in different regions ; in such wise as *Elijah* and *St. John the Baptist* is supposed by some to have been one and the same spirit, from the intimation of the prophet *Malachi*. (Vide part the second, pages 71 and 72.)

78. In our last paragraph we promised to shew more fully how the blessings of the gospel were converted into a curse, as the prophetic spirit of *Christ* foretold it would be, from his observation of the general corruption and incorrigibility of the human soul ; for otherwise it would not have been possible that his plain dictates could have been mistaken, or perverted to any other purposes

poses than he benevolently designed them : but he had hardly left his followers to themselves, than religious dissentions took place, that blasted all his hopes, and rendered his mission of none effect ; so that, within the space of a very few centuries, and almost as soon as they had assumed to themselves the general name of Christians, he saw, with heart-felt grief, his plain, simple, and divine doctrine split into more jarring sects and schisms than any religious system had suffered since the creation.

79. *Christ* had preached, as essential preliminaries to the salvation of his followers *in a future life*, peace, charity, and mutual love *in this*. But the differing sects of Christians thought it more available to whirl damnation at each other's head ; and in place of those godlike virtues, to substitute hatred, revenge, and persecution ; some construed particular texts of scripture literally, others allegorically, others symbolically ; and some broached, as Christian doctrines, diabolical systems, which rashly favored of that Paganism from which they had been so lately reclaimed and converted ; and each thought themselves warranted *by those very scriptures of peace*, to cut the throat, for God's sake, of every one who did not subscribe to their opinions : witness the

ever memorable and bloody contests between the early bishops of the church, about the establishment of the *Athanasian* Creed, and the contention for supremacy between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, which came to a drawn battle at last; as also in later times, the unchristian and inhuman disputes between the Romanists and Protestants, each exerting their infernal spirit of persecution, as power afforded them the means; a contest in which deluges of blood have been spilt, and are spilling to this hour, infomuch that we may justly aver, lamentable as the truth is, that there exists not upon the face of the Christian world, more than ONE SECT of mankind, who preserve *any appearance* of having a true claim to the title of Christians. Here our readers cannot be at a loss to know, that we mean that respectable body of people, commonly, although ludicrously, stiled QUAKERS, a people that in their principles and practice do honour to primitive Christianity and humanity. But, to resume the thread of our subject, and analyze in few words (as necessary to our main view) the causes, nature, and progress of the last-mentioned contest between Christians (nominally so) originally of the same church, although an idolatrous and superstitious one:

80. After

80. After the separation of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, the last supported her supremacy in the West for some ages; at length avarice and tyrannic exactions (and partial favor shewn to one set of monks in the collection of those exactions), in the Pope; spiritual pride, resentment, revenge, and an affectation of singularity in the breasts of *Luther* and *Calvin*; and lust and wrath against the Pope in the heart of our *Harry VIII.* brought about a *partial Reformation of the Christian church.* Thus God sometimes works out his purposes of good, by most evil tools. This desertion gave a “perilous gash to the body of the church of *Rome*, and many a profitable limb was “lopt off,” and lost, never to be recovered. But *Luther* and *Calvin*, not according to the principles and modes of Reformation, became the leaders of two opposite religious Protestant factions, with about an equal number of proselytes, who soon began to harbor as mutual and cordial a hatred, and unchristian-like animosity against each other, as they both bore to their mother church of *Rome*: then *bishops* and *no bishops* proved the source of fresh, bloody, and cruel contests. Spiritual pride, joined to temporal political maxims, have kept alive an unceasing rancour in the hearts of those two Protestant sects, that must ever keep

them asunder, although nothing is easier to be effected than a union, were it possible to bring them back to Christianity, from which they have both swerved in principle and practice; whilst Rome is not without her hopes from these divisions, and waits a favorable conjuncture to re-unite them to the bosom of her church, either by force, or fraud, or both; an alarming event! which possibly may not be so far distant as some fondly imagine. But the feuds and differences between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists* hurt the cause of *Christ* still more deeply; for many of each persuasion, observing the easy success of those leaders, and how glorious and profitable it was to become the head, the *primum mobile* of a sect, deserted again their colours, and setting up for themselves, formed innumerable subdivisions of faith, under various independent denominations; and each leader had his followers. Thus old heresies were revived, and new ones instituted, and fanaticism of every absurd and extravagant species had a quick and dangerous growth; each sect audaciously affirming, from the same scriptures, that theirs, and theirs only, was the true orthodox faith, and the right road to salvation: yet, with such doctrines, they brought the head of a good, moral, and pious, but misguided

misguided Prince, to the block, and overturned the constitution of a kingdom.

81. Such is the whole present state of *Christ's church militant* here on this western earth; and the above, added to some *before noted*, are the reproachful fatal causes that have obstructed and utterly choked the universal growth and progress of the gospel; and hence we are urged, by a spirit of true benevolence to mankind, to promulge the following reflections:

82. During our non-age, we naturally receive and adopt the notions and principles instilled by our parents and teachers; but when man arrives at maturity, he will as naturally assert his great privilege of reason, and think for himself. But what must be the confusion and perplexity of his reflections and ideas, when he begins the necessary inquiry after TRUTH, in so essential a matter as the worship of his GOD? when he finds, we say (in what is vainly and fallaciously called a Christian country), every Christian church divided against itself, and the professors of Christianity pursuing each other with concealed or open execrations, malice, and all uncharitableness, that misguided zeal, temporal interested views, or enthusiastic rage can possibly dictate. Thus

circumstanced, a *thinking being* has no resource, but *either* totally to abjure Christianity, or to endeavour to work out his own salvation, according to the lights which *pure scripture*, and his own unbiased *reason* affords him, without adhering to any one Christian church or system whatsoever as now professed in any part of the world, as they have *one and all* proved defective, and inefficacious to cement the bands of mutual love, charity, forbearance, and peace amongst men; which relative duties are the quintessence, the *sine qua non* of the gospel-dispensation. But——as the *different* interpretations of the same scriptures have been the great, the mischievous cause of the numerous jarring sects of Christians (the leaders of each drawing a missive weapon from the same text); and as the fatal effects of these sects and schisms in Christianity have been truly diabolical in every inch of *Europe* (insomuch that a stander-by might be well excused if he was induced to think the Devil himself had been the author of it, in place of God), we must go farther, and utterly reject all that has been written by the apostles and disciples, and every paraphrase, exposition, and visionary doctrine that has been tortured from them, *except* the express *declarations* and *doctrines* which fell from the mouth of *Christ himself*, as they stand recorded

recorded in the four Gospels: by these let us abide, be these the *standard of our faith*, and sheet anchor of *our hope*, and these *only*. His language is plain, his words cannot be *mis-interpreted*, nor perverted to different meanings; he speaks to the level of every understanding, as well as to the heart, and cannot be misunderstood. To this it may be objected by freethinkers, that herein we are still at no certainty that these gospels were penned after *Christ's* ascension; that possibly those his declarations and doctrines may not have been faithfully recorded; that we still take them upon trust, &c. To this we answer, and lay our appeal to the *doctrines themselves*; then let every one who doubts knock at his breast, and say, if he can, from the *conviction* of his own heart, that such doctrines, considered as a system of theology and ethics, are not of divine origin. Let this be the text, and sceptics will no longer have existence.

83. *Ob Man! Ob Christian!* Emperors, Kings, Princes, Potentates, and Powers; Rulers, and Leaders, under whatsoever denomination of Christians you have continued to disgrace those *originally respectable names*, whether Papist or Protestant, Lutheran or Calvinist, &c. &c. no longer suffer to be *severally* applied to you that pre-
diction

diction which *Christ* applied to the *hardened Jews*, respecting his persecuted apostles, "Yea, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doeth God service;"——no longer, we say, adopt such an impious doctrine and supposition (for herein you are worse than the *Jews*, for you *pretend* to believe in *Christ* and his doctrines, which they did not) but mutually labor to re-establish peace on earth, and harmony in heaven, by restoring *once more* the true spirit of those *primitive truths*, which were, as the *first* and *last* grace of GOD, delivered to you at your creation originally by BIRMAH, and subsequently by CHRIST, *the one and the same individual, first begotten of the Father*, as before suggested. Our candid reader will now see the necessity we were under of analysing the *modern Christian tenets and practice*, and of exposing the fatal innovations that brought it first into disrepute, and that still continue to obstruct its universality: we are sensible that we hereby lay ourselves open to the censure of superficial thinkers, who will be ready enough, although unjustly, to accuse us of *Deism*, according to the common acceptance of the phrase; but as we think we have as indisputable a right as Dr. *Clarke* or others, to extend or give a *new* signification to the word *Deist*, so we pronounce,

that

that a man may, with strict propriety, be an orthodox Christian Deist; that is, that he may, consistently, have a firm faith in the unity of the Godhead, and in the pure and original doctrines of Christ. In this sense alone we glory in avowing ourself—A CHRISTIAN DEIST.

84. Having thus submitted to our intelligent readers all that we thought necessary to the elucidation of our First General Head, to wit, the existence, the rebellion, the expulsion and punishment of the apostate angels, according to the minute history of that great and fatal event, given in the *Chartab Bhade of Bramah*, from which all antiquity borrowed their conceptions of this essential piece of knowledge, and which also stands confirmed by the gospel-dispensation; and having likewise, occasionally, as we purposed, drawn some (we hope) useful and most necessary conclusions and doctrines, from the comparison between those two divine scriptures, the course of our pursuit leads us to the investigation of our Second General Head, “*The creation of the universe*, for the reception and residence of the expelled angels, after their emerging from the *Onderab*, or place of intense darkness, into which they had been precipi-

“ precipitated, upon their expulsion from
 “ heaven.”

SECOND GENERAL HEAD.

Second Ge-
 neral Head.

85. The eternity, or non-eternity of *matter* (a question which exercised the brains of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, and others of the ancients and moderns to little purpose), is a subject, the discussion of which would be foreign to our design; but the eternity of the *world*, which some philosophers have held as a principle deduced from the position of the eternity of matter, is surely one of the greatest, of the most daring, and inconsistent extravagancies of the ancients; a conclusion, that is neither supported by sound philosophy, reason, or probability. Nor is it less extravagant in man, to suppose, that this world, and all that is in it, was made for him; that is, if we consider him in the light in which he seems (by the whole tenor of his actions) to view himself, the mushroom of a day. And indeed it should also seem, that man, from his blind and thoughtless estimation of the world, was likewise perfectly convinced, that he himself *was made only for it*. With this grovelling conception of his nature and origin,

origin, it is no wonder that his pursuits should be adequate, and disgrace his intellectual faculties. Man is a free agent, and *may say* whatsoever he pleases to amuse himself; he may plume himself in asserting the immortality of his soul, his superior form, and intellectual powers, in comparison with the rest of the animal creation: he *may also say*, that he looks up to a life beyond this, a future life of rewards and punishments;—but we maintain against him, that he neither *believes* the one or the other; facts stare him in the face and refute him, his daily practice contradict his words, and prove his attachments and views are solely limited to, and circumscribed by the solitudes and sensual indulgences of *this world*, which, with all its annexed appurtenances, he arrogantly and presumptuously conceits was made for his use and—abuse. Strange and irrational conceit, for a being thus circumstanced!

86. In combating and disavowing the possibility of man's firm faith in the *primitive truths* just above specified; we think we pay the highest, the most favorable compliment and construction to his understanding and conduct, that is in our power; for if he really and truly *believes*, and seriously thinks himself entitled to hold that superior rank

rank in the scale of terrestrial beings, by virtue of his superior intellectual powers and faculties, and still degrades and debases himself, by the perversion of those blessings, below the level of the brute; so much the more deplorable is his state: nonbelief affords some plea, as faith is not always within the compass of our reach; but to say we *truly believe*, and still persist in evil, leaves us without excuse: therefore we repeat, that our judgment is more favorable to man, when we pronounce, *He does not believe*, than to say *he does*; and the only apology that can be framed for him, either in the one case, or the other, is *the ignorance* he stands in of *his real state on earth*, and the nature of his relative obligations *as man*, which we now purpose to *elucidate*, for his present benefit, and his future felicity. In the prosecution of this our benevolent pursuit, we again invoke the assistance of that Being, WHO CAN ALONE ENLIGHTEN US.

87. We have shewn, that man cannot rationally or consistently flatter himself, that this world was made for him only, upon the footing of his *commonly supposed* existence. In truth, did not a vain pride and partiality obscure his reason and his optics, he would perceive, that the world was made for the fly, as much as for him; the former

mer possessing every sensual enjoyment suited to his rank in the scale of beings, in as full perfection as mere man can boast of: but——if he extends his prospect, looks higher, and conceives of himself, as he truly is (according to the scriptures of *Bramah*) one of those very identical cœlestial spirits that were banished heaven, he may then erect his head, and without offence either to modesty or probability, think the world, and every comfortable production of it, *was made for him*, as most assuredly it was. Here we discover a most noble cause, worthy of THE ETERNAL ONE, for so stupendous a creation, as that of the universal planetary system: the angels had sinned, they were degraded, they were fallen; but——still they were angels, and immortal! and had borne a glorious rank in heaven! and it affords the highest illustration of God's mercy, that when he was moved to mitigate their punishment, and give them an opportunity of regaining their lost seats in a *state of probation*; that he, with such infinite powers and wisdom should construct so wonderful an edifice as this world for their reception and residence, befitting a race of cœlestials, although in a state of degradation; for such undoubtedly was the face of the commonly called antediluvian earth,

earth, when a second defection made THE ETERNAL ONE justly determine it was too good for them; and was provoked to leave it at the deluge, or some other equally tremendous shock, as we now find it.

88. How the angelic beings, destined to inhabit the other regions or planets of the extended universe, continued to deserve this exalted grace of their Creator, or what changes they may have justly undergone, God only knows; - but respecting this our globe, *bad as it is*, we may (without any breach of Christian charity) aver, it is still *abundantly better* than we merit; and should it grow worse and worse, and less comfortable, (which appears to have been the case for some centuries back in every region of the earth, by remarkable variations of seasons, frequency of earthquakes, storms, inundations, &c. &c.) still the justice of God stands unimpeached, by the increase of sin, and continuance of reprobation. After all, in this world of natural evils, *rational man*, if he looked up to his divine Origin, and moved consistently thereto, might spin out, in a very comfortable existence, *his destined term of probation*, and secure to himself felicity here and hereafter; so that in truth it is no bad world, but as
we

we ourselves make it so; and blind, infatuated Man, as if he thought the *natural evils* of this world were not sufficient, seems resolved to exert those intellectual powers that were given him for very different purposes, to make up the deficiency by the addition of *moral ones*; thereby exceeding the measure of his punishments to a degree that God never intended he should suffer. But to illustrate farther the tenor of our four last paragraphs by way of exposition on the text of *Bramah*.

89. Learned philosophers and divines have been deeply puzzled and perplexed, how to reconcile the justice of God with the creation of a rational being *out of nothing*, or from matter, yet subject to natural and moral evils; and apparently, from every consideration of his existence (from the cradle to the grave viewed under the most favorable aspect), placed here in a state of successive punishments which he cannot possibly *as mere man* have deserved, by any adequate transgression committed during his present state of existence; for his punishments commence with his birth, and pursue him through infancy, periods during which neither his corporeal or mental powers can be supposed capable of transgression

or sin. Thus the justice of God must ever stand arraigned, if the position *rests there*; but—the very consideration *that God is and must be just*, tells us that cannot be the fact; and that therefore there must have been a prior, some anterior cause, for such (otherwise unmerited) punishments. But when? where? The answer is obvious and indisputable—in some antecedent state of the soul's existence; this truth, natural reason and the laws of common justice convince us of, without the assistance of the many texts of scripture advanced by the ingenious Mr. *Berrow* to prove the *pre-existent lapse of the human soul*: to which we may add an argument drawn from the immortality of the soul; for if the soul is immortal, and necessarily exists in a separate state after the dissolution of the body, it must have necessarily existed *somewhere* before its union to it, unless we suppose God is employed in a daily, we may say hourly, creation of souls; an opinion not less extravagant than the supposed eternity of the world, an opinion that would still leave the justice of God in the same predicament liable to impeachment.

90. Although a pre-existent state, and lapse of the human soul, are doctrines that
have

have been avowed by all antiquity, and by many learned moderns, (see the authorities produced by the Reverend Mr. *Berrow*), yet a difficulty remained of what nature that state and lapse was? This embarrassment can only be accounted for by mankind having, in process of time, utterly lost the remembrance of those *primitive truths*, which clearly laid open to him *his real state and nature*, both in his present and pre-existent state. Some have endeavored to solve the difficulty, by supposing that man was created *to fill up the vacant seats* in heaven, and that his lapse or crime was, *his wickedly associating with the apostate angels*, in place of aiming at the possession of their seats: but this round-about supposition leaves the difficulty just where it found it, and gives an opening still to arraign the justice of God. But Mr. *George Ilive* came most certainly nearer the mark (howsoever he came to hit it), in pronouncing "that the souls or spirits of men are the identical apostate angels themselves," without knowing that he was supported in such a conclusion by the most ancient divine scripture that had been delivered to the inhabitants of this globe: here then we are to look up for the pre-existent state and lapse of the human soul, *the original sin* in the *angelic fall*, typified by *Moses* in his history of the *fall of man*;

and hence is every one "born in sin, the children of wrath," and hence only is the justice of God reconcilable with his creation of man at all; a creation, which by this hypothesis highly exalts and illustrates, not only his JUSTICE, but his MERCY.

91. And here, candid reader, suffer us, from the feelings of a general philanthropy that warms our bosom, to congratulate our fellow-creatures upon the restoration and recovery of this great, this essential, this divine truth, so long lost to our remembrance. A *primitive truth*, which enlightens mankind with the knowledge of their *real state*, the true relation in which they stand towards their God and Creator, and the relative duties which they owe to the species in general, from all which they have deeply and dangerously swerved for a series of ages past, from ignorance of their *original dignity*, *original sin*, and the nature and terms of their earthly sojourn: to that ignorance alone (and to the ready bent of the human soul to evil in consequence of it) must be ascribed the small efficacy which the preaching and doctrines of *Christ* has had upon the world; the seed was good, but sown in unprofitable ground, and although it was not possible to inculcate the necessary doctrines of *the love of God*, and
of

of our neighbor *as ourselves*, in stronger terms than *Christ* enforced those duties; yet men still persevere in plundering, oppressing, persecuting, and butchering one another without mercy, in open violation of all that is good or holy. The truth is, *man knew not himself*, nor the relation he stood in to his God and neighbor, although, had he diligently searched the scriptures, he would therein have found full satisfaction in both, either expressly, or by plain and direct implication. *David* seems to have been very clear in his conceptions touching his own pre-existent state, as well as that of his *Israelites*, when he pathetically addresses his God in these words of his xcth psalm, “ Lord, thou hast been *our* refuge, “ from one generation to another, *before* “ *the mountains were brought forth, or even* “ *the earth and the world were made.*” Now, as all mankind are unanimous in opinion, that there was no creation of beings prior to the creation of the *earth and world* (or the universe) but that of the angels, so it is plain he could allude to no other; the inference is obvious—*David* and the *Israelites* were the apostate angels. And in truth that most remarkable, and seemingly incomprehensible favor and partiality which God in a long series of events manifestly shewed to that race of people, can be only

accounted for, by their having been one of *the least* offending of the angelic tribes, drawn off from their allegiance, not by the pride and malice of the heart, but probably from the influence and impulses of a divine love and friendship for some of the other revolted tribes: thus the supposed *partial favor* of God to that people no longer remains a charge against our eternal IMPARTIAL JUDGE, nor that he should not have, from the same cause, his *chosen* and *elect* of other nations. And here we cannot help entering into a short expostulation with mankind upon their universal evil treatment of that once favorite people of God, the *Jewish* race, who are the common butt of oppression in all nations; we brand them with the epithets of *fraudulent* and *infamous*, whilst the cruel hardships every state imposes on them, lays them under a fatal necessity of perpetrating vices for their own defence and security, and to retaliate in some measure the injustice they everywhere labor under.—Religion and humanity would think and say, it is enough that they are outcasts, and scattered over the face of the earth, without rule or domain; let us not therefore burden them with greater grievances than they can, or than God intended they should, bear:—had those who professed themselves Christians, been truly

so,

so, it is more than probable there would not at this day be one *Jew* existing in the world. But what encouragement can any of that tribe have to forsake his errors, or enter into the fold of Christianity, when they see themselves from age to age oppressed, hunted, and their substance devoured by the *Christian wolves* of every state, in direct violation of the gospel they profess.—Although God has been pleased to disperse them, we are told *on good authority* he has not abandoned them; and we know not how far the evil treatment of that people may have been, and still is, one (amongst many others) of the great causes of the calamitous signs of God's displeasure, in his signal visitations for a long series past to every Christian state under one tremendous form or other; for we think, respecting the evil usage of that forlorn unhappy race, no state in Christendom is exempt.

92. Having thus, we trust, successfully shewn to the highest moral certainty, that the universe was constructed by God for the reception, residence, and sustenance of the apostate angelic tribes; and that mankind are the very identical remains of those unpurified spirits, who have not as yet regained their lost seats, we hasten to the con-

clusion of this our Second General Head, requesting only that our candid reader will accompany us in the contemplation of that sublime picture of the human species, as drawn by our great master of reason and nature, *Shakespeare*, from the mouth of his *Hamlet*——“ What a work
 “ is man! how noble in nature! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how
 “ expressive and admirable! in act like an
 “ angel! in comprehension like a god!”
 ——Now say, reader, can such a being be aught less than angel? Surely no.——Angel he must be, and an apostate one, or we pronounce he is——nothing. Indeed there are many movements and emotions of the human soul, that are utterly inexplicable but upon this hypothesis, as, sudden and instantaneous violent love, friendship, antipathy, dislike, hatred, &c. *at first sight*; which can only spring from a sympathetic sensation of the spirit's prior knowledge or intimacy in their angelic pre-existent state. One of the great comforts of a departing soul in death, and of those that survive, who are mutually dear to each other, is the hope, that their spirits will soon be re-united, in a future state of lasting bliss, which here is only imperfect and transitory: but such hope is obviously ill-founded, unless built upon this hypothesis. We hope and pray
 for

for a *restoration* (Restore us, O Lord, that are penitent)—What restoration? What can we be restored to, *as man*? what *as mere man* have we lost?—Nothing; but as apostate angels, we have lost much indeed, and may with propriety both hope and pray for a restoration, otherwise we pray and hope for—we know not what. We are told, “that there is more joy in heaven for one sinner that repenteth, than for ninety-nine that are just;”—what relative concern can the angelic beings have for *man, merely as such*, that his repentance should occasion such an extraordinary effect? None surely that with propriety can be conceived; but—when we look up to our hypothesis, and view *the sinner* in the light of *one of their brethren* restored, whom they had reason to fear was eternally lost to them, then the excess of joy is natural, and stands well accounted for.—Respecting the various specious arguments that have been started against the pre-existent state and lapse of the human soul, particularly that of the soul’s *not being conscious* of such a state, we again refer our readers to the labors of the reverend and ingenious Mr. *Berrow*, who has fully refuted *that*, and every other objection that can be raised to that doctrine; to which we will just add,

add, that the soul of every thinking being would be soon conscious of that great and essential truth, if man would be brought to reflection, and *sink deeper into himself.*

THIRD GENERAL HEAD.

Third General Head.

93. We are now arrived at our Third General Head, the *Metempsychosis of Bramah*, from which we have been kept back by sundry, yet necessary digressions, and discussions of many interesting objects and points of doctrine, which started up upon us in our way, and retarded our speedier passage; although hereby we may appear to some deserving the censure of prolixity, yet we trust it will be acknowledged in the end, that without them our aim and endeavors would not have been attended with *that general utility* which we flatter ourselves they now assuredly will.—Before we submit our own sentiments to the world on a doctrine so little attended to in modern times in this our hemisphere, it becomes necessary (to save our readers the trouble of turning back to our second part, p. 49, &c.) that we recite the texts of *Bramah*, who first, by divine authority, promulged that ancient system

stem.—“ And THE ETERNAL ONE
 “ spake again unto *Bisnoo*, and said, I will
 “ form mortal bodies for each of the delin-
 “ quent *debtah* (or angels), which shall for
 “ a space be their prison and habitation, in
 “ the confines of which they shall be subject
 “ to natural evils, in proportion to the de-
 “ gree of their original guilt.—The bo-
 “ dies which I shall prepare for the recep-
 “ tion of the rebellious *debtah*, shall be
 “ subject to change, decay, death, and re-
 “ newal, from the principles wherewith I
 “ shall form them; and through these mor-
 “ tal bodies shall the delinquent *debtah* un-
 “ dergo alternately eighty-seven transmi-
 “ grations, subject more or less to the con-
 “ sequences of *natural* and *moral* evils, in a
 “ just proportion to the degree of original
 “ guilt, and as their actions through those
 “ successive forms shall correspond with the
 “ limited powers which I shall annex to
 “ each;—and this shall be their state of
 “ *punishment and purgation*.—And it shall
 “ be—that (after passing the eighty-eight
 “ transmigrations) the delinquent *deb-*
 “ *tab*, from my more abundant favor,
 “ shall animate the form of *mhurd* (man)
 “ —and *in this form*, I will *enlarge their*
 “ *intellectual powers*, even as when I *first*
 “ *made them free*;—and this shall be their
 “ chief state of TRIAL and PROBATION.”

94. As the foregoing doctrine of *Bramah* seems glaringly to clash with *Moses's* history of the *creation of man*, it is previously necessary to account for this *seemingly* great difference; for they *appear* to agree only in one circumstance, namely, that man was the *last work* of the material and animal creation. By this discussion we purpose to avoid the imputation of slighting a *scriptural detail* that has for a succession of ages been received as orthodox by both *Jews* and *Christians*; a detail, that by being taken literally and misunderstood, has proved the source of many egregious and fatal errors, highly injurious to God's justice and clemency; the most enormous of which is, that infatuated belief, that a race of *unoffending* beings should *stand accursed* for the guilt and disobedience of *one man* and *one woman*.

95. The mission of *Moses* may without offence be considered as a very imperfect one, so designed by God himself; not only for that it was limited to one tribe of beings particularly favored of God, but also as it is totally silent upon all the *primitive truths* but one, *viz.* THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD. This divine truth he was specially commissioned to declare to his people, as well to rescue them from the idolatrous
supersti-

superstitions of the land he led them from, as from those of the promised land he was leading them to. As *Moses* was allowed to be most profoundly skilled in all the learning of the *Egyptians*, and consequently in that of the *Bramins* (which had been perverted by those Magi, as before shewn, to mysterious purposes), we cannot suppose him to have been ignorant that the *other primitive truths* had *been already revealed*, and that in fulness of time they would be confirmed to mankind; but he also knew that was a task reserved for a more exalted being than himself; therefore we are not to wonder that he is utterly silent on those heads of salvation.

96. Respecting *Moses's* short narration of the creation and fall of man, it should seem, if taken literally, to be a matter foreign to his commission; but on a nearer view, and considered as *typical of the angelic fall*, it carries a very different and essential aspect; and if not typical, it is most certainly laughable. We cannot, without violence to our conceptions of the wisdom of God, suppose, that he would propagate the human species by a horrid incestuous union, which pure human nature starts at, and which by his Holy Spirit stands condemned in his gospel dispensation; for thus man-
kind

kind *must have increased*, if propagated according to the literal sense of *Moses*, from *one man and one woman*; so that it is self-evident he never intended it should be taken literally, but as typical of a prior and much greater event: nor have we the smallest doubt but that, in the days he penn'd it, the allegory was well and commonly understood by all; and we think we shall be able, without much difficulty, to prove to a demonstration, by analysing this allegory, that it affords the fullest confirmation of the truth of the Bramanical doctrines of the creation of man, that man can be no other than the apostate angels, and that the Metempsychosis is a well-founded truth, necessarily resulting from these premises; and we shall also shew, that *Moses* was well acquainted with those doctrines; nay it is more than probable that he himself was the very identical spirit, selected and deputed in an earlier age, to deliver those truths free from allegory, under the stile and title of *Bramah*, as before intimated. But to our proof, from *Moses's* narrative.

97. *Eve* is beguiled by the serpent, she eats, and tempts *Adam* to do the like, and thereby both become guilty of the sin of disobedience against an express law and order of their God and Creator: *Satan* is tempted

tempted by *Evil, the associate of his bosom*. The *serpent* represents the insidious arguments and wiles of *Satan* to engage the angelic tribes to become associates in his revolt and rebellion, which it may be very naturally supposed were similar to those made use of by the *serpent to Eve*. *Paradise* marks the beauty of the original earth, and the garden of Eden is the symbol of *heaven*; *Adam and Eve* for their disobedience are driven out of Eden, and *Satan and his associates* are banished from heaven for their rebellion. The gates of Eden are shut, and guarded on every side by angelic powers, to prevent the re-entrance of *Adam and Eve* and their *posterity*; the heavenly regions are impervious to *Satan* and his *confederates*. The curse of sorrow, labor, and death, are entailed upon *Adam and Eve*, and their *posterity*; wherein is figuratively shewn the original sentence, doom, and punishment of the *apostate angels* in their mortal sojourn on earth. *Moses* introduces God cursing the ground for their sakes, allusive of the change brought about in this globe at the deluge, &c. occasioned by the *second defection* of the *apostate angels* in their state of probation. The brutes being the elder brothers of the creation, and prior to the formation of man (the doctrine both of *Bramah* and *Moses*),

shews them to have been a preparatory creation for future purposes; and *Moses* tacitly coincides with *Bramah* as to the intended use of this prior animal creation; otherwise man, who is evidently superior in form and intellect, would, upon a rational supposition, have been the first object of all animal creation. God's being said by *Moses* to have *breathed the breath of life* into all his animal creation, is a happy figurative illustration of that passage in *the Shastab* (part 2. pag. 59), where "the ETERNAL ONE spake again, and said——Do thou BIRMAH (the first created, the *Christ*), arrayed in my glory, and armed with my power, descend to the lowest boboon (region) of punishment and purgation, and make known to the *rebellious debtah* the words that I have uttered, and the decrees which I have pronounced against them, and see that they enter into the bodies that I have prepared for them.—And *Birmah* stood before the throne and said, ETERNAL ONE, I have done as thou hast commanded.—The *delinquent debtah* rejoice in thy mercy, confess the justice of thy decrees, avow their sorrow and repentance, and have entered into the mortal bodies which thou hast prepared for them."

98. The personages which *Moses* calls by the names of *Abel* and *Cain*, said to be the immediate descendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, are obviously types of *good* and *evil*, or vice and virtue, that were to guide and govern the actions of the human species, in the course of their trial, from generation to generation. In the murder of *Abel* by *Cain*, *Moses* prophetically points out (what his knowledge of *the race* then made clear to him), that *vice* would totally subdue and destroy *virtue*; a prediction that is now, we fear, very near being accomplished, as she may be too truly said to be at the *last gasp*, and on the verge of *expiring*. By sin, our scriptures say, death entered into the world, that is by the sin of *Satan*, not of *Adam* (vide the Rev. Mr. *Berrow*), and as in *Satan* (not in *Adam*), all men die, that is, are subjected by sentence to death, so in *Christ* (destined to confirm to mankind the *primitive truths of salvation*) shall all be made alive, "a consummation devoutly to be wished," but of which we have yet *no signs* or *tokens*. Why *Moses* has made woman the substitute of evil, is not very clear, unless from his profound wisdom and knowledge of human nature, we suppose he had observed, that no object had so powerful an influence to seduce man from his duty and allegiance, as woman; and from thence he possibly

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thought

thought her the fittest symbol he could use on that occasion, without (we dare say) intending it should be taken as a general reflection upon the sex.

99. It is here worth noting, that the creation and propagation of the human form according to the scriptures of *Bramah*, are clogged with no difficulties, *no ludicrous unintelligible circumstances* or *inconsistencies*. God previously constructs mortal bodies of both sexes, for the reception of the angelic spirits proportioned to their number, which were to animate or give life to those as yet inanimate machines, and these were all doomed, without exception, to pass through many successive transmigrations in these mortal prisons, as a state of punishment and purgation, before they received the grace of animating the human form, which was to be their chief state of probation and trial; thus it is rationally supposed, that multitudes of them might arrive at the same period to that superior degree; and that male and female forms, by the *instantaneous fiat* of the DEITY, were ready for their reception. Thus the propagation of the species *went naturally on*, as well as that of the other animal forms. Respecting the number of angelic beings first created by God, the scriptures of *Bramah*, the Old Testament,

ment, and *Christ*, are silent, confining themselves to the fact only; but if we form our calculation and judgment upon the multitude of organized mortal bodies in the world, we must conclude the original creation to have been amazingly immense! when we suppose, that only a portion of them rebelled, usually supposed (but upon what foundation we know not) to have been about one third. Be this as it may, it is a speculative point of little import to us, it being as easy to Omnipotence to create many hundred thousands of millions as one.

100. We now flatter ourselves that we have fully proved, to the conviction and satisfaction of our intelligent and unprejudiced reader, that *Moses's* history of the *creation and fall of man*, was purely typical of the *angelic fall*, and made use of by him *figuratively* to denote that great and prior event with its fatal consequences; and at the same time to point out *the second defection* of those unhappy delinquents, after they had been placed by the grace and favor of GOD in a sufferable probationary state, beyond their merits or just expectation: also to give a useful and necessary admonition to his people, that *temptation was no plea*

for sin and disobedience. As to the actors *Moses* employs, under the denominations of *Adam*, *Eve*, *Cain*, and *Abel*, it is plain they never had any *real personal existence*; it is therefore evident that *the creation of man*, according to the scriptures of *Bramah*, is the *only real and original* one; and that man was not, as some have advanced, coeval with the angelic creation, but subsequent to *their fall*. *Moses* appears to us to have had an under plot (if we may be allowed the expression), in the circumstantial history he gives of the descendants of his supposed *Adam* and *Eve*; he politically saw, that for the preservation of the religion and morals of his people, it was absolutely necessary to keep them a separate nation as much as possible: to effect this he thought nothing would more powerfully conduce than raising the ideas of their own dignity, put in comparison with the nations around them; they already had stupendous proofs of their being a chosen race peculiarly favored of God, and *Moses* traces their genealogy to as distant a root as possible, and carries it up to his typical creation of the first man and woman: those who know what influence this vanity of *the antiquity of nations* has in modern times, will applaud the sagacity of *Moses*. And here we cannot help regretting that he has not left us his opinion of *the age*

of

of the universe; he has left it pretty clear, that the creation of *that* and *man* were nearly coeval, but there he has left both to exercise our fruitless guesses. On this subject we will only add, that the ancients *may have exaggerated*, but he *that dreams with the moderns*, that the world is not yet six thousand years old, may very easily acquire faith sufficient to believe the grossest of absurdities, or, with some of the ancient philosophers, that the heavens are made of brass or iron. Having fulfilled our engagement respecting that ancient typical *Mosaic* history of the creation and fall of man, we proceed with our subject.

101. We have seen a noble and exalted cause for the formation of the material universe, in which we behold man placed in the supreme degree over all animated mortal beings; but—still we observe many myriads of those beings, formed with no less stupendous wisdom and art, and endued (although in an inferior proportion) with the same rational intelligent faculties as himself, concerning whom we seem to be utterly at a loss; nor is there any abstruse point, in which the learned of all ages have been more divided than touching the state and nature of the *brute creation*. The pride

of man shudders at classing them with himself, yet his conscious reason, on reflection, in spite of himself, checks his presumption. Thus the inimitable and philosophic *Prior* sweetly sings to our purpose :

- “ By what immediate cause *they* are inclin’d,
 “ In many acts, ’tis hard I own to find;
 “ I see in *others*, or I think I see,
 “ That strong *their* principles and ours agree :
 “ Evil, like us they shun, and covet good,
 “ Abhor the poison, and receive the food ;
 “ Like us they love or hate, like us they know,
 “ To joy the friend, or grapple with the foe ;
 “ With seeming thought, their actions they
 “ *intend*,
 “ And use the means proportion’d to the end ;
 “ Then vainly the philosopher avers,
 “ That reason guides our deeds, and instinct
 “ theirs ;
 “ How can we justly different *causes* frame ?
 “ When *the effects* intirely are the same ;
 “ *Instinct* and *reason* how can we divide ?—
 “ ’Tis the fool’s ignorance, and the pedant’s pride.”

102. It is *amusing* to trace the different and bewildered sentiments of mankind on this subject ; but if it was *otherwise*, yet it is necessary to the execution of our plan.—The *Cartesians* maintain that brutes have no intelligent soul, but are mere machines, and unfeeling pieces of clock-work ; and indeed,

by the treatment they receive in the world, it should seem that mankind in general were disciples to that inhuman and stupid doctrine:—However Mess. *Yvon* and *Bouillet* refute the *Cartesian* hypothesis, by masterly indisputable philosophic arguments, and prove that brutes have a rational intelligent soul, and then—leave that soul to perish with the body. Some have imagined the souls of brutes to be *material*; flat nonsense in terms, as well as in *philosophy*. *Aristotle*, who supposed the souls of brutes to be *substantial forms*, is not a whit more intelligible. *Cicero*, who, great as he was, possessed a portion of that pride and vanity which flesh is heir to, made no small concession, when he says, “ In every essence
 “ that is not simple, but compounded of
 “ parts, there must be some *predominant*
 “ quality; in man 'tis *reason*, in brutes it
 “ is—*something like it*.” A late performance, said to be a translation from the *French*, makes all animal life, not man excepted, a *Jeu D'Esprit*, or an amusement of the Deity, and for no other end or purpose. Thus brutes reason upon brutes, says *Voltaire*. Another well-intended and ingenious late performance gives to the souls of brutes immortality, and a future life of rewards and punishments, and takes its proofs from scripture, but is utterly at a

loss to account for the predicament in which they stand on earth, liable as they are to *miser*y, without the authors being able to conceive by what mode of transgression they could possibly *deserve* it; touching which we hope to satisfy his doubts and curiosity. Another divine, in a late treatise upon the general deluge, boldly cuts the matter short at one stroke, as *Alexander* did the *Gordian* knot. He supposes, “that as the brute creation was made solely for man’s use, and that when they could be of no further service to him, they became *useless* in the creation, and suffered as *matter* in the general deluge, and it became *requisite* they should perish together—as it cannot be supposed they were punished on their own account.”—Here, reader, you have a choice specimen of *close reasoning* exhibited to you; and a *striking* instance of God’s justice and *clemency*! delivered by a servant of the MOST HIGH!—*Montaigne* thinks more honorably of the brute creation; “What kind of sufficiency,” says he, “is there in us, which we do not observe in the operations of the animals?” To which he ascribes deliberation, thought, and conclusion; and from thence gives the superiority to beasts over man, insomuch as the works of nature excel those of art. He goes further, and pronounces the animals *free agents*,

agents, as well as mankind ;—“ I say there-
 fore, that there is no appearance of rea-
 son to suppose that the beasts should, by
 a natural and forced inclination (instinct),
 do *the same* things that we do by our
 choice and endeavor ; we ought from *like*
effects to conclude *like faculties*, and from
richer effects, richer faculties ; and by con-
 sequence to confess, that *this same reason,*
this same method by which *we operate*, is
 common also to the animals, or some
 other *that is better.*” The whole rea-
 soning on this subject of that acute but ir-
 regular writer, is worth perusal, as it lies
 scattered through his apology for his learn-
 ed friend *Raymond de Sobonde*. This indu-
 strious author seems quite clear as to the
 pre-existent state of the human soul :
 “ Death,” says he, “ is the beginning of
 another life ; so did we weep, and so
 much did it cost us, *to enter into this ;*
and so did we put off our former veil,
 when we entered the present state.” And
 by the course of his reasoning just above re-
 ferred to, it should also seem, that he favored
 the same opinion of the brute soul, as well
 as the doctrine of the Metempsychosis.—
 Our learned and philosophic *Baxter* (in his
 Treatise of the Nature of the Soul), after
 proving that the soul necessarily lives after
 its separation from the body, proceeds and
 adds,

adds,—“ As man is a being compounded of
 “ *spirit* and *matter*, the *last* an impeding
 “ and obstructing cause on the activity and
 “ perfection of reasoning in the *first*, as the
 “ the ministering organs of the *last* may
 “ happen to be maimed, defective, or dis-
 “ ordered; and as a separation of the union
 “ leaves the *first* disengaged and at liberty,
 “ it is a rational supposition, that either the
 “ soul is in an absolute state of separation
 “ from *all matter*, or (when it shall please
 “ our infinitely wise Creator) *re-united* to
 “ matter of a more *favorable kind*, that
 “ shall be less obstructive to our immaterial
 “ powers.—Omnipotence admits of no li-
 “ mitation, souls may be united to systems
 “ of matter, according to the purposes of
 “ infinite wisdom, that will be vastly more
 “ advantageous, and the union with them
 “ more pleasing, than with our present bo-
 “ dies; our present union being equally in-
 “ conceivable, although we cannot but be
 “ conscious of the fact, however unac-
 “ countable by our limited conceptions.”—
 Again, “ Men who hold the immateriality
 “ of the soul, need not be embarrassed how
 “ to dispose of the *immaterial souls* of
 “ brutes, or be concerned what powers they
 “ may have after the dissolution of their
 “ bodies, but leave all to the Being that
 “ made them,”—“ It is to be observed,
 “ that

“ that the activity of the human soul is of
 “ two kinds, that which is exerted in the
 “ spontaneous moving the limbs, and that
 “ power whereby we turn back our percep-
 “ tive capacity to our past perceptions, so
 “ as to compare them together: the per-
 “ ceptivity also of it is twofold, for it is
 “ percipient of the action of matter upon
 “ itself, and percipient of its own internal
 “ operation in thinking. Brutes have the
 “ first of these powers, but want the second
 “ altogether, which constitutes the *distinc-*
 “ *tion* between man and beast; they who
 “ run the parallel between the human soul
 “ and that of the brutes farther, suppose
 “ still the same powers in both. But surely
 “ rationality must be found in some powers
 “ which the brutes *as such* have not. This
 “ argument therefore does not prove the
 “ activity of the brute soul when separat-
 “ ed——*although, if any one could prove it,*
 “ *he would do no disservice perhaps to philo-*
 “ *sophy.*” Again, “ It is self-evident, that
 “ the wide-extended universe, though
 “ stretched beyond imagination, with all
 “ the wonders of wisdom and power in it,
 “ is solely designed for the sake of intelli-
 “ gent beings, *to train them up* for a ra-
 “ tional eternity.”—That the general senti-
 ments of this truly pious and learned divine
 support the probable doctrine of the Metemp-
 sychosis

psychosis is so plain, it hardly needs pointing out to the observing reader; therefore we shall only add, that if *the act of dreaming* proves (as he asserts it does) the separate existence and active percipient powers of the human soul, after the dissolution of the body, it equally proves the brute souls to be endued with the same powers—for undoubtedly—they dream. Unwilling as we are upon any occasion to dissent from the reasoning of this truly great and good man, yet we find ourselves under that necessity, when he says, “ the human soul is form’d at first
 “ without knowledge or experience, but
 “ hath the power of attaining both.—
 “ Brutes are *incapable of improvement*, finished in their *specific perfection* all at
 “ once.” So strange a position as the foregoing, could proceed only from non-attention to the progress of the intelligent faculties in both species from their state of infancy, or—from those feelings of human pride that will spring up in the best heart, when the supposed dignity of his superior nature is brought into competition.—The sentiments of the ingenious Mr. *Berrow* (so often referred to) upon the brute creation, may be clearly gathered from his own words, which we shall present to our readers, as a curious and uncommon specimen of *unprejudiced reasoning* in a Christian divine.—“ If it
 “ should

“ should be urged, that the assigning souls
 “ to one part of the brute creation, will re-
 “ duce us to the necessity of supposing the
 “ *like* to actuate the most minute species of
 “ vital nature also; I shall only remind the
 “ speculative and philosophic part of man-
 “ kind, that there is discernible, by the
 “ microscopic eye, as exquisite a due pro-
 “ portioned disposition of organs, fibres,
 “ &c. (the more amazing in proportion as
 “ they are more minute) in the one as in
 “ the other——That, again, the soul has
 “ the power of *self-contraction*, to an *infi-*
 “ *nitessimal degree*, as well as that of *self-*
 “ *dilatation*——That supposing, in the next
 “ place, every organized body, as well in
 “ the brute as in the rational, to be an al-
 “ lotted *temporary prison* for a *pre-delinquent*
 “ soul (*an hypothesis, than which there can-*
 “ *not I think be one more rational*), it is easy
 “ to conceive how and why *some* may be
 “ made here prisoners *more at large* as we
 “ say, and entrusted with privileges and
 “ faculties more numerous, extensive, and
 “ exalted than others: and that, lastly, it
 “ is impossible to say into how many differ-
 “ ent kinds of vehicles *a soul may transmi-*
 “ *grate*, ere its *plastic faculty* be refined
 “ enough to *inform one*, wherein to perform
 “ the functions of an *intelligent* and rational
 “ life.”

“life.”—Here we see a learned divine, to the honor of the church of *England*, scruples not to avouch, without reserve, one most material part of *Bramah's* doctrine of the Metempsychosis; and it is a pity he was not further enlightened; he then would not (with many others of the learned) have been drove to the subterfuge of making a new creation to animate and actuate all mortal forms, when there were a race of angelic delinquent beings ready made to his hands.—Having thus thrown together, under one paragraph, the different sentiments of mankind touching the state and nature of the brute creation, we will next proceed to consider *their use*, and the intent of their creation; a matter in which we shall not find mankind so much divided, but on the contrary (the bulk of them at least) pretty unanimous.

103. Man's presumption in supposing the brute creation was intended *solely for his use*, may be ascribed to two causes: the first his pride, or natural unbounded *thirst of power*; an intellectual *faculty* he picked not up here, but brought with him from above, from his pre-existent angelic state: *there* it had proved his bane, and here, having not immediately the governing powers of heaven

ven to combat against, to keep his ruling passion in action, he exercises it, not only on the unoffending brute creation, but on his own species.—The second cause we consider as a plea and sanction taken from the 26th verse of the first chapter of *Genesis*, where *Moses* says, that “God said, Let us
 “ make man in our image, after our like-
 “ nefs; and *let them have dominion* over the
 “ fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the
 “ air, and over the cattle, and over all the
 “ earth, and over every creeping thing that
 “ creepeth upon the earth.”——To combat the *first cause*, would prove a labor truly Herculean, without the smallest chance of victory, and therefore we avoid the battle; and touching the second, we might avail ourselves of the demonstrative proofs already stated, that the *Mosaic* history of the creation of terrestrial animals was purely typical; but we will waive that just privilege, and examine the fact, as it literally stands; premising, that man has no right to chuse his texts, but if he thinks to benefit himself *by one*, he ought to acknowledge the force and efficacy of *another*, and abide with equal strictness by both; that he has not preserved this equity towards a *more express* dictate of this scripture is certain; for, verse 29th of the same chapter, “God
 “ said (to man), Behold, I have given you
 “ every

“ every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree, yielding seed: to you it shall be for meat.” Which words convey a palpable although tacit interdiction of all other food: but more of this hereafter, when we have no doubt of proving indisputably that the breach of this positive injunction, or rather this *first law* of nature, has been one of the great, if not chief source of physical as well as *moral evil*. We now return to our more immediate subject.

104. That the bruté creation was designed to be subservient to, or made for the use of man, is a conceit incompatible not only with the justice of God, but also his wisdom; and that, therefore, the usurped sense of the phrase, “ Let them have dominion,” (on which so much stress has been laid) is not well-founded, and implies only, Let them have pre-eminence, predominance, superiority, in *intellectual faculties over the rest of the animal creation*. Thus *Bramah*, “ And in this form I will enlarge their intellectual powers, even as when I first made them free.” In this sense only can the above phrase be possibly understood, for the following reasons: first, *Moses* nowhere intimates, that the brute creation

creation was made *for the use of man*. Secondly, the very small proportion of *the whole* he has been able to reduce under his dominion, and even that modicum not subdued, but by the exertion, or rather perversion of *those superior intellectual faculties* into craft and violence, which were most certainly given him for very different pursuits. Thirdly, that, so far from there being the smallest appearance that the animal creation was subjected either to the dominion or service of man, according to the sense that he has wantonly and cruelly assumed, that the majority of them, almost to an infinite degree, are obnoxious to him, and at enmity with him, and in no wise, shape, or form, under his rule and dominion. On the contrary, it may be justly said, that “men are more slaves to man, than beasts to him.” Fourthly, can it possibly be conceived, without doing violence to the justice, goodness, and wisdom of God, that he would invest man with a dominion to *drive out*, at his *caprice* and *pleasure*, that *breath of life*, which he had for his wise purposes so bountifully *breathed* into all his animal creation? for although *Moses* particularly applies this sublime sentence to *Adam alone* in the 7th verse of his 2d chapter, in these words, “And the Lord God created man of the dust of the
K “ground,

“ ground, and *breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul;*” yet it is self-evident, that this operation and divine infusion of a living soul or spirit, must have been, *a priori, general* to the whole animal creation. Fifthly, what idea must we form of the wisdom and designs of God, if we suppose that, after his blessing his animal creation, and laying a positive injunction upon them to *increase and multiply and replenish the earth*, he should, *at the same time*, give to man dominion and power to counteract his purposes, by *decreasing, diminishing, and destroying them?*

105. Having shewn above, that we cannot without violence to God and nature conclude, that the brute creation was made *for the use of man*, it follows, that his pretended right of dominion is an usurpation over a race of intelligent beings, innocent, at least, respecting him; whose lot in this world is sufficiently painful and miserable, without any additional load from man. Here we will once more give our readers the sentiments of the Rev. Mr. *Berrow*, as strongly expressive of our own, and apt to our subject. After a pathetic and truly Christian-like apostrophe on that noble animal the horse, which is equally applicable to every other animal under man's tyranny,

he

he subjoins,—"But wherefore all this
 "wretchedness?—wherefore all these ago-
 "nizing pains and miseries heaped on an
 "helpless offspring of divine providence?
 "are they not flesh and blood?" (*Have
 they not their REAL grievances and appre-
 hensions?*) "Do they not, as well as we,
 "know what sorrow means? were they
 "brought into a *sensible existence* for nothing
 "but *the service*, or rather to gratify the
 "pride, the wantonness, the cruelty of
 "man? shall one being be created, even
 "under the bare possibility of being made
 "miserable, *solely for the use* or pleasure of
 "another?—Lord, what is man? or
 "rather, what are not brutes?"—"The
 "*Indians* ask, if brutes have not souls? if
 "not, then, say they, *matter thinks*. Ci-
 "*cero* says, "That God himself is the soul
 "of brutes;" therefore, says the *Indian*,
 "shall they be found suffering without a
 "CAUSE, or without a *recompence*?"—
 Surely no; the doctrine of the Metempsy-
 chosis *alone points out the cause* for their suf-
 fering *natural evils*, and at the same time
 shews the promised recompence.

106. Notwithstanding all that has been
 said, we see it will be still objected to us,
 that *Moses*, in the controverted phrase be-
 fore us ("Let them have dominion"), must

have meant thereby absolute dominion and unaccountable rule, or he would not, in his law to the *Hebrews*, have devoted the animal creation to the subjection of man, in the various sacrifices of *them* instituted by the law. To which we say, that those cruel sacrifices were subsequently condemned and discountenanced, as barbarous and inefficacious, both by GOD and CHRIST; and we may fairly lay it down as an incontestable principle, that any act which GOD and CHRIST have at any one time pronounced *evil*, could never have been *good*; and therefore, that *Moses*, in that institute, deviated from the commission he had received from GOD, as he did unwarily in other particulars, which drew on him the displeasure of his Creator, and deprived him of the promised felicity of settling his people in the land to which he was appointed to conduct them. Nor does it at all appear difficult to point out the causes that led *Moses* into this error: he knew that their appetites had for a long series of ages been vitiated by the taste of animal food; he hoped to reclaim them from it, by shewing them, in the 29th verse of the first chapter of *Genesis* before recited, that that was not their originally destined meat, and that by the use of animal food they had digressed from their *primitive nature*, and had trans-

transgressed against *the very first law* of their Maker; but——very soon finding every admonition of the kind was lost upon them, he weakly thought it might prove in some sort an extenuation of these *common murders*, and a kind of sanctification of them, by introducing them as part of their religious worship. To this he probably had a further interesting and pious motive; he could not but remark the depravity of, and the strong bent in his people towards the superstitious worship, sacrifices and idolatries of the *Egyptians, Chaldeans, Tyrians, Canaanites, &c.* amongst whom he knew that *human sacrifices* were as common as those of the brute creation; therefore, to guard his people against *a greater evil*, he instituted, as he vainly imagined, *a less*; not adverting that it belonged TO GOD ALONE, to *permit evil*, that *good* may come of it. The vision of St. Peter may also be objected against us, and that *Christ* himself winked at these murderous practices, and even partook of them. To this we answer, that *Christ* knew too well the total and confirmed depravity of *man* to combat so long-established an enormity; therefore the chief aim of his mission was, *first* to correct his morals, and, *if possible*, bring him to a state of *sensibility* and *repentance*; that once obtained, the aboli-

tion of *that*, and many other enormities, he knew, would follow of course.

107. Let us now hear the words of God himself on this subject by the mouth of his inspired *Bramah*:—“ The mortal forms, “ wherewith I shall encompass the *delin-* “ *quent debtah*, are *the work of my hand*; “ *they shall not be destroyed*, but left to their “ natural decay; therefore whichsoever of “ the *debtah* shall by designed violence bring “ about the dissolution of the mortal forms “ *animated by their delinquent brethren—* “ *thou, Sieb*, shalt plunge the offending “ spirit into the *onderah* for a space, and “ he shall be doomed to pass again the “ eighty-nine transmigrations, whatsoever “ stage he may be arrived to at the time “ of such his offence.”

108. Having thus, in a regular series, discussed the several events of the creation and existence of angels, their rebellion and fall; and having shewn that the material universe was constructed for their habitation and sustenance, and that mortal bodies were formed for their more immediate punishment and imprisonment; and having also made it sufficiently clear, that man can possibly be no other than those identical fallen

fallen angels; and lastly, that the brute creation could not have been made subject to him, nor destined for his use and service in the sense he has erroneously, not to say wickedly, converted them to; it follows that we next take it into consideration to what other use or purpose were they brought into existence?—The ancient doctrine of the Metempsychosis of *Bramah*, at once answers the matter in question, and would afford full satisfaction to a *Gentoo*, a *Tartar*, or a *Chinese*, but not to a Christian. (Here by-the-bye it is proper to note, that although the *Tartars* and *Chinese* believe in the transmigration of the soul, yet they seem, as well as our ancient druids, to have totally lost sight of the source, the root, the original principle from whence the doctrine of the Metempsychosis sprung, viz. the angelic fall and doom, which has been retained in its primitive purity only by the *Gentoo*s.)

—The case standing thus, it remains to examine whether the state and predicament in which the brute creation appear and exist, can be accounted for upon any other rational system. In order to which it will be necessary to consider them under two points of view; first, as *intelligent, rational beings, and free agents*; and secondly, as *beings subjected to misery*.

109. The man who asserts his own rational intellectual faculties and free agency, and denies them to the brutes, either thinks not at all, or is actuated by pride and self-sufficient pre-eminence, or has been very deficient in his observations and reflections upon that numerous creation.—When we see a race of beings endued with the passions of rage, revenge, dominion, ungovernable lust, jealousy, hatred, envy, and every other vice similar to our own, *except ingratitude*; and when we behold them endued with the virtues (we had almost said the Christian virtues) of love, fidelity, gratitude, friendship, courage, parental tenderness, filial affection, patience, submission, innocence and meekness, all in as high perfection, if not higher, than in ourselves; and when we further observe them invested with the powers of happiness, misery, reflection, recollection, foresight, forecast, prodigies of art, without rule, line, square, or compass; sagacious in contriving, political in government; the amazing beauty of some, and stupendous construction and animal œconomy of all!—All which *vices, virtues, powers and properties*, are exemplified in the various species of the animal creation.—When we daily see, or may see, all this verified, and still appropriate
cogitation

cogitation and *reason* to man alone, we see with the eyes of *folly* and *prejudice*.

§ 10. That man is endued with higher intellectual powers, and capable of carrying his reasoning faculties to a more transcendent pitch, we readily grant; but——why will not human pride rest satisfied with this superiority, without aiming to divest the next great work of his Creator of the portion which he has graciously and evidently bestowed upon it, as necessary to their temporal existence?——If therefore the brute soul, as some (we will not call them philosophers) have taught, is material, and perishes with the body, it is time to tremble for the soul of man; for it is too true and melancholy a fact, that it stands not entitled to a better lot:—the spirituality and future separate existence of *the one*, rests on no surer a foundation than *the other*; and all appearances are as strong in favor of the one as of the other.——Thus our prejudices and false reasoning, arising from ignorance of our real state and nature, leads us into an uncomfortable dilemma, and we are plunged into a labyrinth of confusion, from which nothing can disentangle and extricate us, but—the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, which elucidates and reconciles every difficulty by teaching, that the soul of man and brute is one and the same

same spirit, first in a state of greater degradation, a preparatory state of *punishment* and *purgation*, previously necessary to his passing into his state of *probation*, in the superior and more enlightened form of man. In further support of this conclusion, it remains that we consider the brute creation *as beings subjected to misery*.

III. The justice, the goodness of GOD stands most evidently impeached in the wild supposition that he could possibly create a race of beings subjected to misery, without some cause of offence on their parts.—Let us with a becoming indignation reject an opinion so unworthy our GOD, and conclude there must have been *a cause*, and an efficient one, although no hypothesis hitherto produced has pointed it out to the satisfaction of a rational enquirer.—The state and existence of man stands in the same predicament, doomed through the progress of his life to a series of natural and moral evils, without any *apparent cause*, or without possibly having been capable of deserving them by any transgression *here*; therefore our firm belief in God's justice, and our reason directed us to search for *that cause of offence* in some *former state* of the soul's existence, in which we happily succeeded, at least to our full conviction, and *we hope* to that of our candid readers. To that source we

we

we must again apply to solve the present difficulty respecting *the brute soul*, which must undoubtedly have sinned in a pre-existent state, to reconcile its *many sufferings here* with the idea of a just and good God.—

The sensible reflections and sentiments of the ingenious Mr. *Dean of Middleton*, are apposite to our subject, and so pertinent to what we have further to allege, that we will take the freedom of transplanting them. After pre-supposing that pains, diseases, death, &c. evils got entrance into the world *by sin*, he proceeds as follows: “ Now brutes
 “ as well as men are subject to the same
 “ sorts of pains and diseases; so far their
 “ cases coincide. In all general desolations
 “ they have suffered together; in this they
 “ conform. They suffered with man *the*
 “ *injuries of the fall* (we wish he had said
 “ *the angelic fall*; possibly he meant it).—
 “ They have perished with him in deluges,
 “ in conflagrations, in famines, in pesti-
 “ lences, in destructions of the sword; in
 “ short, in all capital calamities they have
 “ had their share, as well as man (to which
 “ he might have added, the many miseries
 “ they endure from the tyranny of man).
 “ Now, if there is any reason to believe,
 “ that such evils are of God’s appointment,
 “ and occasioned by sin, must not brutes
 “ then in some respect or other be supposed
 “ to

“ to be faulty ? We do not pretend to say,
 “ or even to insinuate, that they are ca-
 “ pable of moral rules, and become crimi-
 “ nal after the manner of men ; but we al-
 “ lege, that they must have some kind of
 “ demerit, they must have contracted de-
 “ filements some way or other. *If we can-*
 “ *not shew how this is, it is only an instance,*
 “ *amongst many others, of our ignorance.*
 “ The facts insisted on are deducible
 “ from the preceding cases, and the
 “ justice of God.——God cannot pu-
 “ nish his creatures without a cause, and
 “ this cause must be guilt or demerit of
 “ some kind or other; infinite justice neces-
 “ sarily supposes it.” This Gentleman
 stops not here, but goes a step much higher
 in his conclusion from the above premises :
 “ that as brute animals have attended man
 “ in all great and capital calamities, so they
 “ will also attend him in *his final deliver-*
 “ *ance, and be restored with him.*” How
 he proves this from scripture, we refer our
 readers to his “ *Essay on the Future Life*
 “ *of Brutes,*” whilst we proceed on our
 way.

112. Thus have we demonstrated, *the*
creation and state of man and beast are ut-
 terly inexplicable upon any other hypothe-
 sis than the ancient doctrine of the Metemp-
 sychosis,

sychosis, which *alone* rationally accounts for, and reconciles their existence, as intelligent free agents doomed to misery, in every stage and circumstance of it, to be strictly consistent with the *goodness*, the *justice*, and *mercy* of God; the state of the brute creation, and the cause of their sufferings no longer remains a matter of difficulty, nor incompatible with divine justice, but conformable thereto; their mortal bodies being formed for no other end or purpose but the punishment and vehicles of conveyance for the *same offending spirit*, to a form, which, although still a prison for the soul, was yet so marvelously fabricated (by a *modus* and construction imperceptible to us), as to afford a greater scope and latitude to the exertion of those intellectual faculties and free agency, which it was only capable of exerting *in a limited degree*, whilst in its state of deeper degradation; for, touching the portion of *cogitation* and *conscientiousness* the brute creation are possessed of, it is impossible for us to say; it may, for aught we know to the contrary, be equal to our own: we are barely authorized in our conception drawn from visible phenomena, that their powers are under some kind of restraint, but of what nature we know not; nor does it follow from the premises, if

granted,

granted, that their cogitative faculties should be under any restraint at all. We see that they are in general miserable, without remedy or comfort; but that man is only so by predilection, having resources within himself, if he pleases to employ them, that are capable at all times of constituting his felicity; and this privilege marks to us the specific difference and superiority of the *same soul in brute and man*. In the *first* it may be said to be in a *close prison*, and in the last, a prisoner more *at large*, and capable of working out its full and *final liberty*; a privilege it cannot obtain by issuing from the mortal brute form, which is destined to be its state of *punishment and purgation*, as before observed, and that of *man only*, its state of *trial and probation*; from which form alone it can possibly emerge to its pristine celestial state. It seems to have been the sentiments of *Lucian*, as well as of *Pythagoras*, and many others of the ancient philosophers, that what constitutes the greatest punishment of the brutes, is *their consciousness* of having animated the *form of man*, and of not having benefited thereby; and that it is by their retaining the ideas of their former state of humanity, that many of their species, by small training, so readily comprehend his language and instructions.

Chimerical as this opinion may seem to some, it appears in our judgment to have a good foundation.

113. From what has been said, we have the pleasure of thinking the philosophic reasoning of the learned *Baxter* stands confirmed and illustrated; the sensible suggestions of the Rev. Mr. *Berrow* enforced and verified; the doubts and perplexities of the Rev. Mr. *Dean*, touching the *cause* for which the brutes are doomed to misery, fully satisfied; and the bold assertions of Mr. *John Ilive* well grounded, from whom we candidly confess we took our first hints, and became a thorough convert to his hypothesis, upon finding on enquiry, and the exertion of our own reason, that it was built on the first divine revelation that had been graciously delivered to man, to wit, THE CHARTAH BHADÉ OF BRAMAH; although it is very plain Mr. *Ilive* was ignorant of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, by confining his conceptions only to the angelic fall, man's being the apostate angels, and that this earth was the only hell; passing over in silence the rest of the *animal creation*.

114. As the ancient doctrine of the Metempsychosis alone accounts, as has been said, for the creation, nature, and state of man and beast, so it also clears up many difficulties and objections that have frequently been started concerning the *true nature of Christ*; some conceiving him to be “*very God of very God*,” that is, *God himself*, if they mean any thing: others conceive him to be *God and man*, but in what sense we believe infinite wisdom itself could not explain to the comprehension of a finite understanding—Others conceive *Christ* to have been *mere man*, enlightened or inspired by God to a *superlative degree*, and disavow the *pre-existent* state of his soul or spirit. Touching the *two first* of these opinions, we have already given *our conceptions*, esteeming them enthusiastic, if not blasphemous; but respecting the supporters of *the third*, they shun (we fear) *Sylla*, and fall upon *Carybdis*.

115. A Treatise (which we never saw or heard of before we had closed our Second General Head, although published in 1767) intitled, “*The true Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ considered*,” contains a plausible chain of objections to his supposed *pre-existence*. Although

though in that book, and the appendix, we have the singular pleasure of finding our sentiments upon the evil tendency of the Athanasian doctrine, and the true meaning and reading of the first chapter of St. *John's* Gospel, supported by so learned and judicious an advocate *for truth*; yet—we cannot avoid thinking that this author hurts the cause of Christianity in a most tender part, by contesting the pre-existent state of *Christ*, and thereby divesting him of his *original divinity*, the criterion, the *sine qua non* of his doctrines; for when he considers him as only *mere enlightened man*, he most certainly goes counter to the express declarations of *Christ*, in many places of the Gospels touching himself, his pre-existency, and nature of his mission, as being a delegate *immediately* from heaven; but more particularly in St. *John's* Gospel, chap. iii. 16, 17, and 18th verses. We concur in sentiment with this writer, and feel very distinct ideas respecting the DEITY of the Father, and the *divinity* of the Son; but when he could without scruple admit, that *divinity* and *humanity* may unite, or rather, as the learned *Baxter* states it, that God, by his omnipotency, can unite a spiritual being to any *material form* he pleases; we cannot conceive why he should stumble at allowing the pre-existence of the *divine Spirit of Christ*. The

creation and miserable existence of every mortal intelligent being, we have fully proved, can only be compatible with the justice of God, upon the supposition of the pre-existent state of their spiritual part or *soul*; then where lies the difficulty of supposing the pre-existent nature of *Christ*? as the *first created, the first begotten* of God of *all celestial beings*, before all worlds, delegated by the Father to *unite for a time* with the mortal form of man, for the great purpose of salvation to a race of offending intelligent beings.—Thus *Christ* may literally, with propriety, and without any mystery or confusion of ideas, be stiled and acknowledged THE SON OF GOD AND MAN, as he himself occasionally uses both those titles.—When this learned and ingenious writer gives an unprejudiced hearing, and full force to the doctrines of the Metempsychosis, and duly weighs the insufficiency of every other human hypothesis, to account for the *phenomena* of our *present existence*, and indeed of *all nature*; he will, we flatter ourselves, receive full conviction that his doubts and disbelief of the pre-existent state and *original divinity* of *Christ*, were ill-founded, and not *the true doctrine of the New Testament*.

116. If *reason* and *religion* are deemed worthy a place in the argument, man has now the fullest conviction from *both*, of the true relation in which he stands to the whole brute creation, and that he can lay no rational claim to the power he has assumed for a multitude of ages past over some of their species; nor has he any the smallest justifiable pretence for the uses to which he has converted others of them, murdering some for the gratification of his depraved unnatural appetites, subjecting others to the most cruel labors without humanity or remorse, devoting others for his wanton sport to premeditated deaths, attended with all the cruel and affecting circumstances of *protracted terror*; training, exasperating, aiding, and abetting others to bloody combats of death against one another of the *same species*; spiring up and encouraging others of them, *of different species*, to discord, contention, and battle, worrying each other, sometimes to death itself, for man's inhuman diversion; imprisoning and divesting others of the species of *that liberty* which was originally given to them by their Creator, upon a tenure equal with man's own; and this only for the sake of a *trifling amusement* and indulgence to the ear; exhausting the strength, and abridging the lives of multitudes of the most noble of the brute crea-

tion in contentions of speed, for the base purposes of *iniquitous gain* and *worthless fame*, acquired not without the application of many cruel ruthless stripes, gaping wounds, and languid sweats, that human pity, if it had existence, would shudder at.

117. The above catalogue of evils, which man has hitherto, without scruple or feeling, wantonly loaded the brute creation with, we will suppose may be ascribed to his having lost sight of *their original dignity*, and the *relation* they truly stand in to himself; and therefore this ignorance may, in some degree, be pleaded in extenuation of his guilt: but now he is fully evinced of *both*, he in future remains without excuse, if he does not recede from practices that are neither warranted by reason, religion, justice, or the common dictates of humanity. The further to induce him to this worthy recession, we beg leave to remind him, that every brute is animated with a *soul* identical to *his own*, advancing only in a *progressive state* TO MAN; and that he has no right either to hasten or retard *that progression*, that being an act which God has reserved to himself alone: God has said,—"Thou shalt do no murder," and man has had the boldness, either totally to disregard this commandment, or by putting
his

his own construction upon it, has infringed it in every sense, where power gave him the means: how could we then expect mercy for the brute creation, when he has shewn none for his own species? But this is a kind of murder we shall not speak to here, intending in this place further to examine his pretensions *not only to murder, but to eat the animal beings*, and the fatal consequences of this transgression to the world, requesting our readers will have the goodness to advert to what has been already presented to them on this subject in our 103^d and few following paragraphs. We know, that in this discussion we shall meet with potent enemies to contend with, no less than a most formidable train of all the sensual appetites and passions, but that shall not deter us; human reason, although long debased, and subjected to the dominion of *Circe*, is not quite extinct, and only wants to be roused by application of the *celestial Moly*, to shine forth in its native and original lustre.

118. Besides man's conceit of his right of dominion over the brute creation (which has been sufficiently refuted) he urges *two* other pleas in support of his practice of *kill- ing and eating his fellow-creatures*; these he thinks are unanswerable—*The first* is the obvious course and destination of Providence,

whereby we see that every race of the animal creation are in a perpetual state of war, and doomed to be a prey, the one to nourish and sustain the other *;—the fact, if laid down as a *general* position, may be admitted, but with large exceptions, as many tribes of quadrupeds are exempted from that general law of nature, as the horse, the cow, the deer, the goat, the sheep, &c. but allowing this plea to have its full force respecting the carnivorous tribes of the brute creation, yet *man* cannot avail himself of this law; *they* deviate not from the line prescribed them by the God of nature, but man, in becoming a *beast of prey*, acts not only in violation of his order and rank in the scale of beings, but also in opposition to an express interdict of GOD, as promulged in the Bramanical and Mosaic history of his creation before cited; and indeed, upon a survey of the natural construction of his form, the quadrupeds above specified might gorge and regale their appetites upon animal food with equal propriety as man, who cannot plead *the law of necessity*, which carnivorous animals seem to be subjected to for their daily subsistence.

119. Let us not, however, in our abundant zeal for the brute creation, be wanting

* Vide Part II. from page 77. to 86.

in our due applause to the amazing and unaccountable *moderation* and forbearance of man, in that he has not in *Europe* yet arrived, to what most certainly must be the highest perfection of good eating, *the flesh of his own species*; which, from the nature of its regimen, and the repletion of animal salts and juices, must yield a much more exalted flavor, and higher enjoyment, than any other kind of *brutal flesh* can possibly afford.—*Swift*, of ever witty and sarcastic memory, was ludicrous on this subject; but we are quite serious, and think man's abstinence from this *supreme indulgence* the more to be honored, and the more wonderful, as he is not without precedents for the practice, on the authentic records of *America*, and other *savage nations*; besides—his virtue shines brighter in this *great self-denial*, when he may with propriety urge very cogent *political* reasons, that would fully justify his transplanting that *luscious delicacy* and fashion into *Europe*, to wit, the *increasing scarcity* and *high price* of all animal food, both which evils would be effectually and speedily averted from us, by the project of—KILLING AND EATING THE CONSUMERS; from which practice, the too great population of the human species would also be prevented. A consideration which

leads us to man's *second plea* for killing and devouring the brute creation.

120. *The immense increase of the animal creation*, which it has been supposed would over-run the world, and endanger man's safety and existence, has been urged as an unanswerable *plea of necessity* for their destruction;—to say nothing of the wickedness of this argument, which directly and openly arraigns the wisdom, goodness, and mercy of God, we will consider the force of it, and hope to prove it as ill-grounded as the former; for, in the first place, supposing (although not allowing) the fact, it can only give a sanction to man for killing, *but not for eating*: nor can this argument possibly be applied, even with the semblance of propriety, against any species of the brutes, but those that are obviously obnoxious to him, and these shun his society.—Any superabundant increase of the *finny race* cannot possibly affect man's safety or existence, yet he destroys and devours them in common with their terrestrial and aerial brethren.—But to show the fallacy of this plea, we find it levelled only against those unoffending animals which man has destined *for his prey*, and no pretended inconvenience is felt from the in-
crease

crease of those selected for our pleasure or our labor, as witness the elephant, the horse, &c.—But to cut this plea short, and divest it even of plausibility, let us appeal to facts, which set all reasoning at defiance;—let us cast our eyes back on the ancient extensive empire of *Indostan*, where, for a long succession of ages, to the late period of their subjection to *Tamerlane*, no animal was ever bereaved of life, but left to its natural decay and dissolution, and yet their increase was never found, or objected to as an evil, or obnoxious to man.—On the contrary, it is most evident, throughout the whole animal creation, man not excepted, that God has wisely adjusted the principles of decay in each, in a just proportion to their increase or prolific qualities, in such an equipoise, that the one shall not exceed the other, to the confusion or detriment of his works.—If we admit, that some parts may be overstocked, and that the increase may exceed the means for their support, yet this affords no plea or sanction for slaughtering and eating them;—since man has, without any authority from God or nature, doomed them to labor, to evade and set at nought that part of his sentence which decreed “*that he should till the ground by the sweat of his own brow,*” let him, in case of a superabundant increase, *as the least sinful,*

ful, export them to other regions that may stand in need of them for similar purposes, in place of devoting them to death, for the gratification of his unnatural appetites.— There may be one situation, and one only, wherein man can possibly, with seeming justice, destroy the animal creation; and that is, when there should be such an increase of those species of similar construction with his own respecting mastication, &c. that should rob or divest him of that food which God and his own nature originally marked and pointed out for his sole subsistence; in such a case, provided he had no other means of freeing himself of them, he possibly might stand vindicated in killing, but *in no case* in eating them.— What has been above alledged respecting the empire of *Indostan*, may be as justly applied to other regions and people of early times, as we shall have occasion to specify below, where we purpose to enquire, when the vice of slaughtering and devouring the brute creation began, and consider its fatal consequences, *as one of the great roots of physical and moral evil in the world*. But before we proceed to this enquiry, it is necessary to obviate another plea in defence of this error, which just now starts up, and arrests our intended course.

121. Man, when hard pressed, and at a loss for rational argument (for he cannot easily and with a good grace give up the savory flesh-pots of *Egypt*), has advanced a *third plea* in support of his practice, which he would also sanctify into a *plea of necessity*, which is, that without the use of animal food, and vinous and spiritous potations, the human form could not be sustained in full health and vigor.—Surely man cannot be in earnest, when he urges this as argument, for not only the experience of nations, but daily instances in multitudes of individuals are against him.—The superlatively wise and inspired DANIEL, in his first chapter, exhibits to mankind a fine lesson, which comes in point to invalidate this futile plea.—The King of *Babylon*, desirous of having some youths of the royal *Hebrew* line trained up in his court, “to stand before the King,” he appointed them a daily provision of the *King’s meat*, and the *wine* which he drank; but *Daniel*, anxious that neither himself nor the royal youths should be defiled, rejected the *meat and wine*, and making an interest with the governor that was set over them, “beseeched him to give them *pulse to eat; and water to drink;*” the result was, that at the expiration of the time prefixed by way of experiment, “*their countenances appeared fairer,*
“and

“ *and fatter in flesh than all the children who had eat the portion of the King’s meat.*” — Thus we humbly conceive that we have fairly driven man from every subterfuge, every retrenchment, which he has cast up in defence of the cruel and unnatural practice of *killing* and *eating* his fellow-brethren of the animal creation, without *any necessity, or other rational plea, for so doing.*

122. When, or in what period of the world, man fell into the fatal error of murdering and feeding upon his elder brethren of the creation, is difficult to fix with any precision, although we may with much probability conclude it had a very early rise; as it has been observed, man grows not wicked all at once, so we may rationally conjecture this vice became not general, until within the space of three thousand years back;—that copious fountain of wisdom and knowledge, that incessant advocate for the rationality and morals of the brute creation, the learned author of the *Turkish Spy*, recites many authorities in proof, that this vice was not practised in the *first times*, but was an innovation on the primitive manners of mankind; he honors the Brachmans of *India*, and seems to be a convert to the doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*; he stands amazed at the signal circumstances, peculiar

liar only to the SANSKRIT, and the four books of the law (*i. e. the Chartab Bhade of Bramah*), written in that language; he thinks it strange that no history should mention *so divine a speech*, and draws his conclusion of the superior antiquity of the Bramins, their language and books, to the rest of the world,—“*in regard that they fall not within any records, save their own.*”——He then, with great truth, remarks, that the people of *Indostan* are the only people in the world who have, in all ages to this day, paid a strict obedience to that first injunction and law of GOD, *Thou shalt neither kill, nor eat thy fellow-creatures of the brute creation.* He also instances, that the primitive *Persian* and *Egyptian* Magi abstained from and prohibited this vice to their followers, and this abstinence remained inviolate so long as they retained the pure theology which had been communicated to them by their neighbors the Bramins of *Indostan.*——He also notes, that the ancient Druids of *Gaul* and *Britain*, who taught the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, abstained from killing and eating animal food, and remarks likewise, that the first people of the world made offerings to the gods only of the fruits and flowers of the earth, which has been, and is uniformly the practice of the people
of

of *Indostan* to this time.—He recites, that the precepts of *Triptolemus* and *Draco*, the first law-givers of the *Athenians*, comprehended the whole system of virtue and piety in practising these few following rules: “Let
 “ it be an eternal sanction to the *Athenians*,
 “ to adore the immortal Gods, to revere the
 “ departed heroes, to celebrate their praise
 “ with songs, and the *first-fruits of the*
 “ *earth, and neither to kill man or beast.*”

123. In whatsoever age this depravity took its rise, it is plain it obtained not generally all at once, but by slow degrees; and as every *other* species of wickedness gained footing and flourished in the world, so we may suppose this also grew to maturity with them, and became universal, except in the single instance of a whole nation, marked above. The use of vinous, and afterwards spiritous potations, we conceive had a later rise, and was a natural consequent of an appetite previously vitiated by the unnatural relish of animal food; and we think it most probable, that both these vices first took possession of man in some period of what *Bramah* calls the *Tirtab Jogue*, or second age, immediately succeeding the *Suttee Jogue*, or age of truth and righteousness; for it was in the *Tirtab*
 3 *Jogue*

Jogue * (which may be properly stiled the first age of evil) that the influence of *Moisasoor* or *Satan* brought about the *second* defection of one-third of the angelic spirits; and as his power increased during the succeeding *Duapaar* and *Kolee Joggles* †, so we may rationally couclude the *two vices* under consideration became universal (excepting the *Gentoos*) about the middle of the *Kolee Jogue* or age of corruption, that is, about three thousand years ago: how it happened that the *Gentoos* alone, either never fell into the vice of killing and eating the animal beings, or were reclaimed from it, is easily accounted for, from God's positive injunctions against it ‡, delivered by the mouth and scriptures of *Bramah*; for as to the use of vinous and spiritous liquors, it should seem that was a vice not in being at the period in which that inspired legislator revealed his *Chartab Bhade Shastab* to the *Gentoos*, to wit, 4870 years ago, for if it had, it is most probable it would not have escaped his notice and prohibition;—and yet the *Gentoos* abstain as religiously from the one vice as the other, probably from some positive injunctions laid upon them

* Vide Part II. p. 68 and 69.

† Ibid, p. 70 and 71.

‡ Ibid, p. 51 and 52.

in the *Insaff Bhade*, or fourth book of *Bramah's Shaftah*.

124. To give the devil his due, it must in justice be acknowledged, that the introduction of these two *first-rate vices* was a master-piece of politics in *Moisafoor* or *Satan*, who alone was capable of working so diabolical a change in rational intellectual beings. He had prescience enough to foresee, by reasoning from causes to effects, that if he succeeded in the attempt, he should be able in time to counteract and utterly circumvent the merciful intentions of God towards the delinquent spirits. To this he was stimulated by several different motives, all tending to the same end;—he considered them, from their persevering in penitence and holiness throughout the *Suttee Fogue*, as in a state of rebellion against himself, and with good reason, as they had acknowledged him for their King and Leader in heaven;—he had also, with grief and indignation observed, that during *that age* multitudes of them (on whose fidelity he had depended) had escaped out of his reach, and were advancing through the regions of purification towards their lost seats, and that probably the next age would leave him without any other subjects but those of *his*

own tribe, whose allegiance to him he knew was inviolable; therefore, effectually to guard against a farther revolt of his old associates, he meditated the infernal scheme of tempting them to the use of animal food, and intoxicating drinks, as an infallible expedient that would fully answer all his diabolical purposes. For, *first*, he knew he should thereby lead them into sin and disobedience, by a breach of an express command and prohibition of their God. *Secondly*, he was sensible that those unnatural aliments would inflame and exalt the desires *of the flesh*, above the rule and dominion of *the spirit*. *Thirdly*, he knew also, that by natural consequence *diseases* would ensue, that must assuredly *abridge* their *term of probation* in the form of *man*, which would be no inconsiderable point gained. *Fourthly*, his penetration made it obvious to him, that this *inflamed state of the human body* (from the continued accession of animal salts and juices, heated and fermented by the auxiliary force of spiritous liquors) would be propagated through the species; and that the sure effects would be, their *giving birth* amongst them to a train of monstrous, unnatural, violent, and consequently unmanageable passions, as lusts of every kind and species, ambition, avarice, envy, hatred, and malice, &c. that would regularly produce

duce a *progeny* of concomitant actions and effects; as, invasions of property, contentions, wars, battles, murders, and sudden deaths. *Fifthly*, he foresaw a farther favorable consequence from the indulgence of these passions, as that they would, by the natural force of their operation, engage and confine their pursuits to the temporary sensual enjoyments and acquisitions of *this world only*, and cause them to lose sight of *the next*, as well as of *the means* by which they were destined to regain it. These deviations from the path marked out for them, *Satan* knew would in the end estrange their God from them, and that they and their posterity would become *his own*, from generation to generation.

125. It is worth enquiry, by what system of craft *Moisafoor*, or *Satan*, could possibly induce rational beings so widely to swerve from their obedience, and from their original nature and dignity, into that of lions, tigers, wolves, &c. beasts of prey; nay, to exceed them in every kind of vicious refinement, and to leave them so far behind in the race of luxurious, voluptuous gluttony, besides the *exalted invention* of either entirely divesting themselves of their senses and reason, or of turning them from their bias, by the licentious guzzle of wine and spirits;

an enchanting relish and enjoyment, which the brutes have not yet arrived to, one species of them only excepted, which approach in kind the nearest to our own, viz. the Satyr, Oronootan, Baboon, and others of the same race, all of which (the first excepted) we have seen smoke and drink until they became as completely beasts *as man himself*; so that man has not so much cause to plume himself upon this glorious acquisition, as he possibly and vainly may have flattered himself withal.—But, not to lose sight of our enquiry by any farther reflections on these grievous truths, so degrading to humanity,—we may suppose, that *Satan*, having had experience that the angelic spirits, in their superior and pre-existent state, had not been proof against his artful seductions, began his operations, and exerted his influence, first upon those who were appointed to preside over the ceremonies of religious worship, rightly judging, that if he could corrupt those who had the lead on earth, the rest would fall an easy prey; he was aware, that if he abruptly proposed the destruction of their fellow-creatures, without some specious plea, human nature might start at the proposition: he therefore cunningly suggested the sanctifying their murder by offering them up in sacrifice, as a work that

would be most acceptable to the Deity; he doubtless likewise insinuated, they would thereby not only do a thing pleasing to God, but also render a signal service to their delinquent brethren, who they knew were imprisoned in the brute forms, the shortening whose lives would expedite their progressive advance to that of man, from which form alone they could regain their lost stations in the celestial regions. That this was an argument *Satan* laid no small stress on, appears obvious from this, that it has been frequently made use of by several ancient priests and philosophers, *his faithful deputies*, in justification of the inhuman practice.— This great point gained, *Satan* met with little difficulty in prevailing on them to taste; and thus by degrees the killing and eating the most innocent species of these devoted miserable beings, became an established *religious custom* all over the world; a practice, say the Bramins, which the devil himself could *only* have forged.— Yet *Satan* thought himself not quite secure of his votaries, without playing an after-game that would infallibly work out their future perdition; therefore his next step was to influence them to extend their *religious sacrifices* to their *own species*: to bring them to this supreme pitch of wicked superstition, he

he found some difficulty, but at length prevailed, by insinuating, that they would thereby not only more effectually deprecate the displeasure and vengeance of the gods, but also free the souls of those who were thus devoted, from future transmigrations through the mortal brute forms of punishment and purgation.—If any of our readers doubt the address and success of *Satan* in this arduous attempt, we have only to recommend them to the perusal of the histories of the ancient *Phenicians*, *Tyrians*, and *Carthaginians*, who were all *shoots* from the *Chaldean stock*, and also the history of the *Canaanites* in our Old Testament.—*Satan* still thinking his scheme defective, gave the finishing stroke to it, by suggesting the practice of pouring out *libations* of wine to the gods, without which the ceremonies of religious sacrifices would be imperfect; this obtained, he left them to themselves, knowing, that as they had so readily been induced to eat of the one, they would of course make as licentious a use of the other; and that he should, from the natural united effects of both, always find them in a proper state to receive any diabolical impressions he should in future suggest to them, by his own immediate operation on them, or by those of his infernal agents:—and thus, al-

though he had failed of acquiring *supreme worship* in heaven, he at length effectually obtained it on earth.

126. We may with probability conclude, that some ages (although not many) might have elapsed before the laity came in either for a bit or a sup of those religious sacrifices; that these observing (by the instigation of *Satan*) how their priests *piously devoured them*, began to demur against supplying them with victims, unless they also came in for a share, which at last they obtained; the priests still reserving the most delicious morsels for themselves.—And thus, in process of time, both priests and laity killed and eat the brute creation in common, without even *the pretence* of religious motives, or indeed any principle at all; a point which *Satan* foresaw they would in the end arrive at, and the event confirmed the sagacity of his judgment in forming a plan which at once afforded him a triumph over God and man.

127. Having above, we humbly conceive, made it manifestly appear, to the full conviction of every unprejudiced reader, that the *two vices* which we are combating have been, and still are, the pernicious
 roots

roots from which all moral evils sprang, and continue to flourish in the world; permit us next to repeat, that (according to the shewing of the philosophers, moralists, divines, and historians of all nations) *there has been an utter depravity in mankind in every part of the known earth, from the earliest records of time.* Let any casuist assign any *other adequate cause* for this universal depravity and corruption of the species, that will account for this phenomenon, better than those which we have above attributed it to, and we will most readily give up our system;—*a cause* there must be somewhere, and that a general one too, that could produce such *uniform effects*.—Divines point out no other cause than that we are undoubtedly under *the influence of the devil*. This we know as well as they, but they seem not to know *how* it happened that we came under that direction; all the learned of the world concur in the opinion that *there was a time when primitive man* was not under his dominion: the angels *continued good* for a long space before they fell a sacrifice to his seductions, and their own ambitious folly; and so they did again for an age, when doomed to animate mortal forms on earth, for their first transgression; and they persevered in angelic virtue until *Satan* projected the introduction of those *two vices*,

which he was sensible would infallibly work such a change in the human body as would of course impair it, and consequently that the free use, exercise, and operation of the *spirit's* intellectual powers of rectitude would be impeded, and liable to perversion by foreign influence, which otherwise would have remained in full force and vigor, as is verified by many instances on record, where man, by abstaining from these *capital vices*, has kept his soul in such a state as to resist every effort of *Satan* to provoke him to sin.

128. When the cause of any disease is discovered, it amounts to more than half a cure. Would man exert his intellectual powers, he would soon pull down what *Satan* has been so many ages erecting; his empire has acquired no stability but from our easy submission to his diabolical suggestions; and that in such wise, that we can now hardly be said to have any claim to that original free agency given to us, for the very purpose of withstanding his influence; remove the cause, the effect ceases. When man returns to his natural, primitive, simple aliments, his inordinate desires, his passions, and their direful issue, will as naturally subside, as they rose; then we may form a well-grounded hope of the
renewal

renewal and restoration of the *primitive age* of purity and holiness; that *balcyon age*, when man banqueted with innocence and content upon the delicious produce of his parent earth, without a thought of killing and eating his fellow animals;—that age, wherein the feathered tribe could in freedom and security range in their proper element without dread or apprehension of the cruel fowler;—when the roes and hinds, with the timorous hares, might gambol and scamper at pleasure over the boundless plains, without the risk of being scattered and drove, in protracted terrors and dismay, to the mountains, rocks, and brakes for sanctuary against the pursuit of the ruthless hunter;—when the scaly independent race enjoyed at large their watery course, without molestation, from the artful wiles of the insidious angler;—when the sea remained yet unexplored, and COMMERCE, that *bane* (falsely called the cement) of mankind, had not a being, and was not, as now, an instrument in the hands of *Satan* to excite the species to invasions, fraud, and blood; the natural produce of the earth in every region supplied its offspring with all that was useful and necessary, because men were strangers to irregular desires, and we have no *solid reason* to imagine its inhabitants were less numerous then, than now.

As

As the wickedness and unbounded violence of man brought on a rueful change on the face of the globe, so we might rationally hope and expect, that on an universal return to his *primitive goodness*, GOD would restore to him his habitation, in all its original beauty and *natural fertility*.——This happy restoration would man easily accomplish, if he prevailed with himself to abstain from these two capital vices, which were, as before observed, the parents of every other subsequent transgression on earth;—JUSTICE would then return in fresh lustre from her long banishment, accompanied by the lovely train of *temperance, harmony, reciprocal benevolence, and lasting peace*; HAGGARD DISEASE would be drove into a longer banishment than even *Justice* suffered, and (like her) only be known *by name*.——DEATH would be commanded to stand aloof, that man's happy term of probation on earth might be extended to a greater length, as a means for his future salvation.——Then, and then only, may we hope to see and feel the sacred doctrines of *Christ's* gospel operate *universally* on mankind, by producing a general rectitude of morals and piety.——We are not so sanguine as to expect that this wondrous change would be brought about in *one generation*, but the *next* would most sensibly experience its

its happy effects, and *Satan* would soon find himself repulsed and baffled in all his cunning and deep planned machinations, and be obliged to retreat with disgrace, and seek an empire in some other region of the universe.

129. Now, as it appears beyond a controversy, that the *depravity* herein lamented began in the priesthood, who first unhappily fell under the influence of *Satan's* wicked suggestions; so it is undoubtedly incumbent on popes, patriarchs, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, priests, pastors, and rulers of every church on earth, to set the pious example of beginning a general reformation of these two execrable evils, the killing and eating the rational brute creation, and guzzling vinous, &c. potations, ——— They would do well to consider, that the persevering in these vices themselves, burdens *them* with a double weight of sin, as being the first aggressors, and as being specially commissioned to guard the morals, and point out the right road of worshipping the Deity to the laity; considerations which, joined to their known assiduity and anxiety for the salvation of mankind, leaves us not the smallest room to suspect, that they would hesitate a moment to set so laudable and essentially necessary a precedent.

dent. To one unskilled in the workings of human nature, and the powerful sway of the prince of the air, it may appear astonishing, that so learned and holy a body of men should continue so long immersed in such gross enormities;—but when we reflect, that the (*now human*) angelic spirit fell when it was more pure, and endued with more superior and enlarged powers, let us cease to wonder at its *errors* in its present degraded state, and aim only at the correction of *them*.—As an encouragement to attempt and prosecute this great work (we may justly say) *of salvation*, we shall remark, that as the laity too readily followed the example of their ancient reverend teachers, so it may be reasonably presumed, they will as readily, in these our times, joyfully subscribe to and support their sacerdotal leaders in the pious reformation of these unnatural and impious practices, as it would so manifestly insure to them their *present*, as well as *future happy existence*.

130. Before we quit this our Third General Head, we will, to enforce our arguments, take leave to present our readers with a lively picture of man's *primitive state* in the age which we are laboring to restore him to; and also the progress of evil, superstition, and idolatry which *Satan* reced

duced mankind to, after he had prepared them, *as above*, to receive any impressions he was pleased to meditate for their destruction.—Both these are drawn by an author profoundly skilled in every species of learning and wisdom——“ They went out and
 “ in, slept and waked, labored and rested,
 “ in safety and quiet. Avarice, envy, and
 “ injustice, had not as yet corrupted the
 “ minds of mortals. The earth brought
 “ forth corn, herbage, and fruits, without
 “ the husbandman’s or gardener’s labor. All
 “ places abounded with plenty of *innocent*
 “ refreshments, and those primitive inha-
 “ bitants coveted no more. The cattle
 “ and the bees afforded them milk and
 “ honey, and the fountain-waters were ge-
 “ nerous as wine. This globe was a com-
 “ plete paradise, and no mistaken zeal had
 “ taught men *religiously to invade another’s*
 “ *rights, and in a pious fury to murder their*
 “ *neighbors, in hopes of meriting heaven*
 “ *hereafter.*——The law of nature was in
 “ universal force. Every man pursued the
 “ dictates of Reason, without hearkening
 “ to religious sophistry, and sacred fables.”
 ——“ But——when (at *Satan’s* instigation)
 “ the lucre of gold had corrupted men’s
 “ manners, and they, not contented with
 “ the riches and sweets which the surface
 “ of the earth daily afforded them, had
 “ found

“ found a way to descend into her bowels,
“ stung with an insatiable desire of hidden
“ treasures ; then began injustice, oppres-
“ sion, and cruelty to take place. Men
“ made inclosures for themselves, and en-
“ compassed a certain portion of land, with
“ hedges, ditches, and pales, to fence them
“ from the invasions of others ; for the
“ guilt of their own vicious inclinations
“ filled them with fears, and made them
“ jealous of one another. They built them-
“ selves strong holds, fortresses, castles,
“ and cities ; and their terrors increasing
“ with their criminal possessions, they per-
“ suaded themselves that the very elements
“ would prove their enemies, if not pacified
“ by bribes and presents. Hence sprang
“ the first invention of altars and sacrifices,
“ and from these pannaic fears of mortals,
“ the *gods* derived their pedigree ; for one
“ built a temple to the Sun, another to the
“ Moon, a third to *Jupiter*, *Mars*, or the
“ rest of the planets. Some adored the
“ Fire, others the Water or Wind. Every
“ one set up to himself such a god as he
“ fancied would be propitious to him.
“ Thus error, being equally propagated
“ with human nature, they created an infi-
“ nite rabble of imaginary deities, paying
“ to those idols the supreme incommuni-
“ cable

“ cable honors due only to the Eternal
 “ Essence, Father, and Source of all things.”

FOURTH GENERAL HEAD.

131. With our readers permission, we Fourth Ge-
neral Head. will open this head with the following texts of *Bramah's Chartah Bhade* *,—“ THE
 “ ETERNAL ONE spoke again and said—
 “ I have not with-held my mercy from
 “ *Moisafoor, Rhaboon*, and the rest of the
 “ rebellious *debtah*;—but as they thirsted
 “ for power, *I will enlarge their powers of*
 “ *evil*;—they shall have liberty to *pervade*
 “ *the eight boboons* of purgation and proba-
 “ tion, and the delinquent *debtah* shall be
 “ exposed and open to the same temptations
 “ that first instigated their revolt: but the
 “ exertion of those *enlarged powers* which
 “ I will give to the rebellious leaders shall
 “ be *to them* the source of aggravated guilt
 “ and punishment; and the resistance made
 “ to their temptations by the perverted
 “ *debtah*, shall be TO ME *the great proof* of
 “ the sincerity of their sorrow and repent-
 “ ance.”—“ THE ETERNAL ONE ceas-
 “ ed—And the faithful host shouted forth
 “ songs of praise and adoration, mixed with
 “ grief and lamentation for the fate of their

* Vide Part II. p. 57.

“ lapsed

“lapsed brethren.—They communed
 “amongst themselves, and with one voice,
 “by the mouth of *Bisnoo*, besought THE
 “ETERNAL ONE, that they might have
 “permission to descend occasionally to the
 “eight boboons of punishment, purgation,
 “and probation, to assume the form of
 “*Mburd*, and by their presence, council
 “and example, guard the unhappy and
 “perverted *debtah*, against the further
 “temptations of *Moisafoor* and the rebel-
 “lious leaders.—THE ETERNAL ONE as-
 “sented, and the faithful heavenly bands
 “shouted their songs of gladness and thank-
 “giving.”

132. Before we proceed, it may to some appear necessary that we clear up a seeming contradiction in this part of Braman's scriptures.—It may be objected, that GOD, first by his sentence exposes the delinquent angels to the same temptations that influenced their revolt; and then, immediately after, permits the faithful host occasionally to descend, and guard them from the artful wiles of the tempters,—or in other words, to counteract his own decrees.—To reconcile this seeming absurdity, we have only to conceive that the faithful host foresaw, that the delinquents might not of themselves be able to withstand the superior faculties

faculties of the revolted leaders; who, it may rationally be supposed, were endued with higher powers in proportion to their original rank:—this circumstance premised, we say, it is easy to imagine why God should relent at the warm and pious intercession of his faithful angels, and assent to the auxiliary force petitioned for by the same intercession HE had before been prevailed upon to reverse their first doom, and emerge them from their place of *utter darkness and anguish*, into a *pleasing state* of probation, comparatively considered; for, although they were sentenced to a state of degradation in their passage through the brute forms, yet being conscious, from the sentence pronounced to them by *Birmah*, that through these they should arrive at a *form*, wherein they should have powers to work out their restoration, their present state must have appeared delectable to them, put in comparison with the former, a state of eternal despair and bitterness. Now, as the faithful host had succeeded in the *first instance*, why should they not in the second?—They did.—Thus the seeming contradiction in the text vanishes, and at the same time conveys to us a useful and comfortable moral, to wit, that the prayers and ardent solicitations of *good beings* are not without their effect with a merciful

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deity.—

deity.—The apprehensions too of the faithful host were well grounded; for even with their assistance, *Satan* proved an overmatch for them both, and so continues to this day.

133. The visible or invisible ministration, or interposition of angelic beings in the concerns of mortals, is a doctrine which carries with it the sanction of the three great divine revelations, the *Sbaftab*, the *Old and New Testament*, as well as the concurring opinion of all mankind; and therefore we may justly rank it as one of the *primitive truths*, which had the most undoubted evidence for its birth and propagation in the *first times*.—From this doctrine (a relative of the Metempsychosis) flowed the first principle of the Manichean system originally broached by the *Persian Magi*, amongst other mutilated tenets of the *Char-tah Bbade*;—the first principles of this *primitive truth* were simple and intelligible, but (in common with the rest of the *primitive truths*) mankind in process of time lost sight of it; and being unable to account for the mixture of *good* and *evil* which appeared in their existence, they rashly propagated the horrible doctrine of two absolute and independent divinities that governed the universe, each of diametrically opposite natures;

natures; not adverting, that a single consideration which presented itself daily to them, was sufficient to refute a doctrine which at once wickedly destroyed the very existence of a Deity and Providence; whereas, had not *Satan* hoodwinked their understanding, they might have seen, that as no state whatsoever could possibly be governed by two independent powers, without falling into anarchy and confusion; so much less could the universe:—but from the causes above and elsewhere assigned, it is no wonder that mankind fell into a million of absurdities, not less iniquitous than this.

134. The mixture of good and evil *in this world* flowed naturally from the *second* angelic defection in the human form, as inevitable effects from adequate causes; for these beings were so struck with the unexpected mercy of their Creator, in affording them a trial and term of probation, in a world replete with every beauty and accommodation beyond their desert; that they continued truly sensible of that grace *for a space*, distinguished by the ancient poets and philosophers by the title of the golden age, by *Bramah*, as the age of truth and holiness; and it is reasonable to believe, that during that period, many of them regained

their celestial habitations ; and equally probable, that whilst they continued in this state of general contrition, neither natural or moral evil had a footing in this globe, but that the former commenced and kept pace with the latter ; and it is a well grounded opinion of philosophers and divines, that during the *primitive age*, this globe was not subject to those convulsive vicissitudes of storms, earthquakes, deluges, &c. nor the animal forms to pestilential or other diseases, which moral evils produced at the beginning of the *second age*, when the second defection of the angelic beings under *mortal forms* took place as before noticed : then it was, that man began to kill and eat his brethren of the creation, the brute animals ; and in process of time to kill and eat one another ;—then began contentions for property and power, which produced invasions, murders, and every species of cruelty amongst themselves ;—then began the contention between the elements by the designation of GOD, for the punishment of the ungrateful delinquents ; and then also began the contention between the good and evil spiritual beings, the one laboring to recover them to their duty, the other to seduce them from it. Here we would strenuously recommend to our readers the perusal of the pious, forcible, and judicious

dicious reasoning of the Rev. Mr. *Dean*, (before cited) in the first volume of his essay on the future lives of the brute creation, where he unanswerably proves that moral transgressions were the causes of physical evils, although he seems a stranger to the *true reason, a priori, why they should be so.*

135. The learned *Baxter* concurs with the Bramins, touching the existence of evil spirits; and reason, joined to the consideration of the goodness of God, naturally leads us to conclude, that if evil spirits have existence and power, there must also be good ones. —His words are these: “The *eastern* philosophers assert, that there are living beings existing separate from matter; that they act in that state upon our bodies, and provoke our sleeping visions.” —And he cites *Plutarch* in the instances of *Brutus* and *Dion*, saying, “We must own with *the old philosophers*, that there are bad spirits who envy good men, and endeavour to stumble them, lest going on in the ways of virtue, they should enjoy a better lot than themselves.” And our learned divine adds in another place, “That these *bad spirits* are permitted to excite dreams that frequently degenerate into awaking possessions, madness, idiotism, &c. and by such an *ascendance, misleaa*

“ *the soul* : ” — From the same eastern sages, he might have known that there exist also *good spirits* who voluntarily endeavor to counteract the bad.

136. During the *primitive age*, it should seem that *Satan* and his associate leaders had small, if any influence in the world ; he appears (like an able politician) only to wait for proper times and seasons to exert his abilities in : — he could not but know that the delinquents were now as much stunned with the unhopèd-for mercy of GOD, as they had been before by his vengeance, and therefore that this could be no favorable juncture to operate upon them : — But he also knew (as is the case with all rebels) that mercy would have no long effect upon them ; that the embers of rebellion in them were only smothered, but not extinguished ; and that there was only wanting a proper period and occasion to blow them up, and make them blaze again with greater fury : he judged that they would in time (allured by the delicious enjoyments of their region of probation) forget both the torments and despairing anguish they had suffered in the *region of utter darkness*, as well as the mercy that had redeemed them from it ; and he was perfectly right in his conclusion. — The
means

means this arch-traitor adopted to bring about his purposes of evil, both *natural and moral*, we have developed in our foregoing General Head, omitting one circumstance of encouragement as more properly applicable here—*Satan* and his leaders, although sensible that the powers of the faithful angelic beings they had to contend with, were equal with their own, yet they were not dismayed; knowing that the propensity to evil in the objects on whom their efforts were to be tried, would turn the balance in their favor.

137. It is most probable, that the earliest records that we have of the world, and the transactions of it, may be properly termed *modern times*, when put in comparison with those that preceded; at least we have no solid reasons, or certain guides, for our thinking otherwise. Howsoever the ancient records of the universe asserted to be in the possession of the *Indians, Chinese, and Egyptians*, stand discountenanced by the narrow and limited conjectures of the moderns, yet unprejudiced reason (as before hinted) recoils at the supposition of the world's being in the *juvenile state* given to it by the chronologers of *Europe*; when, from all its interior and external phænomena, it appears to stand on its last legs, or rather sup-

ported only on its crutches;—*Herodotus* was certainly a wise man, and although he recites many extravagant legends of the *Egyptian* priests, yet it is easy to distinguish by his manner of transmitting them to posterity, what he really had sufficient grounds to credit, and what to laugh at, as fabulous: amongst the former, is *the antiquity of their records*;—if these extended eighteen thousand years back from the period in which he wrote, then who knows what revolutions in states, empires, learning, arts and sciences may not have happened in the times preceding *their records*? *all those phenomena, like birds of passage, taking their flight from one region to settle for a time in another; or, to pursue our simile in a different species of those animals, diving and sinking in one place to rise in another far distant; as we have observed to have happened to them all, within the period of our scanty and imperfect chronicles: and yet, scanty as they are, it is from these alone, we are enabled to form a rational surmise, or judge with any precision of the past; from these then we are supported in saying, that the foundation of every known empire, kingdom, and state of the world, was originally laid in blood and carnage; and by these rose to the summit of their greatness, and by these fell to perdition.*

138. On a retrospect into authentic history, we survey the fatal and sanguinary issue of the civil wars of all nations; wherein those allied by the most sacred ties, engaging on different parties, cut the throats of each other, and gloried in the sacrifice.—Let us next take a view of the lamentable effects of invasion, from the Pagan and idolatrous *Sesostris*, to the Christian *Spaniard's* invasion of *Peru* and *Mexico*, in the prosecution of which last only, no less than twenty millions of unoffending people were slaughtered without mercy.—Let us observe the horrid concomitants of those contentions, impiously stiled, *religious wars*; wherein religion, intended to correct our morals, and establish peace on earth, has been made the stalking-horse, to cover the perpetration of the most cruel and atrocious crimes, dictated by ambition, and an insatiable thirst for dominion and property; witness the progress of the *Koran*, established by fire and sword throughout the greatest part of the world, the crusades, (let us not call them Christian) and the endless contentions between the professors of Christianity themselves, and the dire massacres they have been the cause of;—religious wars had no existence in the annals of antiquity; this was a species of wickedness reserved for later, and more enlightened times, introduced

troduced by the perversion of *Christ's* gospel.—Let us lastly consider the dismal effects of *all wars*, even to the present hour, and the universal depravity of man; and then see if we can find any *adequate cause* for these horrible enormous *effects*, than that above assigned, namely, *the influence of Satan*, under which the whole race of angelic delinquent human beings unhappily fell, at the close of the *primitive age*; a dominion he has preserved ever since over the species, a very few individuals in every age and every region excepted, who have nobly withstood his wicked machinations, and utmost efforts, to pervert them; a consideration which amounts to proof, that *all might* partake of this celestial triumph *if they would*, by joining the exertion of their *own powers* with the faithful angelic beings, who are ever at their call; for we have no more cause to doubt their existence and activity, than we have to doubt those of the air and wind, although invisible to us.

139. GOD, conscious that he has endowed us with sufficient powers of resistance, abandons us to ourselves; and it is by the neglect of those powers that still *man goes on as the devil drives him*, and must necessarily so continue, until he again, by the full exertion of his divine intellectual faculties, re-
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covers that purity he possessed in the primitive age; the full exertion of those powers he can only acquire, *by restoring the body, and its plastic juices, to their primitive natures*, thereby freeing the soul from those impeding chains which he himself has forged for her; the *sure means* for accomplishing this great end, and setting *Satan* at defiance, we have already pointed out; until then, we remain entangled in the snares and nets of the devil, and, like other animals so caught, shall persist in biting, scratching, worrying and murdering one another to the end of time.—Here we beg leave to dissent from the too generally received opinion, that the ancient and modern heroes, conquerors, leaders of battles and invasion, allies of death and the devil, so much celebrated in story (as your *Sesostrises, Semiramises, Cyruses, Cræsus, Cambyses, Dariuses, Xerxes, Alexanders, Cæsars, Mahommeds*, and a very long &c. &c. &c.), were or are instruments, or a scourge in the hands of God for the chastisement of mankind, because we think there appears *no necessity* for such an interposition; nor can we bring ourselves to believe that God ever did, or does consent, to those furious massacres of the species, recorded in the annals of the world, and perpetrated to this day: why should
we

we be driven to so unnecessary a conclusion, when we see, that the genius of man, by the guidance of *Satan*, is quite adequate to the purpose? nor have we a doubt, but that he takes special care, first to infuse into his hero a proper disposition for blood and conquest, and then places a *prime leader of his own* at his elbow, to keep him steady, and proof against the horrid and piercing groans, shrieks, and cries, of slaughtered parents, husbands, and brothers, ravished wives and daughters, entertained at the same time with the heart-rending screams of their expiring infants; for howsoever heroes and their blood-thirsty followers may, by custom and practice, be inured to these *glorious scenes*, yet it might sometimes so happen, that the feelings of humanity would start up in their breast, and were they not immediately suppressed, *Satan's* main purpose would be defeated; for the greater number of the species cut off short *of their term of probation*, the farther his iniquitous end is answered; and therefore he never fails to excite to murder upon every favorable occasion, no matter of what kind, whether of man or brute;—we likewise think it most probable, that, upon extraordinary incidents, where he might have doubts of the address or influence of a *deputy*,

puty, he did some of the *first-rate heroes* the honor of accompanying them *himself* in their expeditions, particularly *Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Mahommed,* and *Fernando Cortez,* with other captains both of ancient and modern date, needless to mention.—Respecting the destruction of *Babylon,* so minutely foretold by the prophets *Jeremiah* and *Isaiab,* where “ their young men and
 “ their host were to be utterly cut off by
 “ the sword, their houses spoiled, their
 “ wives and virgins ravished, those in the
 “ womb not spared, and their children’s
 “ brains dashed out against the stones be-
 “ fore their eyes;”——if we allow the prophets to have been justly inspired in the circumstances of this desolation, yet they certainly were mistaken as to the *first mover of it,* and, by some egregious error or other, deprived *Satan* of the honor of this glorious enterprize.

140. By what has been said, and with a reference to the *Metempsychosis,* it need not appear strange, that the world has at all times been equally populous, respecting both man and beast, or very nearly so; for so few of the delinquent spirits in every age have transmigrated to heaven, that they have been hardly missed on earth.—Here, we know, will be objected to us *Moses’s* account
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of the deluge, and the new propagation of all the animal species, from the stock which *Noah* saved in the ark.—To this we say, that there have been many solid arguments urged against the universality of *Moses's* deluge, which have never been refuted to the full satisfaction of inquisitive reason.—It is true, we have *Moses's ipse dixit* for the destruction of all, in whose nostrils were the breath of life; but how came it to pass, that a race of animals, as numerous, if not more so, than those of the earth, escaped his notice so far, as not even to be worthy the mention, namely, the fishes of the seas and rivers? in their nostrils were surely the breath of life. But the cause of *Moses's* silence respecting them is obvious; he knew the difficulty of conceiving how their destruction could be accomplished in their proper element, on which the most tremendous storms and hurricanes are matters of sport and pastime to them; therefore he took the wiser part in passing them over in silence, as having no existence in the scale of beings. This consideration proves, that whatsoever the deluge might have been, the destruction of the animal creation *was not universal*; then suffer us to ask, in justice to the rest of the devoted animals, what exemption this peculiar race was intitled to, that they did not participate in the general wreck?

wreck?—God's justice, mercy, and providence are equal to all, "a sparrow falls not to the ground unnoticed of him"—therefore it should seem, that the spirits animating the inhabitants of the waters, should at that period have been *less guilty* than the other terrestrial species; but that that might not have been the case, we shall shew presently, and demonstrate, that the seeming partial favor of Providence for that race can be only accounted for from the doctrine of the Metempsychosis.

141. Let us suppose, for argument-sake only (making a large allowance for the liberal genius of travellers), that every nation in the world retains a tradition of a deluge, yet this by no means invalidates the opinion that that of *Moses* was only local and partial.—Men had sinned, although probably not in equal degree, nor at the same period of time, in every region of the habitable world, and therefore all might merit the chastisement of God, some at one time, and some at another; therefore why may we not suppose, that he was pleased to make use of a similar mode of punishment to them all at different periods:—thus, in our own times, we see some nations suffer under earthquakes, storms, inundations, and pestilences,

silences, &c. at one time, and others at another; and thus all nations may have retained a tradition of a deluge; universal as to each particular, but strictly and properly speaking, local only.—On this probable surmise we need no longer puzzle ourselves with the difficulty of peopling *America* either with man or beasts, or any of those numerous islands which lie very far detached from any continent, and yet at their first discovery were found populous and flourishing in both.—But leaving this disputed point of the universality of *Moses's* deluge, as many others have done before us, just as we found it, and as one of those occult events in which mankind will never universally concur, we will suppose it to have been precisely and minutely as *Moses* has described it.

142. Then it follows, that the souls of every being were ousted of their mortal habitation for a space, except those which animated the marine forms. Now, by *Moses's* shewing, GOD attributes no evil or wickedness to any of the brute creation; nor to the myriads of *infant innocents* struggling under the bitter pangs of death in that dreadful catastrophe; and yet *these* suffered indiscriminately, and in common with *guilty man*.
Now,

Now, ye divines, philosophers, sages, and moralists of the world! account for this general and undistinguished ruin of animal life, consistent with our ideas of a *just* and *merciful* God, upon any other hypothesis than that of the *Metempsychosis* of *Bramah*, and ye shall be to us more than our *Magnus Apollo*.—On the principles of this doctrine alone, those two divine attributes of the Deity stand confessed, and vindicated, whether applied to an universal, or partial deluge on the earth, or to any other marks of his displeasure:—death, to which man was doomed at the deluge, was no more than he was subject to before; but the destruction being so general, made it more signal: the measure of man's iniquity was more than full, it ran over; and God seemed determined, at one tremendous blow, to try if terror would not in future operate more powerfully upon them than his goodness had done. The brutes, animated by the same delinquent spirits, although under other mortal forms, had been equally guilty in their former transmigration of man, and therefore justly suffered; the infant human race were taken off, and the term of the spirits probation, with that of their parents, cut short, as the severest stroke of God's displeasure to man.—The fish, although exempted for the present from their share of

the general calamity, yet partook of its consequences equal with the rest, in their future course of transmigration through other mortal forms, from the dire change in the nature of this habitable globe, whose delightful surface became rugged and inhospitable; its pure circumambient atmosphere, so essential to health and longevity, became vitiated; which, with other new and injurious phenomena in nature, contributed to shorten the date of animal life.—Then pestilence, famine, earthquakes, tempests, inundations, &c. became instruments in the hands of GOD for the chastisement of the delinquent spirit's second apostacy: and thus man brought upon himself accumulated *natural evils*, in consequence of his moral transgressions; oppression, war, ambition, and their cruel effects, in the hands of those spoilers of mankind *called heroes*, were instigated, as before shewn, by *another mover*.

143. We have said above, that the cutting short man's *term of probation* was the severest stroke of GOD's displeasure; for he alone knows how many direful vicissitudes, and variety of irksome forms the *delinquent soul* must pass through, before it receives the grace of re-entering the *human form*, for a new combat betwixt vice and virtue.—

The *Egyptians*, according to *Herodotus*, fix the

the precise term of three thousand years between the *spirit's* banishment from the human form, and its regaining that *state of probation*, from which only they can hope to transmigrate to heaven. In this opinion they were followed by *Pythagoras*, who averred his spirit animated the mortal form of *Euphorbus*, slain at the siege of *Troy*. — The *Bramins* affix no precise space of time for the completion of this event; and teach only, that the *delinquent spirit* passes through eighty-eight mortal forms, *the species* appointed by God alone; so that, according to this doctrine, the space may be long or short, in proportion to the longevity or quick decay (consistent with the common course of nature) of the mortal bodies it is doomed to animate. That the determined space assigned by the *Egyptians*, was void of any solid foundation, and an innovation on the original doctrine of the *Metempsychosis*, appears from the consideration of the uncertain term between the dissolution of the human form, and the spirit's being allowed the grace of re-entering *any mortal form at all*: — Thus THE ETERNAL ONE, speaking in the text of *Bramah*, part 2d, p. 55. — “ But it shall be, — that if
 “ the rebellious *debtah* do not benefit of my
 “ favor in the eighty-ninth transmigration
 “ of *mburd* (man) according to the powers
 “ where-

“ wherewith I will invest them ;——thou,
 “ *Sieb*, shalt return them *for a space* into the
 “ *onderab*, and from thence, after a time
 “ which I shall appoint, *Bistnoo* shall re-
 “ place them in the lowest *boboos* of punish-
 “ ment and purgation *for a second trial*:—
 “ and in this wise shall they suffer, until, by
 “ their repentance and perseverance in good
 “ works during their eighty-ninth transmi-
 “ gration of *mburd*, they shall attain the *ninth*
 “ *boboos*, even the first of the seven *boboos* of
 “ purification.—For it is decreed, that the
 “ rebellious *debtah* shall not enter the *mabab*
 “ *surgo*, nor behold my face, until they have
 “ passed the eight *boboos* of punishment, and
 “ the seven *boboos* of purification.”—Now
 it is most rational to conclude, that the term,
 or space and degree of the spirit’s sufferings,
 both before it is permitted to enter any mortal
 body, and during its imprisonment therein,
 are (conformable to infinite justice and
 mercy) proportioned to its greater or lesser
 degree of guilt, in its *lapsed state of probation*
in the human form.——This being the case,
 how greatly incumbent is it not on man-
 kind, to exert with vigor that portion of
 God’s divine spirit with which he is en-
 dowed, that he may rise from this *gracious*
state of trial, to those mansions of bliss still
 kept open for him ; the more especially as
 he has a moral certainty, that should his own
 powers

powers (from impeding causes to which he stands self-subjected) prove insufficient, there is *an invisible angelic aid* ready to second and support his pious endeavors.

FIFTH AND LAST GENERAL HEAD.

144. It may be remarked, that there are *two* points of *Bramah's* doctrine, respecting the state of the spirit, after the dissolution of the human body; *the first*, its residence *for a space in the onderab*, the seat of darkness and anguish, before it is suffered to animate any mortal form at all;—*The second*, its state of purification, when by a life of purity and virtue, during its previous state of *probation*, it ceases from its mortal transmigrations.—We need not expatiate on the temporal pecuniary trade and advantages the church of *Rome* makes of *the first* of these doctrines; the leaders of that church will answer before a supreme and *infallible* judge, for that, and the multitude of other gross and extravagant principles of faith, by which they pervert the pure doctrines of Christ, and mislead the people committed to their charge; from whom the true God, and his worship, are as effectually obscured, as ever they were from the *Canaanites, Egyptians, and Tyrians* of old.

Fifth General Head.

—But this by the bye; nor should we have been provoked to these reflections, had we not so lately been an eye-witness of the corruptions, idolatries, vicious parade, and legerdemain of that mother-church of *Europe*.—That there is an intermediate state of the spirit's purification between its deliverance from the human body, and its admission to the presence of God, is the opinion of all divines and philosophers; and countenanced by the Christian system: no wonder then, that these two points of doctrine should have so universally obtained, when it appears, that they hold a rank amongst the *primitive truths*, revealed to the apostate angels, when doomed to take the mortal forms upon them, and are consequently relative tenets of the *Metempsychosis*.

145. The doctrine of the spirit's purification is evidently founded on the rational conclusion, that its various and many defilements contracted in the flesh, render it an object unworthy of admission to God, or of the society of those pure beings who had not known pollution, until it undergoes a perfect depuration; to accomplish which, it was necessary it should pass through *seven regions* or stages of purification, according to the text of *Bramah*:
matter

matter, we know, when grossly soiled, cannot be sufficiently cleansed *at once*; but will require the frequent reiteration of the same process; and thus we may conceive of the soul: but why precisely *Seven* gradations of cleansings, we will not pretend to explain, nor is it a matter of much importance.— It is reasonable to imagine, that the spirit's passage through these *seven* pure regions is retarded, or expedited, in proportion to the stains it had contracted during its abode in the flesh, and the degree of its *original* transgression; for we have no solid reason for thinking, that the apostate angels all equally sinned; the *first movers* to sedition and rebellion being certainly *most culpable*.—That *seven* was a mystical number with all antiquity appears beyond all doubt: GOD rested on the *Seventh day* according to *Moses*; the universe is divided by astronomers into *seven* primary planets; the *seven* angels, and the *seven* vials of the Revelations; the *seven* wise men; the *seven* wonders of the world; the *seven* divisions, or *parts of the world*, according to *Zoroaster*, specified in the voyage of the curious, and industrious *Monsieur de Perron*; wherein the reader, if he has nothing better to do, may amuse himself with the rhapsodies, and theological dreams of that legislator of the *Persians*; and when he has done, we

dare promise him he will not find either his heart or his understanding much enlightened:—The *seven* heavens, and the *heaven of heavens* so frequently mentioned by the Jewish *Rabbis*, and by *Mahommed*, and the *Arabian* doctors, so correspondent with *Bramah's seven celestial regions of purification*, and the *mahah surgo*, or supreme heaven; and it is pretty plain, that *Mahommed*, whose olio, or hodge-podge of religion, was composed from every system then extant, borrowed his *seven* heavens, and *heaven of heavens*, from the *Bramins*.

146. Respecting the dissolution or destruction of the universe, or fifteen boboons of punishment and purification, *Bramah's* doctrine differs from all others; in that he teaches, the destruction of the *first eight* will precede that of the *last seven*; at the destruction of the *first*, he marks the final day of judgment, but his text will speak better for him than we can.—“ When
 “ all was hushed! THE ETERNAL ONE
 “ said —It shall be—that, when the space
 “ of time, which I have decreed for the
 “ duration of the *Dunneahoudah*, and the
 “ space which my mercy has allotted for
 “ the probation of the *fallen debtah*, shall
 “ be accomplished by the revolutions of
 “ the *four Joques*—in that day, should there
 “ be

“ be any of them, who, *remaining reprobate*,
 “ *bate*, have not passed the *eighth boboon*
 “ of punishment and probation, and have
 “ not entered the *ninth boboon*, even the
 “ first boboon of purification; — thou,
 “ *Sieb*, shalt, armed with my power,
 “ CAST THEM INTO THE ONDERAH
 “ FOR EVER. — And thou shalt then de-
 “ stroy the eight boboons of punishment,
 “ purgation and probation, and THEY
 “ SHALL BE NO MORE. — And thou, *Bisnoo*,
 “ shalt yet for a space preserve the *seven*
 “ *boboons of purification*, until the *debtah*,
 “ who have benefited of my grace and
 “ mercy, have *by thee* been purified from
 “ their sin: — and in the day when that shall
 “ be accomplished, and they are restored
 “ to their state, and admitted to my pre-
 “ sence, — *thou, Sieb*, shalt then destroy the
 “ *seven boboons of purification*, and — THEY
 “ SHALL BE NO MORE.” — Thus, accord-
 ing to *Bramah*, as GOD has constructed the
 first eight regions for the reception, pu-
 nishment, and probation of the apostate
 angels; so, when the term allotted for *its*
 duration, and *their* trial, expires, and the
 remaining reprobates are plunged into the
 place of darkness and anguish, these eight
 regions becoming useless, their form is des-
 tined for destruction, whilst the other seven
 are yet to be preserved for the gracious pur-
 poses expressed in the text.

147. This partial destruction of part of the universe carries nothing with it, incongruous to the wisdom and goodness of God, but rather exalts both.—Of all the numerous spheres or subdivisions of the fifteen primary boboons of *Bramah*, fabricated for the reception of the myriads of apostate beings, no mortal can know how many still exist in their original form, or what changes they may not have undergone;—many of them scattered through the vast expanse, may have been long (for aught we know to the contrary) reduced to their primitive *chaos*, without being missed by us, notwithstanding our busy, prying, artificial optics, to explore what does not belong to us; which researches only afford us futile matter of conjecture, whereon to found imaginary planetary systems; the one exploded, as soon as birth is given to another with more plausible appearances; thereby drawing off man's wisdom and attention from matters of more immediate and important concern to him.—Man has nothing to do in this world, if he keeps his talents properly employed, *but to explore himself*, and secure his immortal part (at its exit from the body) from future mortal chains, either in the brute or human forms.—Had that profusion of wisdom, and divine powers in man, which has in

all ages been squandered away in the pursuit of non-essentials, been applied to its proper objects; the *primitive truths* of his salvation would not have lain so long hid from him, nor he so long been a stranger to his real state and relative nature.

148. The ancient *Gentoo*s celebrated the anniversary of their birth with solemn fasts and thanksgiving, succeeded by a feast of joy: this they did, upon the pious reflection, that the spirit had ceased from its transmigrations through the brute forms, and had attained to its state of probation in man; and upon this principle it was, that they celebrated in like manner the birth of their children.—We likewise celebrate the birth of our children, and theirs, and our own anniversaries; but alas! in a very different manner, and upon very different considerations;—the man who celebrates a *birth-day*, upon any other principle than that of the Metempsychosis, does it either from the incentives of folly, pride, self-love, and vanity, or from interested views of succession; motives, all most unworthy of a rational being: for man, *abstractedly considered*, has, God knows, little cause for pluming himself, or celebrating and rejoicing for an event which introduces him into a life fraught with many evils, inevitable, or
of

of his own procuring; so that the best of us would more sensibly commemorate the day of his nativity, as the poet *Dryden* makes *Marcus Antonius*, in double pomp of sadness; but,—when we consider the same event with a retrospect to the *Metempsychosis*, and behold an *offending angelic being* freed from the brutal mortal chains, and entering into a state wherein, by progressive degrees, he arrives to the full exercise of his divine intellectual powers, and is enabled thereby to re-ascend to those regions of bliss, which he had too justly forfeited,—then he may with well-grounded reason annually celebrate so gracious an incident with pious praise and thanksgiving, and temperate social joy and festivity; whether ourselves, or any connected to us, are the objects:—otherwise, a ceremonial of this kind must appear to every *thinking being*, an empty parade of vain-glory; and a mark of unaccountable infatuation, repugnant to common sense.

CON-

C O N C L U S I O N .

149. We have now, candid reader, brought our five General Heads to a close; in the discussion of which, our chief aim has been the restoring to mankind those essential PRIMITIVE TRUTHS, on which his real state and nature originally existed, and still exists; and on a due regard to which, his temporal and spiritual happiness ever did, and ever must depend;—but yet, our task is not finished; it remains, that we discipline the principal subjects of our labor, and draw them together in one compact body, that they may thereby acquire more strength and influence than they possibly can, scattered as they are, at such a distance from each other, as the nature of our disquisition required: it is also requisite that we obviate some objections and difficulties attending our general system, which have not yet been noticed, although we know they will start up against us, in prejudiced, narrow, and self interested minds;—but *these* are no less the objects of our benevolence, than the more enlarged and enlightened: we shall then

then conclude with a few persuasive reflections, that will naturally rise from our subject.

150. With all humility we conceive, that we have proved beyond the power of refutation, 1st, That *original sin* took its rise in heaven, and that we have no grounds to look for it in the transgressions of *Adam* and *Eve*, or any where else.—2dly, That man and beast are either animated by the apostate angels, or,—that they are nothing—a mere vegetative portion of matter in the creation, and that their existence at all, as intelligent beings, can only rationally be accounted for, *from the pure doctrine of the Metempsychosis*.—3dly, That the brute creation was not made either for the use or dominion of man, in the sense he has been pleased to adopt and practise.—4thly, That man, by murdering and eating the brute animals, was guilty of a manifest violation of his creator's commands, and of his own original nature.—5thly, That those unnatural violations, with the auxiliary force of intoxicating potations, proved the source *on earth* of all evil, both physical and moral; producing the second defection from God of the angelic delinquents in their mortal form of probation in man, and thereby affording *Satan* an open field, and full scope,
for

for all his diabolical purposes against the species.—6thly, That man has *no chance* for setting Satan at defiance, and for subduing the universal depravity of the species, and restoring piety and morals, and consequently *no chance* for salvation, but by putting a total stop to those two (or rather three, including murder) primary vices:—cut off the root, and the branches will necessarily perish; hereby the *primitive age* would be restored, and a reform in morals would probably restore also the globe to its pristine beauty and natural fertility as before urged.—7thly, That it rests on *the Clergy* of all nations to begin this general reform, for reasons before given.

151. We are sensible that there are many tribes amongst the inhabitants of every kingdom on the globe, who will be more deeply affected than others, should our general system of reducing mankind to their primitive regimen take place. Upon the return of moral rectitude into the world, laws would become useless, and consequently lawyers, and their mischievous train of retainers, will have no employment.—Physicians and their coadjutors, upon the restoration of the human body to its original nature, will, in the second generation

at least, have no friendly disease for their support.--Wine-merchants, distillers, brewers, vintners, dealers in spiritous liquors, cooks, (those dangerous instruments of luxury, disease and death) and butchers, &c. will all be turned a-drift, and be forced to seek for other means of subsistence. When we become, *bona fide*, Christians, the art and destructive practice of war would cease to be the bane of mankind, and the inoffensive brute creation; and a numerous race of able-bodied beings, who have hitherto been employed only to work out the perdition of the species, would contribute to their support and maintenance, by being employed in the cultivation of the lands of the state they belong to; a work they would most certainly prefer to the trade of spilling the blood of their fellow-creatures, *they know not why*, or in support of the tyranny and wanton ambition of others.

152. Respecting the first of the two learned professions, it has long been the opinion of wise men, *that laws*, which were at first intended for the security of *property* and *peace*, are, by a strange fatality in the course of human affairs, become the greatest cause of manifold grievances to the subjects of all nations, and the great fomentors of *discord*:
the

the cause of this general perversion is best known to the learned professors; whilst the effects are felt only by their clients: and yet we think it is no very difficult task to account for, and explain this seeming paradox.—That there is a litigious, craving, Satanic spirit in man, that too generally takes the rule and guidance of his actions, we believe no one will be hardy enough to dispute with us: this unhappy disposition is encouraged by the chicane of the laws, and the address of *making black appear white, and white black*; but far be it from us to impute these evils to the professors of the law, or to any defect in the laws themselves, which can only be justly applied in the first instance to the client's litigiousness, who deservedly suffers when *that spirit* will not allow him to submit the decision of any matters in dispute to two or three of his rational neighbors. The one half of mankind subsist and grow opulent by the stupidity, wickedness, and folly of the other: man is man's natural prey; and he that has the best talents will be best fed.—Be this as it may, we think, when our system takes place, mankind will not suffer any great loss by the demolition of this learned tribe.—It is said of a wise Emperor, when on a visit to this and a neighboring kingdom,

P

where

where he attended *the courts of justice*, “ that
 “ he declared he had but two lawyers in
 “ his kingdom, and that he would *hang up*
 “ *one of them as soon as he got home.*” Our
 historians record one of our parliaments that
 obtained the title of *the holy parliament*, be-
 cause—*there was not one lawyer that had a*
seat in it.—But these are sentiments and
 suggestions most unworthy, and can be on-
 ly excused by the savageness and barbarity
 of those times.

153. Touching the second of the learned
 professions, it has ever been a moot point,
 whether it has not, at all times, and in all
 nations, been rather injurious than benefi-
 cial to mankind; and it has been esteemed
 a mark of the best regulated governments,
 where the fewest of this tribe have been to-
 lerated: but this must have been in barba-
 rous times too.

154. With regard to the next six tribes
 upon the list, and their confederates, we,
 in Christian charity, congratulate them up-
 on the inexpressible joy and comfort they
 must experience, upon the near prospect of
 being freed from that daily load of guilt
 which must oppress and be a heavy weight
 upon their consciences, *for poisoning their*
fellow-

fellow-subjects: an unhappy necessity this, which they labor under, in order to suit their liquors and eatables to the vitiated taste of their customers.—As the professors of these *crafts* are generally men skilled in *cunning devices*, we earnestly recommend them to turn their genius to the improvement of their country's manufactures and agriculture, in which necessary branches hands are wanting: moving in these salutary spheres, they would become an universal benefit and honor to their country; whereas hitherto they have only been the dangerous instruments of destruction to their species.—But now, they will (some of them at least) be the happy instruments of increase in every species of grain, so essential to the life of man; and thereby make some atonement for the immense quantities consumed in fiery distillations, compositions, and potations, calculated for no other purpose but to burn out, *with wicked speed*, the thread of human life.

155. Respecting *the butchers*, who merit a paragraph to themselves, as being a tribe for whom we find ourselves more deeply concerned than for all the rest put together, because—*humanity and tender feelings* being their peculiar characteristic, what must they not endure, at finding themselves un-

der the fatal necessity of daily, nay hourly, shedding torrents of innocent blood, to gratify the unnatural appetites of man?—We solemnly protest, that we think there are no species of mankind more the objects of commiseration;—we have known many of the most conscientious among them deeply and piously lament, that ever *the trade* of killing and butchering the animal creation was transferred from *the priesthood*, by whom it was first set up.—But we trust the time is not far distant, when we shall be able to felicitate their being relieved from their *sanguinary task*, for which we are most sensible they entertain a well-rooted and righteous aversion:—when that happy day arrives, we warmly recommend to them *to turn bakers*, for which *craft* an increase of professors will be much wanted; and, to atone in some degree for the deluges of innocent blood they have spilt, we earnestly intreat that they will put a stop—*to the adulteration of bread*, that necessary staff of life.—In recompence for the present difficulties and inconveniencies which every one of these tribes will be liable to at their first setting off from their old track, we will start one suggestion of comfort, which will be applicable to them all, and to all mankind;—whatsoever property they may be possessed of when our general system commences,

commences, it will be preserved to them for the noble purposes of support for themselves and families, and to distribute in acts of charity and benevolence to their poor neighbors: for now they will no longer be under the temptation, nor be stimulated to any desire of gormandizing and guzzling their substance away in what is too commonly, but erroneously, termed *good living* and *good fellowship*; terms vague and unmeaning, as we hourly see them the source of the deepest miseries to multitudes of individuals, whom we behold reduced from opulence to penury and want by this mode of *evil living* and *evil fellowship*.

156. Having thus obviated and removed, we hope to the satisfaction of our readers, the few foregoing difficulties which seemed to obstruct our conclusion, we think it necessary to add, *that woman, that great mover of man*, whose *true* characteristics are sobriety, mercy, delicacy, and tenderness, will prove the strongest support to the Reverend Clergy in the reform of those two (three we should say again) deadly vices we are meditating to abolish; and this for many other reasons than barely the consideration of those amiable qualities just enumerated, although these cannot fail of their due influence.——

tempſchoſis they will have a purer enjoyment and amuſement in their favorite animals, when it proceeds from, not only rational, but pious motives; an intellectual felicity they have never yet taſted——in this way;——they will have the unſpeakable pleaſure of imagining, upon ſolid grounds, that the ſpirits which *now* animate their favorite lap-dogs, cats, parrots, ſquirrels, monkies, &c. &c. *heretofore* animated the form of a beloved friend, tender parent, huſband, brother, child, lover, &c. and their extravagant (and now irrational) fondneſs for theſe animals will then appear to be founded on principle:——mankind alſo, by their humane example, will cheriſh the brute creation, and become their defenders, in place of murdering them for ſport and paſtime, and then devouring them; a ſport and paſtime ſtill *more inhuman*.

157. We have hitherto ſpoke to mankind in general, but we now, with all humility and deference, addreſs ourſelves to the inhabitants of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, but more particularly to their clergy of every denomination.——As you, Moſt Reverend, Right Reverend, and Reverend Sirs, are juſtly celebrated for your profound learning and abilities; and (what is much more to your honor and glory) diſtinguiſhed

distinguished for the sanctity of your lives and manners above any body of priesthood in the known world; so it is the more incumbent on you *to stand forth to that world*, as the first champions for the universal restoration of morals; and by your example to suppress *three capital vices*, which are the only incentives to debauchery of every species, in every rank of mankind; the great fountain from which the torrent of immorality overflows all bounds, and must soon overwhelm us all, unless the timely check of some powerful dam be erected against it.—This has been the language of all times; divines have preached, moralists have wrote for successive ages, but all in vain: immorality still acquired fresh force. Is not the reason of this failure most obvious?—the *direful causes* of this general depravity have never been attended to.—The soul (as before urged) reasons, and moves in conformity to the present state of the organs and fluids of the body which it animates, and from which it receives its powers of action: this is evident from frequent instances of idiotism and insanity: when the organs and fluids are vitiated, and reduced to any unnatural state, the soul loses, in a proportionate degree, its freedom and rational active powers; their influence on each other is invariable and re-

ciprocal: hence it is, that mankind by the use of *unnatural aliment*, may be justly said to have been in one uninterrupted *state of delirium* from the expiration of *the primitive age*; therefore it is no wonder that all reasoning is cast away upon beings whose intellectual faculties are disordered, and in no capacity of receiving it:—mankind must be first brought to their senses, before reason, or your pious exhortations, Reverend Sirs, can possibly operate upon them; but this once accomplished, they will then be open to every salutary discipline both of divines and moralists: but this most desirable state can be only obtained by the immediate prohibition of all animal food, and intoxicating drinks, as before often (but not too often) forcibly urged: until this is done, the daily marks of God's displeasure, in his visitations of pestilences, storms, inundations, famines, and earthquakes, brought to our very doors, and your spiritual remonstrances will have none effect.—This being manifestly the case, and as the indulgence of any sensual appetites ought not to stand in competition with the present and future salvation of the souls committed to your care and guidance, you will, Most Reverend, Right Reverend, and Reverend Sirs, no longer give a sanction by your practice

tice to daily murders and vices, which have proved the bane of mankind in all ages, to the present hour; but nobly sustain the superior character you have so worthily acquired, by presenting yourselves as the first great example of reformation.

158. As it has evidently been the general course of God's providence, *that a righteous nation shall be happy*, it is no marvel that the inhabitants of the globe should have been, from the earliest accounts of time to the present, plunged in distractions, and visited by dire calamities; for none have been righteous, no not one; at least to perseverance.—The whole continued history of the *Jews* affords a striking instance in point: whilst they walked in righteousness, *they prospered and were happy*; when they deviated from that path, they were punished, by God's withdrawing from them his immediate protection, and leaving them a prey to their enemies, which we conceive to be his usual mode of punishment; for, as to the portrait of him exhibited by *Moses, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel*, and others of the prophets, who represent him as a being subject to the passions of *revenge, wrath, hatred, and violence*; we cannot help concluding they exceeded their commissions, and *humanized* their God to an unpardonable

able degree, to cover their own sanguinary dispositions and views: therefore we cannot prevail on ourselves to pay a compliment to the veracity of those prophets, at the expence of our God;—for we cannot consistently conceive that God can be endued with any passions but those of *love* and *pity*, without derogating from his *divine nature*: when he finds it necessary to punish us for our offences, in hopes of turning us to our duty, it is not done from motives of *revenge* and *wrath*, but those of *love*; accompanied by commiseration for our blindness and folly—whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth.—In the above predicament stood the *primitive Hindoos*, who subsisted for a long series of ages in holiness, peace, tranquillity, and happiness; but in process of time, although they still kept themselves free from the stains of murdering and eating their fellow-creatures, and the use of fascinating drinks; yet, by blending idolatrous worship with that due only to the true God, and their neglect of the *primitive truths* bequeathed to them by their inspired prophet and legislator *Bramah*; they, in the end lost the protection of God, who gave them up a prey to intestine divisions, and to the Mahomedan invaders. Thus also it is recorded of the *primitive Scythians*, whose extreme purity in morals and manners pro-

cured them the protection of God, but a deviation from that state of purity left them at last open to the successful invasions of many nations.—These signal instances, with many more which might be cited to the same purpose, prove, that no nation can expect or hope to prosper, or be happy, but by *persevering* in righteousness; and that the stake, although great, may be easily won.

159. Piety and Virtue, with tears and loud laments, call out for a reform throughout all the earth!—Reformation must begin somewhere.—*Europe*, the most enlightened portion of it at present, presumptuously usurps the title of CHRISTIAN, until she exert all her powers to effect this great work:—the way is cleared for her, —the reign of superstition and fanaticism are nearly extinct, —the *curfed spirit* of religious persecution (that wicked weapon in the hands of *Satan*) is laid, —philosophy has enlarged the minds of the superior ranks of people, and a dawn of unprejudiced reason begins to shine upon the inferior, leaving them open to the reception of truth, when conveyed to them free from unintelligible mysteries.—*Great Britain* stands in the first rank of religious reformers; she has now an opportunity of taking the lead to *Europe* in the reform and restoration of morals.

rals.—All reforms which men may meditate in matters of religion, are purely ideal and vague; and will prove, alas! no reform at all, but a mere pretence to one, without a reform in morals; as faith without works will assuredly stand us in little stead.—*Great Britain* and her respectable clergy have it now in their power to shine forth in celestial lustre, *a new star of guidance* and instruction to *Europe*; and, by the reflection of her example, to enlighten the rest of the world:—in order to this, we most anxiously recommend the consideration of this most important of all subjects TO THE BEST OF KINGS AND MEN, and to the Legislature and people of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* in general; but——our first hope rests on the pious example and preaching of our Most Reverend, Right Reverend, and Reverend Pastors: by their unwearied endeavors, we doubt not but we shall soon see effectually (although not literally) verified, the spirit of that remarkable prophecy of the famous wandering *Jew*, recorded in the *Turkish Spy*, which conveys a suggestion so greatly honorable to the British nation*.

160. As a reform in spiritual matters (as above hinted) without a previous reform of

* Vide *Turkish Spy*, vol. vii. p. 216.

morals, as the state of human nature now stands, is, as it were, beginning at the wrong end of things; so, when our Reverend Clergy observe, that, by a return to *natural* aliments, the return of reason and morals make a rapid progress amongst their countrymen; then will be the happy time to make a thorough reform in the ceremonies and principles of religious worship; for then, and not before, will they be in a proper frame of mind to receive it; their bodies being temperate and cool, their souls will not be inflamed nor excited to irregular and violent passions or desires; but in their place calm and unclouded reason and rectitude will take the rule.—Our Reverend Pastors will then doubtless abolish, not only the use of the *Athanasian* Creed, but the *Nicene* also, and correct that commonly called The Apostles.—They will pay some regard to the injunctions of *Christ*, who says, “ But when ye pray, do not use *vain repetitions*, as the *Heathens* do, for they think they shall be heard by *much speaking*,” and cut short the tedious tautology and worrying of the Deity in the course of the Liturgy, and leave not the smallest semblance of polytheism in any part of our worship.—They will studiously garble the unintelligible *Thirty-nine Articles of Faith*,

Faith, and correct the modes of *ordination* and *absolution*; and no longer swear to the belief and observance of tenets which they neither can, or do believe or observe; nor presume to be endued with *powers* which they know they have not, and which they also know belong to no being on earth.—

These, and many more dregs of Paganism and Popery, which we still erroneously retain, *they* will assuredly cast away from us; and thus—on the whole, we should become a new people: by quick gradations the pure spirit of *Christ's* doctrines would take root in our hearts; *power* would no longer constitute the *rule of justice*; the *primitive truths* and the *primitive age* would be restored; mankind, who has from that period hitherto been, by nature, principle, and practice, *very devils*, would revert to a perfect sense of their original dignity and angelic source, and no longer disgrace it; all jarring sects would be reconciled; peace and harmony would return to the earth; an effectual stop would be put to the carnage of man and brute; and *all united*, would produce *a sure and happy transmigration to eternity*.—

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND would blaze out as *the torch of righteousness* to all the world; her nations would prosper; her people be happy; their *pious flame* would be
caught

caught by their neighboring states, and from thence be spread over the face of the whole earth; and THE KINGDOM OF SATAN WOULD BE NO MORE.

161. We are most sensible, that in this age of dissipation, infidelity, and sensuality, our labors and system will be deemed by the dissolute and unthinking part of mankind, utterly chimerical and impracticable: be it so; it is not from those we expect a reform: our hopes rest on the efforts of the many, who, although they swim with the current of vice, have yet *at heart* a reverence for the sublime truths of religion and morality, and would gladly join in stemming the tide, howsoever they are, by a fatal complacence, borne down by the prevailing torrent of folly and fashion: would *these* but exert their powers in the cause of virtue; *those* would soon be ashamed of being out of *the mode*.——The marks of the divine displeasure which hovers round us are tremendous! we know not how soon they may light upon us; therefore let us, by a general reform, effectually deprecate the “pestilence that walketh in darkness,” and thereby excite our God to “give his “angels charge over us.”

162. Thus we have finished a Dissertation, begun from no other motives *but the glory of God, and the present and future good of all mankind, and the rest of the animal intelligent beings*:—it must be allowed that our attempt is laudable, howsoever imperfect the execution.—And now we take our final leave of the Public, to whom some apology is due, for the tardy performance of our engagement, owing to unavoidable hindrances, as, bad health, a necessity for change of climate, &c.

163. We could have swelled the size of our book with the addition of many more learned quotations and notes, from ancient and modern productions, to illustrate and support our system; but, as we benefit not ourselves in any shape by the sale of our publications, so we have studiously avoided taxing the Public for the emolument of our bookseller.

164. Before we put an absolute FINIS to our work, we think some apology is also due to those individuals amongst our readers, who, either from a weak mind, hard head, or soft and tender conscience, may possibly be offended with some parts of our doctrines which bear a tendency so diametrically opposite to the sensual passions and

and appetites of one class, and to others so repugnant to the *opinions* they have imbibed in the early stages of life, which they have been taught to cherish, and look upon as orthodox and established articles of *faith*:— to such we only recommend, that they would endeavor to enlarge their intellectuals, by divesting their souls of *all prejudice*, and thinking for themselves; and then we rest assured that we shall stand exculpated from *all intention* of offence.—We have already had occasion, more than once, to assert, that our great and leading motive for this Essay was the *revival* of the PRIMITIVE TRUTHS, as the only sure basis for the restoration of morals and true religion; and with this principle we close: conceiving, at the same time, that our laudable endeavors must share the same fate with those of others (much more equal to a task of this nature) and prove abortive of the end proposed, whilst a common error in the political institutes of all nations subsists, namely, the provision of penal laws for the public punishment of VICE, without establishing laws for the encouragement and public reward of VIRTUE.—The principles of shame, and thirst of applause, so firmly implanted in every human breast, seem to have been utterly neglected, whilst they might, in the hands of a wise legislator or administration, be converted to the most sa-

lutory purposes of every well-governed state. —Some *universal causes* there must be, why every age proves more depraved than the last: some of the most fatal we have occasionally marked in the body of our work, but the political error above noticed is not amongst the least—The tendency of all human laws seems calculated, not to make mankind *better*, but to prevent their growing *worse*: how ineffectual all penal laws have proved to answer this partial purpose, every day's experience evinces; and yet we persevere without varying our system, although thereby we tacitly give up the cause of humanity; declaring in effect, that *human nature* is incapable of amendment, without trying whether in fact it is so, or not.—God himself has pointed out a short institute of laws for man's example, which man has never yet followed; he has decreed *punishment* for sin, and *rewards* for righteousness: man punishes evil actions, but rewards not good ones, by any established laws: herein God proves himself a *just judge*, and man shews himself an *unjust one*, by leaving virtuous actions to their own reward in this life, in the breast only of the possessor, which, *in general*, proves but a weak excitement to universal practice.—All government is supposed to have taken its rise from parental authority: although the just parent, in imitation of God, chastises

the faults of his children, yet he rewards them for being good, notwithstanding duty, and their own interest, prompt them to be so, for their own sakes.—Hence it is most obvious, that in the established laws of all nations, legislators have deviated from the invariable œconomy of God, as well as from the first maxims of human government in the world, in punishing crimes, without establishing laws, either *pecuniary* or *honorary*, or both, for the reward and encouragement of *virtue*, in whatsoever objects or lights she may appear.—Herein *also*, we would stimulate the legislature of our country to take the lead to *Europe*: let virtue be *honored* and *rewarded* by authority, and vice would soon fall into disesteem, as *unprofitable*.

We make no apology to the Public for the *matter* of our Essay, but as many inadvertencies may have escaped us in the execution, respecting want of strict connection, diction, &c. for these we rely on the good-nature and indulgence of the learned world:—we have wrote from the full conviction of our heart and understanding; therefore, should our stile sometimes appear too dogmatic and dictatorial, we hope (the cause considered) candor will kindly overlook it.

Milford Haven, near Haverford West,
South Wales, 1st Nov. 1770.