



TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY.

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Paper Currency.

THE absolute establishment of landed property, would create a perfect confidence in our faith, among our subjects in the East; and this circumstance leads to another regulation, which, if adopted, would have a great and immediate effect on the prosperity of Bengal. The want of a sufficient quantity of specie for the purposes of trade, and the common intercourses among mankind, is one of the greatest evils under which Bengal at present labours. Let, therefore, a paper currency be introduced; a measure at once salutary, easy, and practicable. Let a bank be immediately established at Calcutta, for the convenience of Europeans. This would, by becoming familiar to the natives, prepare them for a more general paper currency. The mode of carrying this into execution, is left in the hands of those better acquainted with the nature of banking, than the Author of the Enquiry.

A proposal
for establish-
ing

To destroy, at once, the fraudulent science of exchange, which proves so detrimental to trade in Bengal, a current coin ought to be established, to pass without variation, for its fixed and intrinsic value. This was, in some degree, attempted by a noble governor, but he failed in his first principles, by imposing an ar-



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bitrary value upon his coin, not less than twenty per cent. above its intrinsic worth. No other reason is necessary for the bad success of this coinage. Though a decimal division of money is the most rational and commodious; yet entirely to change the forms of a country, in that respect, might be attended with great inconvenience. Let the roupee, therefore, consist, as at present, of sixteen of the imaginary Anas, which are now used in accounts in Bengal. The Pice, which is the twelfth part of an Ana, may be continued as the imaginary coin; but a copper coin of one half of an Ana, would answer the subdivisions of money, and be greatly beneficial to the poor.

Its great

The immediate fall of the exorbitant interest of money, which prevails in Bengal, would be one of the first effects of this regulation. Ten per centum is the present interest; not so much owing to insecurity, as to the want of currency. Men of undoubted and established credit are ready to give this great premium to the lender, as they can turn the money to a great and immediate advantage. Were every man enabled, by a paper currency, to bring his whole property to the market, monopoly, in spite of oppression, would be at an end, and trade extend itself through a thousand channels not known now in speculation. The consequence would



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would be highly beneficial; Bengal would draw great quantities of money from all the regions of Asia; and, by enriching herself, be rendered capable of bearing such taxes upon different articles, as this nation, for the augmentation of the revenues, might think proper to impose.

Napal, Thibet, Ava, Arracan, Pegu, Siam, Cochin-china, China, and almost all the islands in the Eastern ocean, produce gold: In the west, that metal seems only to be found in the Turkish Diarbekir. Japan and China only have silver mines. Asia contains native wealth, which has enriched it in all ages, exclusive of the balance of its commerce against Europe. The Author of the Enquiry means not that specie should be drawn from the East. But it might center in Bengal, and make it one of the richest kingdoms in the world; whilst we might import, in its manufactures, the surplus of its revenues, without damaging either its foreign commerce or internal prosperity.

and immediate

These two plans, and it is to be feared only these, would restore, under a government established on impartial justice, Bengal to its former prosperity and splendor. Let the lands be disposed of in property: let a paper currency be established. Every individual would, in

advantages



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in such a case, become industrious in improving his own estate; provisions would fall to a third part of the present price; the country would assume a new face, and the people wear the aspect of joy. Immense tracts of rich land, which now, with their woods, conceal the ruins of great cities, would again be cultivated; and new provinces arise out of those marshy islands, near the mouth of the Ganges, which are, at present, the wild haunts of the rhinoceros and tiger.

Monopolies.

Monopolies

THERE is no maxim in commerce better established, than the destructive tendency of monopolies. In Bengal, its recent evils are well-known and abhorred. A law must provide against it; otherwise every other regulation will be made in vain. The inhabitants must be permitted to enjoy a free trade; subject, however, to such imposts upon various articles, excepting those of either the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, as may be thought reasonable from time to time. Gross articles, necessary for carrying on the finer manufactures, ought, however, to be exempted from duty; and every encouragement possible given to the export trade.

Free



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Free merchants ought to be encouraged; neither must they be excluded from the inland trade; as that circumstance would place the subjects of Great Britain on a worse footing than foreigners, whom we cannot, without violence, prevent from trading wherever they please. Let, however, the residence of the free merchants be confined to Calcutta; as the influence which all the natives of Britain have acquired over the inhabitants of Bengal, is so great, that the selfish can convert it into the means of oppression. The Indian agents of British traders will not carry, among a wretched people, the same terror which clothes their masters; whom it is a kind of sacrilege not to obey, in their most unjust commands.

abolished.

The servants of the Company will have many objections to this proposal. But the management of the revenues, and of the general trade, which must remain in their hands, will still give them superior advantages, sufficient to gratify all their reasonable desires. The influence of a member of the council will, without doubt, enable any man, in that high station, to engross a share of the trade, almost equal to a partial monopoly. Should even a man of that rank be so self-denied, as not to take advantage of the influence annexed to his place, his attention to commerce would encroach on

Superior servants debarred from trade.



the time allotted for public affairs. Let him, therefore, when he rises to the board, be debarred from trading, either directly or indirectly, by severe penalties of law; and let there an ample allowance be made for his services, from the funds of the Company.

Religion.

An absolute

MEN who submit to bodily servitude, have been known to revolt against the slavery imposed on their minds. We may use the Indians for our benefit in this world, but let them serve themselves as they can in the next. All religions must be tolerated in Bengal, except in the practice of some inhuman customs, which the Mahomedans have already, in a great measure, destroyed. We must not permit young widows, in their virtuous enthusiasm, to throw themselves on the funeral pile, with their dead husbands; nor the sick and aged to be drowned, when their friends despair of their lives.

toleration

The Hindoo religion, in other respects, inspires the purest morals. Productive, from its principles, of the greatest degree of subordination to authority, it prepares mankind for the government of foreign lords. It supplies,



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plies, by its well-followed precepts, the place of penal laws; and it renders crimes almost unknown in the land. The peaceable sentiments which it breathes, will check the more warlike doctrines promulgated by the Coran. The prudent successors of Timur saw that the Hindoo religion was favourable to their power; and they sheathed the sword, which the other princes of the Mahomedan persuasion employed in establishing their own faith, in all their conquests. Freedom of conscience was always enjoyed in India in the absence of political freedom.

Attention must be paid to the usages and very prejudices of the people, as well as a regard for their religion. Though many things of that kind may appear absurd and trivial among Europeans, they are of the utmost importance among the Indians. The least breach of them may be productive of an expulsion from the society, a more dreadful punishment Draco himself could not devise. But the caution about religion is superfluous: these are no converting days. Among the list of crimes committed in Bengal, persecution for religion is not to be found; and he that will consent to part with his property, may carry his opinions away with freedom.

of all religions.



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*The Executive Power.*Reflection on
the

THE great path of general regulation is with less difficulty traced, than the minute lines which carry the current of government from the center to the extremities of the state. Practice resists theory more on this subject than in any other; and the wisest legislators can neither foresee nor prevent obstacles, which may rise in the progress of time. In a country where the body of the people meet annually, in their representatives, to new inconveniences new remedies may be instantly applied; and even the mandate of the despot loses half its tyranny, in the expedition with which it opposes evil.

mode of le-
gislation;

The distance of Bengal from the eye of the British legislature, renders it extremely difficult for them to frame laws against every emergency that may arise; and it is equally difficult, with propriety, to create a legislative authority in a kingdom, which cannot, in the nature of things, have a representative of its own. The executive power being vested in the governor and council, it is dangerous to trust them with the legislative; and it is impossible to permit the court of justice, which we mean to propose, to make those laws upon
which



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which they are to decide. The least of two evils is preferred by the prudent. Let the governor and council suggest annually, in their general letter, the necessary regulations; and these, after being duly weighed by the Company, in their collective body at home, be laid before parliament, to be by them, if found just, necessary, and equitable, framed into a law. The general laws for the government of Bengal being, by the British legislature once established, the inconveniences which may arise in India, will neither be so great nor detrimental as to occasion much mischief for one, or even two years; in which time, the proposed regulations, sent home by the governor and council, will return to them with the force of laws.

The executive power, in its full extent, as at present, the council, must be vested in a president and council, of which the chief justice and commander in chief of the troops ought to be, *ex officio*, members. The number should be increased to sixteen, of which any five, with the president, may form a board; and ten always to reside at Calcutta, exclusive of the chief justice and the commander in chief, should even the peaceableness of the times permit him to be absent from the army. The four remaining counsellors should be directed to reside in the capitals of the larger districts, into which, for the benefit of justice, we



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I shall hereafter divide the provinces of Bengal and Behâr. The business for forming regulations to make a foundation of a law, being of the last importance, ought never to come before less than ten members in council, of whom the chief justice ought invariably to be one.

boards of re-
venues.

Let a general board of revenue be established at Calcutta, at which a member of the council is to preside. Let this board, in its inferior departments, be conducted by the Company's servants; and let it receive the correspondence and check the accounts of four other boards of the same kind, but of inferior jurisdiction, to be fixed at Dacca, Murshedabad, Mongeer, and Patna. Let the provinces of Bengal and Behâr be divided into five equal divisions, each subject, in the first instance, to one of the four boards, which are all under the controul of the superior board of revenue established at Calcutta. In the lesser districts, let a Company's servant superintend the collection of the revenue; and be accountable for his transactions to the board, under whose jurisdiction he acts.

Necessary
reforms.

The wild chaos of government, if the absence of all rule deserves the name, which subsists in Bengal, must be utterly removed. There some faint traces of the British constitution is mixed with the positive orders of
a Court



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a Court of Directors, the convenient and temporary expedients of a trading governor and council, the secret orders of the select committee, the influence of the president, with the Nabob, and the boisterous despotism of Mahommed Riza. To separate, or even to restrain them within proper bounds, is beyond human capacity; some branches must be lopt off to give more vigour and room to others to flourish. Mubârîck must retire from the Musnud; Mahommed Riza and the secret committee vanish away; and even the council itself must be restrained from BREVI MANU despotism; such as, the sending home, by force, British subjects, and dismissing officers without the sentence of a court martial.

Judicial Power.

TO preserve the health of the political body, the pure stream of impartial justice must rush, with vigour, through every vein. When it meets with obstructions, a disease is produced; and, when the whole mass becomes corrupted, a languor succeeds, which frequently terminates in death. To drop the metaphor, the distributors of justice ought to be independent of every thing but the law. The executive part of government must not interfere with the decisions of the judge, otherwise that officer, who was created for the defence of

Reflection.



of the subject from injury, becomes a tool of oppression in the hands of despotism.

Various
jurisdictions
in Bengal.

The first principle of wise legislation is to open an easy passage to the temple of Justice. Where the feat of redress is either distant or difficult of access, an injury is forgot to avoid the trouble of complaint; and thus injustice is encouraged by the almost certain prospect of impunity. To avoid this evil, the Author of the Enquiry thinks it necessary, that the act of the legislature, which shall constitute the mode of distributing justice, should also divide Bengal and Behâr into five great provinces, the capitals of which ought to be Calcutta, Murshedabâd, and Dacca, in Bengal; and Patna and Mongeer, in Behâr. Let each of these five great divisions be subdivided into ten Chucklas, or extensive districts, almost the number of which the kingdom consists at present; and let each of these be still subdivided into an indefinite number of Pergunnas.

Constables
and justices
of the peace.

To bring justice, to use a certain author's words, home to the door of every man, let there, in each village, be established, as in the days of the empire, a Muckuddum, to act as a constable for the preservation of the peace. A Sheichdâr, with a commission similar to that of a justice of the peace, should be fixed in the most



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central part of the Pergunna or lesser district, to whom disputes, which cannot be quashed by the authority of the Muckuddum or constable, may be referred. Let the court of this officer, however, communicate with another of a more extensive and ample jurisdiction, established in the capital of the division or district, of which the Pergunna is a part.

Similar to the office of a Sheikdâr or justice of the peace, ought to be that of the Cutwâl or mayor of great towns and considerable cities. The wisdom of the house of Timur established this officer, to animadvert upon thieves, gamblers, and other miscreants; to remove nuisances, to suppress pimps and jugglers, to prevent forestalling of grain and other provisions; to be the regulator of the market, and to decide in all trivial and vexatious disputes, that tended toward a breach of the peace. His ministerial office coincided almost with that of the mayors of our lesser towns; and his court was the counterpart of the now obsolete CURIA PEDIS PULVERIZATI, mentioned by our lawyers.

Cutwâl, or
Mayor.

In every Chuckla, or greater division, let there be established a court similar in its nature, but different in its mode, to the courts of Cutcherry, instituted in the days of the empire. Let this court be composed of the
Company's

Courts of
Cutcherry.



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Company's servant, residing for the collection of the revenue in the Chuckla, and of two Mahommed Gazis, and two Brahmins. The servant of the Company ought to be the nominal president of the court, but only to sit when the voices are equal, to throw his casting-vote on the side of equity. In such a case the process to begin anew. The fees of the court must be regulated, and a table of the expence of every article to be hung up to public view, in the common hall. The punishment for corruption, upon conviction in the supreme court of Bengal, ought to rise to a degree of severity, suitable to the danger of the crime.

Its jurisdiction.

This court, besides the power of hearing appeals from the decisions of the Sheichdâr in the lesser districts, ought to retain its ancient authority, subject, however, to an appeal from decisions beyond a sum to be specified, to the provincial courts, which shall be hereafter described. Its jurisdiction ought to extend to the contracting and dissolving of marriages, to the settlement of doweries for women, and the succession to money and moveables among children, according to the respective institutes of the Mahommedan and Hindoo systems of religion. It ought also to be a court of record; and to be obliged to keep an exact register of all public and private contracts, births, marriages, and deaths; and, to execute that department of the business, a Canongoe and a Muta-



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a Mutafeddy, as clerks, ought to be annexed to each court. These, with other matters to be described in the succeeding section, ought to comprehend the whole power of the court of Cutcherri.

In each of the capitals of the five provinces, a member of the council of state at Calcutta ought to reside. He, together with possessing the management of the Company's commercial affairs in his province, ought to be empowered, by a special commission, with three assessors of the elder resident servants, to form, and preside in a court of justice, which we shall, for distinction, call, The provincial court of appeal. To direct their judgment upon points of law, an officer, under the name of Attorney-general for the province, ought to be appointed to give his advice, together with a Mahomedan Cazi, and an Indian Brahmin, to explain the principles of their respective institutions and usages, and to tender oaths to the parties. Suits may originate in this court; and it ought to have the power of removing before itself the proceedings of the court of Cutcherri.

Provincial
courts.

To establish thoroughly the independence of the judicial on the executive power, a supreme court, from which an appeal ought only to lie to Great Britain, should be erected at Calcutta, by the authority of the legisla-

Supreme
court, its
civil



ture. Let it consist of a chief justice and three *puisné* justices, who derive their commissions from the king; and let them be in Bengal the counterpart of the court of king's bench in England. The jurisdiction of this court, which, from its transcendent power, may be called the supreme court of Bengal, ought to extend, without limitation, over the whole kingdom; and to keep the inferior courts, within the bounds of their authority; as well as to decide ultimately upon all appeals. It ought to protect the just rights of the subject, by its sudden and even summary interposition; and to take cognizance of criminal as well as of civil causes.

and criminal
jurisdiction.

To carry justice, in criminal matters, with all the expedition possible, through our conquests, it is proposed, that two of the *puisné* justices shall, twice a-year, go on circuits, to the respective capitals of the five provinces, one into the three provinces in Bengal, and one into the two, into which Behâr is to be divided. The *puisné* justice shall sit, upon these occasions, with the members of the provincial court; but the member of the council, who is the president of the court, shall still be considered as the principal judge. In criminal matters, the culprit shall be tried by a jury of British subjects only; there being always a sufficient number of good and lawful men to form a jury, in the capital



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capital of the province. In the supreme court at Calcutta, disputes between the natives may be decided in civil cases, according to equity, without a jury, by the judges; but, in suits between British subjects, the matter ought to be tried by a jury, upon the principles of the law of England.

The sole management of the revenue of Bengal, being in the Company, many capital alterations are necessary to be made in that important branch. The great channel of public justice has been, by the above regulations, separated from the executive power; but some part of the judicial authority must still remain in the Company's hands. To manage the receipts of the revenue, it has been already mentioned, that five boards must be formed, the superior one of which to remain in Calcutta. The boards ought to consist of two divisions, or rather of two sides; the receipt of the Exchequer, and the judicial part, which must enable them to enforce the payment of the revenues.

Court of exchequer,

The mode of proceeding in this branch ought to rise in the same gradations with the course of appeals in the civil line of disputes between man and man. Let the Cutcherries enforce the payment of the revenues of the Chucklas, under an appeal to the provincial board, whose

its jurisdiction



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whose decisions, beyond certain sums, ought to be subject to the revision of the general board at Calcutta. But, as the state must not suffer through delay, let the sum in dispute, upon a decision against the subject, by any of the courts of revenue before whom the suit shall originate, be forthwith paid into the exchequer; and let the person aggrieved seek for redress, by petition, to the court which is placed immediately above that court, of whose decision he complains.

confined as
such.

The board of revenue, in each of the capital cities of the five provinces, except in Calcutta, where no court of law except the supreme court exists, is to be made up of the same persons whom we have already placed as judges in the provincial court of appeal. The court of exchequer, in England, examines, by a fiction, into all sorts of civil causes. It is necessary to preclude the boards of revenue from such powers, as a court of exchequer. As provincial courts of common law, their decisions are liable to an appeal to the supreme court at Calcutta, and therefore any prejudices which they may be supposed to imbibe, as members of the executive part of government, cannot be of great detriment to the people, subject as their proceedings are to a court not amenable to the jurisdiction of the Company.

Observations



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Observations on the Judicial Power.

THE despotism which naturally sprung from the double government which arose on the foundation of the success of our arms in Bengal, repressed one evil, whilst it gave birth to a thousand. Those frequent disputes which grow between individuals, where the access to justice is easy, were quashed by a terror which prevented an unfortunate people from appearing before rulers who wanted but an excuse to oppress. The hand of power fell heavy upon both the plaintiff and defendant; and, therefore, men put up with injuries from one another, in hopes of concealing themselves from the rigid eyes of government. This alludes to the boisterous tyranny of the minister of a nominal Nabob; indolence was more our crime, than cruelty.

Reflections

The doors opened to justice in the preceding section, will, without doubt, introduce an ample harvest for men of the law; but it is better that they should live by litigiousness, than that the people should perish by tyranny. The objection rising from this circumstance must therefore vanish in the utility of the thing; and another objection, just as obvious, may be as easily removed. It

on what of
their own
laws



may be thought impolitic by some, that any part of the judicial authority should remain in the hands of the natives. But this is objected in vain. The officers of justice, as well as being subject to a revision of their decrees to the British, derive from them their own power; and the people, by being left in possession of some of their laws and usages, will be flattered into an inviolable submission to our government.

ought to be
left entire

Though the inhabitants of Bengal are, from their natural disposition, prepared to submit to any system of government, founded upon justice, there are some laws of their own, which absolute power itself must not violate. The regulations, with regard to their women and religion, must never be touched; and, upon mature consideration, the Author of the Enquiry is of opinion, that many other ancient institutions might be left entire. There are, however, particular usages established by time into a law, which our humanity must destroy. No pecuniary compensation must be permitted for murder; no theft be punished by cutting off the hand. Let the Mahomedan laws still in force against the Hindoos be abrogated; let no women burn themselves with their husbands, no dying person be exposed by his friends.

To



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To leave the natives entirely to their own laws, would be to consign them to anarchy and confusion. The inhabitants of Bengal are divided into two religious sects, the Mahommedan and Hindoo, almost equal in point of numbers. Averse, beyond measure, to one another, both on account of religion and the memory of mutual injuries, the one party will not now submit to the laws of the other; and the dissention which subsists between individuals, would, without a pressure from another power, spread in a flame over the whole kingdom. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the peace and prosperity of the country, that the laws of England, in so far as they do not oppose prejudices and usages which cannot be relinquished by the natives, should prevail. The measure, besides its equity, is calculated to preserve that influence which conquerors must possess to retain their power.

to the natives.

The expence of the judicial establishment is but trivial, if compared to the advantages which the kingdom of Bengal must derive from such a necessary institution. The judges in every country should be placed in affluence; in Bengal they ought to derive a fortune from the labour of some years. The natives of a northern climate settle not for life in the torrid zone; they always place the prospect of returning with wealth to their friends, among

Expence of



among their great inducements for venturing to cross the ocean. The following table presents an estimate of the annual expence of justice in Bengal.

The Supreme Court of Bengal.

the su-
preme,

One chief justice,	-	-	£. 10,000
Three <i>puisné</i> justices,	-	-	15,000
One attorney general,	-	-	3,000
One register,	-	-	2,000
Two Cazis and two Brahmins, to attend the court,	-	-	0,400
Contingencies,	-	-	1,000
			<hr/>
			£. 31,400

the provin-
cial,

The four provincial courts of ap-
peal, consisting of the Company's
servants.

Four counsellors, as presidents,	£. 2,000
Twelve assessors, - - -	2,400
One provincial attorney in each,	2,000
One register in each, - -	0,800
One Cazi and one Brahmin in each, - - -	0,800
Contingencies in all, - -	1,600
	<hr/>
	£. 9,600
	Fifty



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CSL

and Cut-
cherri courts.

Fifty courts of Cutcherri.

Fifty presidents, being servants of

the Company, - - - £. 5,000

Two hundred assessors, - - - 10,000

Fifty registers, - - - 1,500

Fifty Clerks, - - - 1,000

£. 17,500

£. 58,500

The above calculation, it is hoped, will not be Observation.
thought extravagant, for dispensing justice to fifteen
millions of people. The salaries of the members of
the boards of revenue, and of these, as forming courts
of exchequer, are not mentioned, as the Company is
supposed to pay its own servants, with certain sums
and lucrative privileges for the whole of their trouble.
The Shiechdârs, the Cutwâls, and the Muckuddums,
have no salaries; the influence and distinction which
they shall derive from their employments, being a
sufficient reward for their toil.

*General Reflections on the Plan.*Reflections
on the

PROPERTY being once established, and the forms of justice to protect it delineated, public prosperity is placed on a solid foundation. But the love of money, which generally prevails, renders the most of mankind more anxious to possess present profit, than to look forward to future advantage. The plan which we have laid down in the preceding sections, will begin to yield an apparent benefit from its commencement; at the same time that the tide will become the more rapid the longer it flows.

Immediate

The immediate pecuniary advantages which will rise to Bengal, are to be derived from various sources. The removal of the emperor, either to Patna or Mongeer, will save to the kingdom his pension of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; the revenues of the territory of Bulwant Singh, three hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds to be spent in Bengal; and fifty thousand pounds, which is now sent abroad, without hopes of return, to pay three battalions of our troops, stationed at Allahabâd. This sum of six hundred and eighty-seven thousand pounds, thrown at once into the circulation, would animate the languid pulse



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pulse of commerce ; and at once prepare the kingdom for the commercial improvements, which the plan, in its other regulations, seems absolutely to ensure.

The future advantages arise also from various springs. and future advantages
The influx of specie and inhabitants, which the sale of the waste as well as of the cultivated lands, would draw from all the other provinces of Hindoostan, would be productive of immediate national wealth. The advancement of agriculture would promote the advancement of manufactures. The peace of the country would be secured from abroad ; and justice, by prevailing at home, would attach the natives to a government, on the stability of which the possession of their landed property depended. The establishment of a paper currency, on national faith and the Company's security, would enable mankind to bring all their property into action, lower the exorbitant interest of money, and render Bengal, in the space of a few years, the most commercial, the most flourishing, and the most wealthy kingdom, of its extent, in Asia.

The Company, in the midst of the prosperity of the subject, would amazingly thrive in their affairs. A sum not less than ten millions, independent of their revenue, would, in the space of four years, flow from the first sales of

to be derived from the plan.



the land into their coffers. The improvement of their present revenue would join issue, with its future certainty and permanency. A large annual sum would arise, from a thorough examination of tenures; and from imposts already laid upon fairs, markets, entrance into great towns, shops, magazines of grain, fees upon marriages, tolls collected at ferries, licences for exercising trades, ground-rent of houses, which though at present paid by the public, have never been brought to account by Mahommed Riza and the general farmers. These articles, at the lowest average, might amount to the annual sum of four hundred thousand pounds. Five hundred thousand pounds would yearly be saved in pensions, and on the charge of collection; besides, the immense encrease in the revenues, which would most certainly be derived from the growing prosperity of the kingdom.

Concluding

The absolute establishment of property, without which written law seems superfluous to society, is, as has been observed, the foundation upon which national prosperity is laid. Regulations which stop short of this primary object, are only temporary expedients, which may, for a time, alleviate the pain of the distemper, but it can never cure. A tacit acquiescence in the right of possession of the natives, the prevention of
some



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some part of the present national waste, a mild despotism, which we may dignify with the name of Justice, will have an immediate good effect; but the advantage is limited, partial, and transient; and the Author of the Enquiry will venture to affirm, that, unless something similar to what has been, in the preceding sections, proposed, is adopted, Bengal will, in the course of a few years, decline into a shadow, and vanish from our hands.

Miracles are not to be expected in this age; and, reflection. without them, in the absence of a bold and determined exertion, the boasted fruits of our victories in the East, will wither with our laurels. A kingdom, lying under all the disadvantages of a foreign conquest, which, without return, deprives it of one million and an half of its annual industry, must sink under the weight, unless it is placed on a better footing than the surrounding countries which pay no tribute. Let our justice to our own subjects, let the advantages of our regulations, entice foreigners with their wealth to settle among us; let us, without the sword, appropriate the wealth of India by our policy; otherwise the stream which flows into Great Britain, will soon become dry. The lake, which feeds it, has already disappeared from the banks. Temporary regulations may dazzle with their immediate



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mediate effect; but a permanent plan, which in its wide circle comprehends futurity, will preserve the vigour and health of Bengal, to the verge of that political death, to which all empires seem to be subjected by Fate.

Concluding Reflections.

Present

ARGUMENTS deduced from general principles, however obvious they may appear, strike not the bulk of mankind so forcibly as facts. The revenues of Bengal, without including the Jagieers, amounted, in the year 1766, to near three millions and six hundred thousand pounds of our money. The charges of collection, the Nabob's government, pensions, civil, military, and marine expences, being deducted, there remained a balance of one million three hundred thousand pounds, for the Company. The expences have since been encreasing yearly, and the revenues decreasing. Both were hastening to that middle point, which would balance the accounts of the British nation, with the fortune of their arms in the East.

ruinous state

To conceal this decrease as much as possible, men fell on a very shallow and poor expedient. The servants of the Company protracted the time of closing the



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the accounts to make up the usual sum; and, by these means, an encroachment of five months was, by degrees, made upon the succeeding year. To understand this circumstance, it is necessary to observe, that the collections are not fixed to a particular term. They are continued without intermission, and the produce of the five months, which may amount to one million five hundred thousand pounds, must be deducted from the accounts made up, since the Dewanny was submitted to our management.

Notwithstanding this deception, it was not the only deficiency in the state of money affairs. The revenues of the year 1769 had, besides, fallen short five hundred thousand pounds; and what further reduction the famine which ensued may have made, time can only demonstrate. By the best accounts from Bengal, there was not a balance of five hundred thousand pounds remaining, after all expences were paid; and this was not above half the sum necessary to purchase the annual investments of the Company. No fair conclusion, however, can be drawn from the produce of one year; and the vigilance of the Court of Directors has since established some beneficial regulations. To flatter the sanguine, we will suppose, that the net balance will amount, on the present footing, to one million. The sum

of the revenue.



sum is just sufficient for the investments of the Company; without leaving a single farthing in the treasury to answer any extraordinary emergency.

Obvious

The advantages of the proposed plan are obvious; and, therefore, easily explained. Let it be supposed, that the rent-roll of the year 1766 shall be taken as the rule of the quit-rent to be paid, after the sale of the lands. Let none think this sum too much. Under the management of the proprietors, the lands would in a few years produce, thrice the sum of three millions six hundred thousand pounds; but the subject must receive a bribe for his industry. The Company, at present, complain, that the Talookdârs, or those who possess lands in property, run away with all the tenants. Their estates are flourishing, whilst our limited policy of letting the lands by the year, has created solitudes around. After a thorough examination of fictitious tenures, private encroachments and public embezzlements, we may, with great propriety, venture to add, at least one million to the above sum. But to speak with a moderation which precludes reply, we shall only take it for granted, that four hundred thousand pounds are, by these means, only gained. Even this sum will fix the annual revenue at four millions; and there let it rest till the prosperity of the country shall authorise an encrease, by slight imposts on trade and the articles of consumption.

The



TO ITS FORMER PROSPERITY.

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The abolition of the tyrannical and impolitic government of the Nabob, will be a saving of five hundred thousand pounds on the annual expences. The fact is notorious, that the real expence of this secondary and intermediate government, in pensions and in the mode of collection, exceeds six hundred thousand pounds; but the judicial and fiscal systems established in the preceding plan will not exceed one hundred thousand pounds, with all the advantages of a salutary and equitable administration of justice and law. To this sum we may add the five hundred thousand pounds which have fallen off from the revenue, as the first-fruits of the plan; all which, supposing the expences of the civil, military, and marine departments to remain as at present, would make an annual difference of one million four hundred thousand pounds, in favour of the Company. The investments of the Company might in that case be increased, yet leave a sum for the treasury in Calcutta for emergencies.

Advantages

The treasury, however, ought not to be too rich, lest circulation should deaden in the kingdom. Two millions in specie would be sufficient. To employ the surplus to advantage, together with the ten millions, which are supposed to arise from the sale of the lands, a bank ought to be established for the purpose of lending out sums of money, not exceeding three years purchase on landed security to the Proprietors, at the interest of seven per centum. The land-holders would be, by these

of the preceding



means, enabled to raise the necessary sums, at less than half the interest which they now pay; and the Company would have good security for their advances. Let us suppose, that, in the course of a few years, ten millions were lent upon these terms, that sum would produce an annual interest of seven hundred thousand pounds; which, upon the whole plan, makes a yearly balance, in favour of the Company, of TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS MORE THAN THEY AT PRESENT RECEIVE, exclusive of a PRODIGIOUS and GROWING TREASURE; and the moderate imposts which may be hereafter laid on articles of luxury.

Plan.

The Plan, to speak the least its favour, is practicable in its great and general line. It would produce, even partially followed, immense, sudden, and permanent advantages; but no human foresight can absolutely estimate the precise sums. Though the Author of the Enquiry has not the vanity to suppose that his scheme is, in all its branches, infallible, he will venture to pledge himself to his country, that, should the more material parts of his system be adopted, the advantages to be derived from it would not fall short of his calculations. His knowledge of the kingdom of Bengal, and its various resources, gives him a confidence on this subject, to which he is not intitled by his abilities.





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ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the Author of this volume derives by far the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpses of the transactions in the Mogul empire, preserved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled, the last century, into India. He relies upon their authority with regard to what they had *seen*. He prefers the accounts of domestic writers, to what they only *heard*. He draws his information chiefly from the following authors; and the originals are, at this moment, in his hands.

- I. MIRAT UL WARIDAT; or, THE MIRROR OF OCCURRENCES, written by MAHOMMED SHUFFIA of Delhi. He undertook the work at the request of Byram Chan, in the reign of Mahommed Shaw. He professes his book to be a continuation of the work of Ferishta; and it contains a compendious history of the Mogul Empire, from the death of Akbâr, to the invasion of Nadir Shaw.
- II. JEHANGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR JEHANGIRE. By MATIMID CHAN of Delhi.
- III. SHAW JEHAN NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF THE EMPEROR SHAW JEHAN. By MIRZA CASIM, the son of MIRZA AMIN, private secretary to Aurungzêbe. Our Author succeeded his father in that office.
- IV. ROSE NAMMA; or, A Journal of the first Ten Years of Aurungzêbe. By the same Writer.
- V. ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or, THE HISTORY OF ALLUMGIRE or AURUNGZEBE. By the same. This work is little more than an abridgment of the above.
- VI. MIRAT ALLUM; or, THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD. By NAZIR BUCHTAR CHAN, a man of letters, who led a private life near Feridâbad, within a few miles of Agra. This work contains the history of the first Ten Years of Aurungzêbe.

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THE
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JEHANGIRE.

CHAP. I.

Observations—Death of Akbar—Accession of Selim, by the name of JEHANGIRE—Rebellion of Sultan Chusero—Battle of Lahore—Chusero's misfortunes—Rebellion quashed—Executions—War with Persia—A conspiracy.

THE great abilities of Akbar confirmed the house of Timur on the throne, and established tranquillity over all their vast conquests in India. Vigorous in his measures, without tyranny, he impressed the minds of men with awe, and checked that spirit of discord and private ambition, which had prevailed in more feeble reigns. Government becoming settled and uniform in its regulations, the arts of civil life began to increase and flourish, among a people naturally industrious and ingenious. The splendor of the court, the wealth of individuals, created a

A. D. 1605.
Higer. 1014.
General



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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observa-
tions.

general taste for pomp and magnificence; and the crowded levees of the great, where all endeavoured to excel in the art of pleasing, rendered the Indians equal in politeness to the nations of Europe. Learning was not unknown, if we exclude the abstruse sciences. The Arabian and Brahmin systems of philosophy were studied; and the powers of the mind were generally cultivated and improved.

This character of civilization, it must be confessed, tallies not with the political conduct of the people. But necessity and self-preservation make a kind of apology for crimes under despotism, which would be unpardonable in a community governed by general and known laws. In states subject to arbitrary government, there is no security, no honour, no independence in private life. The nation is divided into two sorts of people, the oppressors and the oppressed. Every man of spirit, of family, and of fortune, must, in self-defence, endeavour to possess a share of the government under which he was born. When he starts forth from obscurity, he must adopt the political principles of his country, or be ruined in all his schemes, however repugnant these principles may be to the general dictates of humanity, and the particular disposition of his own mind. The greatest virtues therefore are often blended with the worst vices; and this circumstance gives a variety and strength of feature to Asiatic characters, unknown in the settled governments of the west.

Extent and
revenues of
the empire.

Though the empire of the Mahommedans in India was not so extensive under Akbar as it had been under some princes of the Patan Dynasty, it comprehended a vast tract of country, divided into twenty-two provinces; each equal to some kingdoms in wealth, fertility and extent*. A small part only of the Decan or southern peninsula of India had been con-

* Kandahar, Ghizni, Cabal, Cashmire, Lahore, Moultan, Outch, Sindi, Ajmere, Sirhind, Delhi, Duab, Agra, Allahabad, Oud, Behar, Bengal, Orissa, Malava, Berar, Chandesh, Guzerat.

quered:



JEHANGIRE.

quered: yet the dominions of the family of Timur, in their northern and southern frontiers, fell under the thirty-sixth and nineteenth parallels of latitude; and they extended themselves, from east to west, about twenty-five degrees. The revenues, according to the Imperial register, were thirty-two millions sterling, received in the exchequer, exclusive of the customary presents, and the estates of the officers of the crown, which at their death reverted to the emperor, and amounted, at a medium, to twenty millions more of our money. These immense sums were expended in maintaining an army of three hundred thousand horse, as many of foot, in support of the splendor of the court, and in the salaries of civil officers.

A. D. 1605,
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When the indisposition of the emperor Akbar rendered him incapable of attending to public business, the whole weight of government fell on Chan Azim, the Vifier. Selim, Akbar's only surviving son, notwithstanding the disputes which he had formerly with his father, was still looked upon as the heir of the empire. But the Vifier's daughter being married to Chusero, the eldest son of Selim, that minister was desirous of placing the reins of government in the hands of his son-in-law. He was supported in this scheme by many of the nobles; the most enterprising and powerful of whom was Raja Man Singh, whose sister was the mother of Chusero. The Raja, from the antiquity of his family, and his own address, commanded all the Hindoo interest in the empire; and he had, at that very time, twenty thousand of his native subjects of the Rajaput tribe in and near the environs of the capital, prepared to execute his orders. Selim being apprized of the powerful confederacy against him, waited upon his father Akbar, two days before his death, and laid before him all their schemes. The emperor called them to his presence, reprimanded them severely; and having publicly acknowledged Selim his law-

Intrigues against Sultan Selim.



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ful successor in the empire, obliged the confederate lords to pay him homage, and to promise to support his title.

His accession
to the throne.

On the sixteenth of the second Jemmâd, in the year of the Higera one thousand and fourteen, the illustrious Akbar expired at Agra, amid the tears of his subjects; who loved him as their father, admired him as their leader, and feared him as their prince. The promise extorted by the emperor from the Visier and Man Singh in favour of Selim, had no effect on their conduct. He was no sooner dead than they assembled their party in the house of the former, and renewed their deliberations in favour of Chusero, in prejudice of his father. Selim in the mean time was not idle. He convened all his friends in his own palace. Things remained in suspense for some hours. Ferid Bochari, who commanded the city-guards, took at length a spirited resolution. He ordered the gates to be shut, to prevent any troops from entering the city; and, taking the keys in his hand, hastened to the palace of Selim. He presented them on his knees, and saluted him emperor. All present followed his example. The news soon reached the house of the Visier. The party of Chusero was struck with a sudden panic. They broke up from council, and made all possible haste to pay their respects to the new sovereign. The Visier took care not to be the last. The hopes of Chusero were dashed in a moment. He was seized with fear, and fled down the river in a small canoe, with Raja Man Singh, and concealed himself in that prince's house till he obtained a pardon from his father. Ferid, for this signal service, was advanced to the rank of paymaster-general of the forces, by the title of Murtaza Chan; and many other distinguishing honours were at the same time conferred upon him.

His titles and
age.

Selim was born at Sikri, near Agra, on Wednesday the seventeenth of the second Ribbi, in the nine hundredth and seventy-seventh



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seventh year of the Higera. The most remarkable event of Selim's life, before his accession, was, his disobedience to his father's orders, rather than his rebellion against him, about two years prior to that monarch's death. Insolent at first, he refused to return to his duty, and was once actually at the head of seventy thousand men. Upon the death of the prince Daniâl, he, however, submitted, having then a nearer prospect of the throne; Akbar having upbraided him for his disobedience at first, and his pusillanimity afterwards, for throwing himself upon an enraged sovereign's mercy, when he was at the head of a great army, received him into favour. When Selim took the reins of government in his hands, he assumed the titles of Noor-ul-dien Mahommed JEHANGIRE, or Mahommed the Light of the Faith and CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD. He dated the commencement of his reign from the twentieth of the second Jemmâd 1014, which answers to the 21st of October 1605, being then in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Akbar was interred with great pomp at Secundra, near Agra; and the minds of men were distracted between grief and joy, funeral solemnity, and the festivity attending upon the accession of a new sovereign.

A. D. 1605.
Hig. 1014.

Chan Azim, the discontented Vifier, and the Raja Man Singh, were so formidable in the empire, that Jehangire thought it most prudent to accept of the offered allegiance of both, and to confirm them in their respective honours and governments, without animadversion upon their late conduct. Man Singh was dispatched to his subaship of Bengal; Chan Azim to that of Malava. The prince Chufero made his appearance at court; and his father, after a severe reprimand, took him at last into favour. The emperor in the mean time began his reign by a strict administration of justice, and by a minute inspection into the finances and resources of the state. He issued a public edict to confirm all the laws

His prudent
and wise
administra-
tion.



A. D. 1605.
Hig. 1014.

laws and regulations in force. Many subas were removed from their respective governments into other provinces: some were dismissed to make room for the emperor's abettors and friends. The deprived governors repaired to court to restore themselves, by money and intrigue, to their former dignities. Some succeeded in their views: others were reduced to despair, through want of success. The latter began to form treasonable designs to recover the consequence and power which they had lost.

A conspiracy
in favour of
his son Chu-
fero;

To accomplish their purpose, the discontented lords turned their eyes upon Chufero, and hoped, by his means, to effect a revolution in the state. They pretended to have the greatest attachment to his person: they magnified the number of his friends, and his own merit. They roused his ambition by the praise of past actions, and animated it by the fair prospect of present success. But what had most weight with the prince, they intimidated him with pretended discoveries of the designs of his father against his life. The secrecy necessary to be observed in all arduous undertakings against despotic governments, rendered it difficult for Chufero to know the true state of things. The spies, whom the emperor had placed around him, in the mean time, increased, and confirmed his fears. Ambition, aided by timidity, at length prevailed over filial duty. He plunged therefore into danger, to take immediate possession of a throne, which he was born one day to mount, without the doubtful fortune of the sword.

who rejects a
proposal of
assassination.

Chan Azim, and the Raja Man Singh, had the address not to appear openly in the conspiracy. They were, however, known to be the life and support of the whole. They were still under the cloud of the emperor's displeasure, which, at a convenient season, might burst on their heads. The prince being so far involved in the plot, it would be dangerous for him to recede: and they, justly



JEHANGIRE.

justly considering the improbability of success by open force against the Imperial power, proposed the more speedy expedient of assassinating Jehangire. The proposal came to the ears of the prince. Though he was bent upon rebellion, he startled at parricide. Nature was roused in his breast. "My father," said he, "may enjoy life without a throne; but I can never enjoy a throne stained with a father's blood. Let him try the fortune of the field. Let us throw away the daggers of assassins, and owe our advancement to our swords."

A. D. 1606.
Hig. 1015.

The conspirators pretended to applaud the noble sentiments of the prince: but they, from that instant, were irresolute and embarrassed in their councils. Many, violent at the beginning, now awed by the greatness of the undertaking, shrunk back from their purpose, and began to shelter themselves behind one another. The emperor, in the mean time, was in part informed of the plot. He prepared to seize the prince: the latter was apprized of his father's designs. By a premature discovery, this conspiracy, like many of the same kind, failed. Fear took possession of the adherents of Chusero. He himself was afraid. They neglected to execute the daring stroke, which their situation and safety required. They began to remove themselves from immediate danger, as if the present were more to be feared than those which in future they had to oppose. They, however, did not altogether relinquish their designs.

The plot discovered.

On Monday the eight of Zehidge, six months after the accession of Jehangire to the throne of India, near one hundred of the conspirators assembled privately, in the evening, at the tomb of the emperor Akbar. Chusero having joined them, on pretence of paying his devotions at his grandfather's shrine, they proceeded, that very night, toward Delhi. About day-break, next morning, they had reached the city of Muttra, about thirty-eight miles from Agra;

First rising.



A. D. 1606.
Hig. 1015.

Agra; and entered the town, when the troops, who garrisoned the place, were on the parade. They halted for refreshment; and they had the good fortune not to be suspected by the officer who commanded at Muttra. Husein Beg Chan Buduchshi, who had been governor of the province of Cabul during a considerable part of the former reign, being turned out of his office by the emperor, was on his way to court. Having travelled in the night on account of the heat of the weather, he happened to enter the city of Muttra at the opposite gate just when the prince arrived. They met in the market-place. Chusero was no stranger to the discontent of Husein; and esteeming him a great acquisition to his party, from his known bravery and popularity among the Tartars, who formed a great part of the imperial army, he called him aside, and having founded him, laid open his whole plan. Husein being conscious of no crime against the state, thought himself highly injured by Jehangire. Possessed of no property but the sword, from the generosity of his disposition, which had lavished his fortune upon his friends, he required not much intreaty to espouse the cause of the prince.

Chusero
marches to
Delhi.

The retinue of Husein was but small. It consisted of two hundred Tartar horse, and three hundred Afgan foot. But his military fame was great; and he gave life to the conspiracy. The prince endeavoured to bring over the governor of Muttra to his party. That officer, perceiving his intentions, shut himself up in the citadel, and would listen to no terms. Chusero had neither time nor force to reduce him. He contented himself with enlisting as many as he could of the inhabitants and garrison into his service; and, leaving Muttra, continued his route to Delhi.

Ravages the
country.

The road between the two great cities of Delhi and Agra being crowded with travellers, and detachments of horse and foot going
on



on different services, the prince forced them to join his standard. Those who refused were, without mercy, put to the sword, after being plundered of all their effects. Small parties of horse were at the same time dispersed through the country on every side; and such as did not immediately take up arms in favour of Chusero were submitted to military execution, and all the severities of war. Many were compelled to join him, through fear. Others, from the same cause, fled into the woods; and saw from their retreats the smoke of their burning houses, and mourned over their infants and aged parents, who had not strength to avoid the flames. Some more resolute defended themselves against the rebels, and to their valour owed their lives. The orders of the prince, it must be owned, did not extend to such rigour and cruelty. But he found it impossible to restrain from excesses his undisciplined soldiers. He had set them an example of wickedness by rebellion; and it was not to be expected that they would submit to his commands in favour of humanity and justice.

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Such was the wasteful progress of Chusero to Delhi. His followers having greatly increased their numbers in the march, he laid the suburbs of that capital under contribution. The gates being shut, the city itself was preserved from pillage. The unfortunate people who lived without the walls, from their delay in raising the sum imposed upon them, had their houses consumed with fire. Many thousands were ruined. Many, to retrieve their affairs, joined the rebels, to make reprisals upon the world for the loss which they had sustained.

Lays the suburbs of Delhi under contributions.

At eleven o'clock of the same night on which Chusero left Agra, his father was informed of his flight by the captain-general, who was ordered to pursue immediately the fugitive. About an hour

The emperor pursues Chusero,



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after this officer's departure with a considerable body of horse, the emperor, suspecting his loyalty, dispatched his commands to him to return. Ferid Bochari, lately raised to the dignity of Murtaza Chan, and to the office of paymaster-general of the forces, was dispatched upon that service, with an additional number of troops. The whole under Ferid amounted to ten thousand horse, which greatly retarded his march. Chusero, of course, had the more time to harass the country, and to strengthen himself. In the morning, as soon as day-light appeared, the emperor mounted his horse; and having assembled all the forces in and near Agra, leaving a sufficient garrison in the place, marched with a great army toward Delhi. He was, upon the occasion, heard to repeat a verse, which implied, "That fortune depended upon expedition more than on counsel; and that his life should be darkened who put off till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day." The undutiful behaviour of a son, whom he loved, was a severe stroke to his mind. He refused to eat or drink, or to take rest for some time; and even opium, to which he was much addicted, he declined.

who takes
the route of
Lahore.

The governor and inhabitants of Delhi, having recovered from the first impressions which the sudden arrival and ravages committed by Chusero had made upon their minds, prepared for a resolute defence. Some troops, who were stationed in different parts of the country, had thrown themselves into the town. As there was a considerable quantity of the Imperial treasure lodged in the city, as well as the great wealth of private persons, the intentions of the prince were to have surprized Delhi, and to furnish himself with money sufficient to raise an army in the province of Punjâb. But the general terror which his rapacity had excited carried the news of his march before him, and disappointed his designs. Despairing of being able to force Delhi to surrender before



before the arrival of the Imperial army, having remained only two days in the suburbs, Chufero took the route of Lahore. Having been, on his march, joined by a great number of men, he attempted, immediately upon his arrival, to take that city by escalade. He was repulsed with some loss by the garrison; and being at the same time destitute of artillery, he was greatly disconcerted in his measures. He, however, invested the place.

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The Imperial troops stationed in the province threw themselves into Lahore. They sallied out on the besiegers nine successive days, but they were as often repulsed, and obliged to shelter themselves behind their walls. Chufero in the mean time had drawn together some artillery from small fortresses in the neighbourhood, which he had found means to surprise. Nothing could be effected against the place before the arrival of Ferid, the paymaster-general, with the emperor's advanced guard. The prince, with an army of thirty thousand horse and foot, but without order, without discipline, marched out of his camp to give battle to Ferid. The garrison of Lahore perceiving his motions, fell upon his rear. He left a part of his army to oppose them: With the remaining part he attacked Ferid. His troops behaved better than their discipline seemed to promise. He exposed his own person. He was at length deserted; and, pressing among the thickest of the enemy, he found himself with only a few of his principal adherents, who bravely fought by his side. In this situation he was surrounded by the Imperialists on every side. He was personally known to them all. They were tender of his life; and, in attempting to take him prisoner, they permitted him to make his escape. Great honours were conferred upon Ferid by the emperor, on account of this signal victory.

He is defeated by Ferid Bochari.

The unfortunate Chufero wandered all night through the woods, with a few attendants. His army was all dispersed. He came in
C 2 the

Frustrating counsels of his adherents.



THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1606.
Hig. 1015.

the morning to a hut, where, quite overcome by fatigue, he laid himself down to rest. Some of his friends having discovered where he lay, assembled around him. They began to consult together on the present untoward situation of their affairs. They differed in opinion. Such of the chiefs as were natives of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, insisted upon taking the route of that quarter of India, by the foot of the northern mountains: they alleged, that the Raja Man Singh, who was then suba of Bengal, possessed great power, which he would not fail to exert in his nephew's cause*: that the country was rich and populous: that it was an invariable maxim among the Hindoo princes, never to desert the interest of a stranger who should throw himself under their protection: Besides, that the Raja Man Singh joined the affection of a relation to the prince, to the natural faith of his nation to the suppliant and unfortunate. The natives of Chanderi and Malava were for trying their fortunes in their respective provinces. Chan Azim, the late Visier, father-in-law of Chufero, was governor of the latter; and they doubted not but he would support the dignity of his own family. They added, that Azim was possessed of a fine army, provided with artillery, and furnished with stores.

They dis-
perse.

Hussein Beg, who was in chief confidence with the prince, started objections to the different plans of his other adherents. He urged the distance of the march, and the impossibility of forcing their way through countries full of Imperial troops, who would be very active, since Fortune had forsaken the side of Chufero. He proposed that they should continue their route to Cabul; where he himself had interest sufficient to arm the whole province, together with his native country Buduchshân, in favour of the prince.

* It was customary with the Mahomedan emperors of Hindostan to demand the daughters of Hindoo princes in marriage. The mother of Chufero was sister to the Raja Man Singh.

Chufero



Chufero, during the debate, sat silent. Having at length weighed each opinion, he declared in favour of that of Hufsein; alleging, that the troops of the north were most faithful to their chiefs. The observation displeased the other chiefs: they murmured, and left his presence. They saw that their affairs were desperate, and they resolved to retreat to their respective habitations; covering their fears under a pretended disgust at the preference given to the counsel of Hufsein.

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Chufero in a few minutes found himself deserted by those who had made him the tool of their ambition and revenge. Reproaches were to no effect. He blamed his adherents for their timidity and perfidy; but he himself was not less culpable. His mind was agitated with various passions. Rage against his own folly was the most predominant. Hufsein was the only chief of note who remained of the conspirators. His followers, consisting of three hundred horse, and a few of the prince's menial servants, formed their whole retinue. With these they set out for Cabul. Being forced to depart from the high road, they frequently lost their way, as they were obliged to travel in the night.

He arrives on
the banks of
of the Attoc;

Keeping their course through unfrequented paths and by-roads, they at length arrived on the banks of the river Attoc, the largest branch of the Indus. It was impassable without boats. It was then midnight. They moved down the river to the ferry of Choudera. Finding no boats at that place, though a much frequented passage, they understood that orders had been sent to conceal them. The ferryman and villagers were asleep. It was proposed to seize them, to force them to discover where the boats were laid. Some were taken in their beds; others escaped, and, with their outcries, alarmed the country. The prince understood from those that were taken, that orders from the Imperial camp had two days before been received by the zemindâr of the district, to stop the passage

where, for
want of
boats,



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passage of the river; and that, in obedience to these orders, he had secreted the boats. Husein in the mean time having dispatched some of his followers in quest of the boats, they found two, filled with wood, in a neighbouring creek. These were unloaded, and brought to the proper place. The zemindâr, being roused from sleep by the noise, had come by this time to the banks of the Attoc, attended by a concourse of people. He called to those who dragged the boats, that he had an Imperial mandate to prohibit all persons, under pain of death, to cross the river. They, intimidated by his threats, turned the head of the two boats across the stream. The prince's party fired upon them: some were killed, others plunged into the river; and a few expert swimmers, in the retinue of Chusero, brought one boat with difficulty to the shore.

he is in great
distress.

The banks of the Attoc were in the mean time crowded with the country people. An officer arrived with a hundred horse to guard the passage. Other detachments came gradually in from every quarter. Chusero and Husein resolved to save themselves in the boat. They placed their horses in the center, and they themselves took their seats in the stern. Their attendants, afraid of being left to the mercy of their enemies, threw themselves headlong into the vessel, and almost sunk her. They, however, pushed her from shore; threw some overboard, and cut off the hands of others who clung to her sides. Many were drowned. A few slain by the Imperialists. This was but the beginning of misfortunes. Most of the oars had been lost in the confusion; and the rudder, to complete the ruin of the unfortunate Chusero, had been inadvertently thrown overboard with the wood with which the boat had been found loaded. These inconveniences, joined to a want of skill in the rowers, rendered it impossible for them to manage the boat. She was carried down the stream. The confusion was great, and danger every moment increased.

The



J E H A N G I R E.

The zemindâr, and the party who guarded the ferry, were not idle. They seized upon those left ashore. They fired at the boat, and followed her down the river. She struck at last on a sand-bank. Some plunged into the water to push her off: she remained immovable. The fire continued. Many were killed. No resource was left. The sun was just rising. Cafim Chan, who commanded the party of horse, seeing the unfortunate prince in this unextricable situation, stopt the fire. Being by this time joined by another officer who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, both mounted their elephants; and, riding in to the bank on which the boat lay, seized the prince. Cafim placed him behind him on the elephant, while the other officer secured Hufsein. The few that remained of their attendants were carried ashore in another boat.

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Hig. 1015.
He is taken
prisoner.

Such was the end of a rebellion begun without any just cause, concerted without judgment, and carried on with very moderate abilities, by a prince scarce more unfortunate than he deserved to be. The emperor was at the time encamped in a garden near Lahore. He received the news of the seizure of the prince with excessive joy. He ordered him to be brought before him, with a golden chain from his left hand to his left foot, according to the laws of his ancestors, Zingis and Timur. Hufsein, loaded with iron chains, was placed on the right hand of Chusero; Abdul Rahim, another of the principal rebels, on his left. Jehangire sternly asked his son, "What could induce thee, Sultan Chusero, to rebel against thy sovereign and father?" Chusero was silent: the emperor began to relent. He then, in a softer tone, questioned him about his advisers and abettors in rebellion. Chusero burst into tears. His father was surprized: for till then he had remained firm. "Father," said the prince, with a broken voice, "my crime is great; but let me suffer for it alone. When you
accused

His behavi-
our before
his father.



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accused me, I was sensible of my faults; and, as I was reconciled with the loss of life, I behaved with dignity. But when you raise the remembrance of my friends, I am troubled at their fate. Let them escape as they can; I will never become their accuser."

Execution of
his adhe-
rents.

Jehangire stood silent; and, by his pressing him no farther, seemed to applaud his sentiments. Any information from the prince would be unnecessary. The conspirators had impeached one another; and three hundred of the chiefs were already seized. The prince was delivered over, in close confinement, into the hands of the paymaster-general. Hussein was sentenced to be sewed up in the raw hide of an ox, and to be thrown in that condition into the street. The hide was soon contracted by the heat of the sun; and he expired in a few hours. Abdul Rahim did not so easily escape. Finding that Hussein was dead sooner than they expected, those appointed to superintend the executions, kept the ass's hide in which Rahim was inclosed, constantly moist with water. He lived for several days in that miserable condition. Three hundred pales in the mean time were set up in two rows along the public road. The rebels, to that number, were drawn alive on the pales. Chusero was brought every day, as long as any of the unhappy wretches breathed, under their tortures, to view the horrid sight. He was led in chains through the midst of them, whilst he watered the ground with his tears. Some of them had been his dearest companions; others his faithful servants, who had followed his fortunes, merely to shew their fidelity to a master whom they loved.

Candahar in-
vested by the
Persians.

These barbarous executions were scarce over at Lahore, when news was brought to the Imperial camp, that the Persians had invested Candahar with a numerous army; that Shaw Beg, the governor of that city and province, had, by his rashness, suffered
a very



a very considerable loss in a rally; yet that he continued, without any necessity, to expose the garrison. His conduct could only be accounted for by an absurdity bordering on madness. He was as careless of his own life as he was of his duty. Dissolute beyond example, he ordered an awning to be spread over the gate-way most exposed to the enemy's fire. He sat under it all day, conversing with common prostitutes, whom, much against their inclination, he forced to attend him. The emperor, fearing more from his negligence and debauchery, than he hoped from his fidelity and courage, sent Sirdir Chan, an old Omrah, to supersede him in his government, with orders to defend Candahar to the last extremity. Ghazi Chan, an officer of great reputation, was, at the same time, dispatched with twenty-five thousand horse, to harass the enemy. Jehangire himself, with the remaining part of the Imperial army, marched to Cabul.

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Ghazi had scarce advanced within six days march of Candahar, when the Persians raised the siege, and retreated towards Chorassan. No reason could be assigned for these hostilities on the side of Persia, except the favourable opportunity offered, by the rebellion of Chusero, for seizing the city of Candahar, which was, in some measure, the key to the Persian empire. Shaw Abas of Persia pretended, that his lieutenants in the provinces of Seistan and Chorassan had taken this step without his orders; and that it was his positive commands which raised the siege.

The siege
raised.

Jehangire placed little faith in the professions of Abas; being satisfied, that the death of Akbar, and the rebellion of Chusero, were the true motives of the invasion. He, however, admitted the excuses of the Persian, which were brought by his ambassador Hussein. Several small forts near Candahar, which had been taken by the Persians, were evacuated, and peace between the two

A peace with
Persia.



A. D. 1606.
Hig. 1015.

formidable powers was re-established. Shaw Beg, deprived of the government of Candahar, was made Suba of Cabul: for, notwithstanding his absurd behaviour, he had displayed both ability and spirit in the defence of the city. The emperor, after these transactions, returned toward Lahore.

A conspiracy.

Sultan Chufero was still in close confinement, which his active and vehement disposition could very ill endure. The usage he met with deprived him of every hope of a reconciliation with his father. The marks of affection shewn by the emperor to his younger sons, Purvez and Churruum, confirmed the suspicions of Chufero. It was also currently reported, that Jehangire was to appoint one of the two favoured princes, his successor. Nothing but disappointment, and even death, presented to Chufero's mind. His friends were still numerous in the army. He founded them, by his emissaries: some moved by his misfortunes, many in love with novelty, began to form treasonable designs against the emperor's life. It was concerted to fall upon Jehangire at the chace, and, having dispatched him, to raise Chufero, from his prison to the throne.

Discovered.

Some writers doubt, whether Chufero was at all privy to this conspiracy: others deny the whole. The first argue from the humanity of Chufero; the latter say, that it was a fiction of Sultan Churruum, third son of Jehangire. This much is certain, that the first intelligence of the conspiracy came, through prince Churruum, to the emperor's ears. He informed his father, that five hundred of the nobility were engaged in a plot against his life. Jehangire was startled, and knew not how to act: he considered, that, should he seize some, the rest would be alarmed; and that danger might arise from their power. As it was difficult, therefore, to secure them all at once, he thought it most prudent