A MISSING CHAPTER OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

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OF THE

INDIAN MUTINY.

BY

LIEUT.-GENERAL CHARLES LIONEL SHOWERS,

Political Resident in the Meywar States (Rajpútâna), during the period in question.

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PREFACE.

THE events related in the following pages will not be found recorded in the Blue Book of the Indian Mutiny — my official reports, as Political Resident at the Meywar States during the period in question, not having been included in that document presented to Parliament in obedience to its order. Having recently, in clearing out a long disused cabinet, lit upon copies of the reports in question, together with a mass of correspondence, including some letters in original from Lieut.-Colonel, afterwards General Sir George Lawrence; my immediate predecessor in the Meywar Residency, I find myself in a position to supplement the history of the period with respect to events within the Meywar States as yet untold. These documents may afford some clue further to the miscarriage of my reports in transmission through the office of the Agent Governor-General, Colonel Lawrence, who, at the period in question, had been promoted to the superior office on the transfer to Lucknow at that juncture of his brother Sir Henry Lawrence. I forbear, however, to obtrude them on the reader at the opening of my narrative, and thus detain him from the perusal of stirring events and incidental episodes which I venture to hope may prove not without interest. The documents in question, then, I refer to in a Supplementary Chapter, appending vouchers, and will ask the reader to turn to it before closing the book for matter of exposition as well as of general interest. Few incidents of the period could exceed in pathos the late Sir Henry Lawrence's dying appeal to the Maharana of Oodeypore, which closes the chapter.

In proceeding now to recount the events of the troubled period of the Mutiny as experienced within the circle of my extensive official charge, I purpose quoting generally from my unpublished Reports and Diaries and Correspondence of the period, in order that the incidents may be presented in succession to the reader with the greater fidelity and graphic force as life-photographs taken at the time.

The historic land-marks left by the events about to be related in this missing chapter of the Indian Mutiny, may serve to complete the history of its suppression by such a numerically inferior and scattered force of the English race, as seemed, at the time, almost to preclude hope. In depositing that record of achievement, then, upon the shelves of the National archives, the people of England would not, I believe, willingly see it curtailed by one line of recorded honest effort.

Some of the most important of the questions discussed in the series of brilliant articles on "The India of the Queen," which have recently appeared in the columns of the Times, will be found raised by the events narrated in the following pages, and by the incidents of the Mutiny generally. On some of these questions the views of the correspondent of the Times will find here corroborative illustration: whilst in regard to others, instances in opposition to the conclusions arrived at by him will claim recognition. The arguments on either side will be set forth in a concluding review to enable the reader to form a judgment on the momentous question propounded in the concluding article of the series-"WHITHER?"

C. L. SHOWERS.

LYMINGTON,

HANTS.

January, 1888.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER	•	PAGE					
I.	STORM SIGNALS: CONE HOISTED TO THE EAST	ŗ					
II.	OUTBURST OF THE MUTINY: "A STAR SHALL FALL!"	8					
III.	Relief of Doongla	19					
IV.	DETAILS OF THE MUTINY AT NEEMUCH	26					
v.	PURSUIT OF NEEMUCH MUTINEERS	32					
, VI.	SALOOMBRA, THE CHIEF OF THE BARONS	47					
VII.	"By the Sin of the Sack of Chitore"	54					
VIII.	SALOOMBRA CRISIS—AND ISSUE	66					
IX.	HOLKAR AND SCINDIA	68					
X.	SECOND MUTINY AT NEEMUCH: RINGLEADERS						
	SEIZED AND EXECUTED	84.					
XI.	THE MALWA INSURRECTION	89					
XII.	NEEMBAHERA AND AHWA	99					
XIII.	SIEGE AND OPERATIONS BEFORE FORT NEEMUCH						
XIV.	FINAL OPERATIONS AGAINST TANTIA TOPEE	133					
XV.	EXECUTION OF TANTIA TOPEE: VERDICT OF						
	HISTORY	145					
XVÍ.	THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION	151					
XVII.	Whither?	161					
YVIII	STIDDI EMPNTADY CHAPTER	т80-					

APPENDIX.

- I. Captain Showers (Resident in Meywar) to Brigadier-General Lawrence, dated 8th November, 1857, reporting Attack of Mundisore Rebel's on Neemuch.
- II. BRIGADIER-GENERAL LAWRENCE TO CAPT. SHOWERS, DATED 12TH NOVEMBER, 1857, IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT.
- III. CAPTAIN SHOWERS TO CAPTAIN BAUMGARTNER, 10TH
 NOVEMBER.
- IV. CAPTAIN SHOWERS TO Mr. SECRETARY EDMONDSTONE, 11TH NOVEMBER, 1857.
 - V. Brigadier Macan's Letter to Capt. Showers, 18th June, 1857.
- VI. SECRET CORRESPONDENCE, RELATING TO THE CRISIS, CONFIDED BY MAHARANA SOROOP SINGH TO CAPTAIN SHOWERS, THE RESIDENT, FOR SUBMISSION TO GOVERNMENT, DATED 21ST FEBRUARY, 1858.
- VII. COLONEL SHOWERS' TO Times, MARCH, 1879, ON "REDUCTION OF NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA."
- VIII. LORD DALHOUSIE'S MINUTES OF 20TH AUGUST, 1848, on "SATARA SUCCESSION."

ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHITORE .	••			•••	•••	•••	Facing Title.
WATER PA	LACE IN	OODEYP	ORE LA	ΚΕ		•••	" page 23
PALACE OF	RAJAH	BHEEMSI	AND P	UDMA:	NI	•••	n n 57
MAD							At end



To SECRETARY EDMONSTONE, Esq., Dated Camp in the field, Neembahera, 11th November, 1857.

In advertence to the advantage that has already been experienced by us at this critical juncture from the possession of Neembahera as a British post, I trust I may be excused in drawing attention to this early demonstration of the beneficial results of the policy that dictated its occupation. Had Neembahera remained in the hands of the Tonk authorities, the chief of whom proceeded straight to Mundisore and joined openly the Mahomedan movements against us which he was suspected to be secretly fomenting in his own circle, there can be no doubt that instead of the Neemuch garrison having its rear secured and communication open, and the Cavalry in the field a strong post in the vicinity of the rebels from whence operations to harass the latter can be undertaken, Neembahera would have become on the occasion of the inroad of the Mundisore rebels, the focus of another hostile movement in our rear in furtherance of the crusade preached by the fanatic Shahzada against the British.

I am enabled to communicate daily with the Fort. All well, and no one hurt except two officers slightly hit by spent balls.

(Signed)

C. L. SHOWERS.

NUSSERABAD, 18th June.

My DEAR Showers,—Both your letters of the 15th have duly arrived; that written last came first. As the General is at present here, I sent them both to him, and I shall send the horsemen who take back this to him also, that they may take you his answer.

I am uncertain whether the General intends sending any of us in pursuit of the mutineers, but I think he will not. Situated as we are here, I quite agree with him that it would be the height of imprudence to risk the safety of Ajmere, which depends entirely on our presence here; so much so, that I expect our absence for even a week would raise all the ill-disposed about the country.

(Signed)

HENRY MACAN.

SECRET CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE CRISIS, CONFIDED BY MAHARANA SOROOP SINGH
TO CAPTAIN SHOWERS, THE RESIDENT,
FOR SUBMISSION TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(Copy).

No. 51 of 1858.

From CAPTAIN C. L. SHOWERS,

Officiating Political Resident, Meywar.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL G. S. P. LAWRENCE,

Officiating Resident Governor-General for the States of Rajputanah.

Dated, OODEYPORE, 21st February, 1858.

Secret Department.

SIR,—I have the honour to forward for your information and for submission to the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, the accompanying copies, with translation of certain papers which have been confided to me by the Muha Rana of Oodeypore bearing intimately on the present crisis in India. Government have already. had before them many proofs referred to in my previous reports of His Highness's fidelity and friendship throughout this period. The papers now submitted serve to show that besides individual attachment on the part of himself and his State, influencing immediately by his example the subordinate States under the Meywar Residency, the Rana has exerted his great influence as the acknowledged Head of all the Rajpoot Princes, on the side of the British by advising all who applied to him by letter or by accredited ministers specially deputed, for counsel at the crisis which had seemed to have cut them off from their accustomed protector and left them at the mercy of formidable armed bands of rebels and licentious mutinous soldiery, by advising all at that momentous juncture to stand firm in their allegiance to the British Government; counsel which was recommended to their adoption by his own high example.

The Papers here submitted comprise:-

rst. A correspondence between the Rewah Rajah and the Muha Ranah (marked A in Appendix). Premising that the former is closely connected with the Oodeypore House by marriage to strengthen the sentiment of traditional fealty to the Muha Rana which attach him in common with all the Rajpoot Princes, the Rewah Rajah's first letter, it will be observed, was dated 11th June last (1857). To which the Muha Rana replied on the 15th August, "Through the good fortune of the Sirkar (paramount power) it is hoped that everything will speedily be settled. The advent of the British power has proved beneficial to all the chiefs in Rajwara, and has been the means of restoring tranquillity to the country. On this account we earnestly wish and pray to Sreejee (the deity) for the stability of the British power. I hope you will bear in mind what I have here written."

The Rewah Rajah wrote again on the 20th August, it will be observed (before the letter from the Rana above quoted could have been received), wherein, adverting to passing events, Rewah placed himself and his troops at the Muha Rana's disposal in the following terms: "whatever you have decided upon I am ready to do the same. Write me your advice on this head as early as possible. I look up to no one else for advice but yourself in the present crisis. I cannot write more. Myself and my troops are at your disposal."

In reply to this it will be further observed the Muha Rana wrote, referring the Rewah Rajah to his former letter, and urging him to active efforts in our favour, in addition to his previous counsel to stand firm and to take example by him. "It is therefore the duty of every one of us to afford every assistance to the British Government. I advise you to bear this in mind and follow my example."

3. When this last communication was written, dated 13th November, the British garrison and post of Neemuch was besieged by the rebels. The Pergunnah capitals of the British district of Jawud Neemuch had thrown off their allegiance and declared for

the rebel Shahzada. The British Native Cavalry in the field intent only on retreat out of Meywar, notwithstanding my repeated remonstrances, and only checked by the advance of the Mhow column, although its retreat would have left me entirely dependent on the Meywar troops in the field.

- 4. The Rewah Rajah, I believe, in all the difficulties by which he has been surrounded, stood alone amid faltering officials and mutinous troops in his staunchness to the British, and his support of the Political Resident. It will remain with His Lordship the Governor-General, after perusal of this correspondence, to judge how far the Rajah was influenced for good by the advice and example of his relative and acknowledged Head of the Rajpoot clans, the Muha Rana of Oodeypore.
- 5. The next paper of the file is the memorandum (marked B in Appendix). It relates, it will be observed, to the mission of an accredited minister on the part of the Jodhpore Rajah Tukht Singh to Oodeypore to seek counsel from the Muha Ranah, with an intimation that his master was prepared to act as the Ranah did or desired. That the powerful State of Jodhpore, equally with the other Rajpoot States, acknowledged the Muha Ranah of Oodeypore as the common Head, is shown by the appended extracts of Khureetas (marked F) from the former sovereigns of that state, including also addresses from all of the other principal Rajpoot States. The answer returned to Rajah Tukht Singh by the Ranah of Oodeypore was to the same effect as that given to the Rewah Rajah, advising him to stand firm by the British Government.
- 6. The date of this mission from Jodhpore may appear to the Governor-General as worthy of especial notice on account of the following concomitant circumstances. The mission arrived at Oodeypore, it will be observed, on the 8th October, and may therefore be supposed (calculating the distance) to have been despatched from Jodhpore in consequence of the difficulties in which Rajah Tukht Singh found himself plunged by the failure of the attack on Ahwa by the British troops in concert with the defeat of his own, aggravated by the loss of the British Political Resident in the same affair. This event occurred on the 20th September.
 - 7. On the same day by a singular coincidence Neembahera was

occupied by the successful military operations of the force from Neemuch. I have in previous despatches had occasion to advert to the compensating sedative effect of this measure, especially when bringing under notice on the part of my assistant in the hilly tract the danger to the public tranquillity in Meywar which had arisen from the temporary success of the Ahwa chief in rebellion, owing to the bond of union from clanship and identity of class interests between the recusant chiefs in both these contiguous states, and the force of which bond has now been the more conclusively demonstrated by many of the Ahwa fugitives having been suffered to pass unchallenged through the estates of some of the chiefs in Meywar, and have found refuge, it is believed, within the bounds of one of the most powerful of them. An intercepted correspondence between Ahwa and Suloomber near about the date of this mission from Jodhpore, and which has been placed in my hands by the Durbar, exhibits a further and so conclusive a proof of intimate connexion between these chiefs as to afford a strong ground for the assumption that, but for the change of attitude on the part of the British force at Neemuch, marching boldly out and capturing a strong place at a moment when it was supposed to be cooped up in its entrenchments awaiting succour, that but for this sign of reviving power to our arms Suloomber might have been tempted to openly join the Marwar Thakoors. That chief, the head of so powerful a party in the state, once committed, we might have expected a flame in Meywar which, uniting with the insurrections in Marwar on the one side, Kotah on the other, and the Mahomedan movement in Malwa and in the heart of our districts of Jawud Neemuch, the combination moreover finding us with wavering Native troops within our own camp, and a post unfurnished with the necessary magazine,-I need hardly point to the probable consequence for the time of such a state of things, temporary although in reference to the ultimate issue it must have been. In contrast with what might have happened I would beg to point out what has obtained. Sulcomber, though more than once, as you are aware, on the point of breaking out, has never ventured to do so, Meywar has remained internally tranquil. The balance between faltering states has been maintained.

204 A MISSING CHAPTER OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.

The saving effect of the service and success at Neembahera upon

To Officiating Resident Governor-General, Rajpootana, dated 28th September, 1857.

To do. No. 286, dated 2nd December, 1857.

To. do. No. 20, dated 22nd January, 1858.

To do. No. 34, dated 5th February, 1858.

the wavering Native troops at Neemuch, has been exhibited in the proofs submitted in my despatches to your address noted in margin.

- 8. The next paper in the file (marked C) is copy of a circular which was proposed by the Muha Ranah, and after communication with me addressed by His Highness to all the Tankadar Rajpoot Chiefs under the Neemuch Superintendency, and which were forwarded by me before the Neemuch troops rose, under cover to Captain Lloyd, the Superintendent, for transmission to the Chiefs should he deem expedient. Thus, when the revolt took place on 3rd June, and some of the British officers and families sought refuge in some of these Chiefships, all such were sheltered and protected. To account for the influence exercised by the Rana's addresses to these Tankadar Chiefs, it may perhaps be necessary to explain briefly the connexion between them. These Chiefs being scions of the Rana's own family, four of them even classed among the thirtytwo hereditary Sirdars of the Oodeypore State and Nobles of the Court, and having received their titles and estates as such, the general sentiment of loyalty with which other Rajpoot clans look up to the Rana as the HINDOO PUT, naturally operates with double force upon these Chiefs who are bound to him by family ties as, at once, the Head of their House, and their sometime Sovereign. The salutary effect of the Rana's influence over these Chiefs under the Neemuch Superintendency, His Lordship the Governor-General may perhaps be the better able to judge of, when their loyal conduct is placed in contrast with that of all the other chief towns of the district which threw off the allegiance of the British Government by receiving officers appointed by the new rebel King who had established himself in Central India.
 - 9. The paper (marked D) is copy of a general Proclamation

issued by the Muha Rana on the 27th May, on my requisition, calling upon all the Chiefs of the State to send their quotas of troops to aid our operations. Thereby was secured the active cooperation which enabled me to pursue the Neemuch mutineers, clear the post-road, bring up a body of Native troops to the Ajmere frontier to co-operate with the Nusseerabad force for the destruction of the revolted brigade, on a plan previously submitted by express for your consideration—further, to occupy and hold the post of Neemuch, when not only denuded of British troops, but in the presence of mutinous Kotah troops. By that Proclamation, further, was secured that active personal assistance on the part of some of the Chiefs, including the highest, which resulted in the relief and escorting, to a place of safety, of all the women, children, and sick of the Neemuch garrison. Such confidence had I in the efficacy of the Rana's Proclamation, in conjunction with my own issued at the same time in communication with His Highness, that on relieving one party of the Neemuch refugees in the vicinity of the desolated station, I consigned them, that is the women, children, and sick of of the party, unhesitatingly to the care of the Rao of Bedla, the highest Chief of Oodeypore who had taken the field with me, and left him to escort them to Oodeypore while I myself proceeded in pursuit of the mutineers. How well he discharged that important trust is known to His Lordship the Governor-General who has conveyed to His Highness the Muha Rana, his thanks for the protection afforded to the refugees. The rest of the Neemuch garrison were escorted in safety to Nusseerabad by another party of the Rana's troops under a Durbar officer at a time when all Malwa had just risen, the mutineers from Mhow, Indore and Augur, were on the road, and Meywar lying in their most direct route to their destination, Delhee. None of the party was injured or molested in their progress through the wild tract of country between Neemuch and Nusseerabad. Thus all of the garrison were rescued and placed in safety.

A further good effect (of the Proclamation) that may be here cited has reference to the uninterrupted transit of the post through Meywar, after it was re-opened by our chasing the Neemuch mutineers off the road immediately after the mutiny. The import nce of this point will be the better appreciated by Government when it is remembered that the route through Meywar was, in the general closing of all the other post lines by insurrection, for some time and that the most critical, the only channel of communication between Government, even the supreme Government as well as the Government of Bombay, with the North Western Provinces, then the seat of War, and all the intermediate stations. This channel of communication has never been interrupted for a day in the Meywar States throughout the whole period of the troubled times.

- 10. Appendix (E) is a communication from the Kotah Rajah to the Muha Rana of Oodeypore, on the occasion of the revolt of his troops and murder of the British Resident. The Rajah would appear to have applied to the Muha Ranah for advice, at the juncture, equally as the Head of Rajpoot Chiefs, and more particularly as being nearly connected by marriage, the Kotah Rajah being married to a daughter of the Oodeypore House. His Highness, immediately on receipt of the letter from Kotah, communicated the fact to me through his minister. His advice to the Rajah, it will be observed, was not to allow what had happened to induce him to commit himself with the English Government. The Muha Ranah wished to bring away and receive his relation, the Kotah Ranee at Oodeypore, or at least to afford her refuge within his territories as the privacy of the Kotah Zenana was hardly secure from the assault of the rebellious troops on the palace. But considering that the Ranee could only come with a large retinue from Kotah, I thought it better that the Muha Ranah should not be mixed up in Kotah affairs at such a time, and suggested that he should leave them to decide upon some other place of retreat, when His Highness gave up the point. The Kotah Rajah's desire to state his case to me through the Muha Ranah I declined to entertain, and a Khureeta to my address from the Muha Rao of Kotah I returned unopened.
- vith other Princes in India, that I have to bring under notice, as bearing on the crisis (besides his near connection with Bikaneer and Jesulmere, the former of which has co-operated so actively on our side) has reference to a proposal His Highness made to me in personal conference in the first days of June, at the outburst of

the insurrection, to write to the Nipal Rajah, as being a junior branch of the Oodeypore House, in view to bringing about a combined movement in our favour, between the Nipalese and all the other Rajpoot States. The two Princes are descended, as you are aware, from a common ancestor. Two of the Nipaul Sirdars are at the present time in attendance at the Oodeypore Durbar. But on reflection I considered the time too critical and pregnant with hourly change in events to encourage the proposal. I have thought it right, however, to mention the incident as affording one more instance of the Rana's thoughtful earnestness in our cause, and as regarding that of all the Rajpoot Princes as identified with it. It will rest with His Lordship the Governor-General to judge in what degree, if any, the Nipal Rajah may have been influenced in his recent active co-operation in the field with our troops, by the example from the first and urgent injunctions to other Rajpoot Princes of their common Head, and in respect of Nipal, the senior representative of their common ancestor.

- r2. The Muha Rana, in confiding to my judgment the delicate matters involved in the correspondence he placed in my hands, expressed a natural hope that the circumstance of some of the Princes having sought his counsel, as their traditional head, at this critical juncture when surrounded by danger, and cut off from the accustomed protection of the British Government, might not be imputed to their disadvantage as an indication of a wavering spirit in their loyalty to the Paramount Power.
- 13. The faithful and friendly conduct of Muha Rana Suroop Singh, of Oodeypore, as further illustrated by the papers and facts herewith submitted in continuation of previous reports, I have thought it my duty, as the Officer accredited to His Highness Court, to lay before His Lordship in Council, and having acquitted myself of this duty towards at once the Rana and my own Government, I should under ordinary circumstances have considered that I had done enough, and would gladly have left it to my official superiors to judge of the degree of credit, that in their indulgence might be allowed to attach to my management of Meywar affairs. But since your review of my official proceedings has mostly been, I regret to think, of a character to place me on my defence, I may,

perhaps, be permitted, in justice to myself, to draw the attention of Government to the circumstances under which I received charge of the Office in March last (1857), just previous to which the disposition of the Muha Rana on the one hand, equally with that of some of the highest chiefs on the other, had been represented as so obstructive as to induce the late Agent Governor-General to recommend to Government that a strong force should march into Meywar specially to coerce all parties. And without exposing myself to the charge of assumption or egotism, I may be further permitted, I trust, to point to the proofs herein submitted, in continuation of former instances of the Rana's favourable disposition towards our Government, exhibited under my guidance, not only without the presence of an extraordinary armed force, but at a crisis of temporary weakness (whereby in view of a similar disposition manifested by all the other States under this Agency), His Lordship may judge of my administration in Meywar.

I have, &c.,

(Signed)

C. L. SHOWERS,

Officiating Political Resident.

Meywar Agency, OODEYPORE, 21st February, 1858.

(TRUE COPY).

(Signed) C. L. SHOWERS,

Officiating Political Resident.

Memorandum.—The documents referred to in this despatch, filed in original in the Meywar Residency Office, and translations forwarded as enclosures to the same.

(Signed) C. L. Showers.

THE REDUCTION OF THE NATIVE ARMIES OF INDIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

Sir.—Your recent articles on the reduction of the native armies of India, equally British and belonging to the native States, raise an important question to the discussion of which I would beg a brief space in The Times to add my humble contribution. The assumption in passing, may be conceded—that the results of the present war in Afghanistan will find us, on the conclusion of a satisfactory peace, with a frontier so strengthened in the north-west boundary of India that we may with safety, and with manifest advantage to the relief on the Indian finances, considerably reduce our native army; and you urge, with much primâ facie show of reason, that the native States, protected by the British Power from all external danger, might simultaneously reduce their armies, the existence of which in their present strength would otherwise prove a source of danger to us under our reduced armament. The remainder of the troops retained by the States you think might expediently be maintained on the footing of British contingents-officered, it is presumed, by British officers, like those now in existence—supporting this opinion on the ground that the States profess themselves ready to place their troops at the disposal of the Indian Government as often as their services may be called for; ergo, accept the offer once for all en permanence.

The question has three sides—(1) as regards the British troops stationed in the territories of the native States; (2) as regards that portion of the armies of some of the States which is composed of foreign mercenaries and is maintained and organised exclusively as a standing army; and (3) as regards that portion which is composed of the feudal retainers of the Princes, augmented on occasions of war, or of military ceremonials, such as the Derserah festival, by the aggregate number of the retainers of the assembled chiefs, whose presence in attendance on their suzerain is de rigueur on such occasions.

With respect to the first side of the question, I have long been of opinion that the quartering of British forces in the territories of the native States generally was unnecessary, and in a despatch to the

address of the Foreign Secretary, so long ago as 1867, I submitted grounds to show that those stationed in Rajputana at leastthe field from which my examples from personal knowledge were more immediately cited-might be withdrawn with safety. My views on this head have been fortified by the recently-published opinion of Sir Bartle Frere in his letters to the address of Sir John Kaye, under date June 12, 1874, and January 11, 1875. I cited the following instances in proof that the native States not only did not require British troops to watch them, but, on the contrary, that they could be of material aid to the British Government in periods of public danger on the one hand or of internal difficulty on the other; in cases where, from the nature of the country and the character of the object to be attained, British troops, with their impedimenta, could not operate with any hope of success. first instance cited was the suppression of the great marauding system that ravaged Western India in the years 1846-7. formidable character of the movement was attested by the exploits of the band-first, in the forcible rescue of one of their imprisoned comrades from the central gaol of Agra, and next, in the attack and successful plunder of the Government treasury at Nusseerabad, both stations being military garrisons. A force was ordered to take the field to punish the outrage on our authority and put down the movement; but the contemplated employment of regulars was overruled by the Political Resident in favour of operations by the troops of the native States exclusively, placed under my command as his military attaché. Those operations, owing mainly to the hearty co-operation of the States, were entirely successful, resulting in the capture of the outlawed chief with his principal followers after a harassing pursuit under my immediate command into the heart of the great western desert and assault on his stronghold. Thus quiet was restored to the country and the authority of Government vindicated without the necessity of a desert campaign, necessarily costly at any rate and the issue in the circumstances obviously doubtful. The next instance cited was the effective assistance which the States rendered us, during the preparations for the Punjab war of 1848-49, in furnishing supplies of carriage, food, grain, &c. The third instance was the furnishing of

a contingent to take the field in the same war under my command. The last instance cited was the aid afforded by the ruler of Oodeypore on the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, in furnishing me with a body of his household troops for the rescue of the Neemuch refugees, and, subsequently, in various ways throughout the troubled times. Government on every occasion cordially acknowledged the services rendered by the States. On the last cited the Maharana of Oodeypore was honoured by the gracious acknowledgements of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen. The troops employed on all the occasions above cited were exclusively feudal retainers of the different States concerned.

The second side of the question relates to the foreign mercenaries maintained as a standing army by some of the States. Here, I agree with you, is an element of possible danger which, as necessitating the presence or proximity of British troops in observation, might expediently be reduced in amicable negotiation with the rulers of the States concerned—not as implying in the remotest degree distrust of the existing rulers, but to guard against possible complications in the event of contingencies, the force of which consideration the sensible Princes in question would doubtless recognize. With this provision the reduction of the British Native Army by the aggregate force maintained in the territories of the native States at large would afford material relief to the Army Estimates.

With respect to the third side of the question, having reference to that portion of the native armies which is composed of the retainers of the Princes and of their chiefs, I would earnestly deprecate the measure mooted of converting these bodies into numerically reduced British contingents. It would be so fundamentally opposed to the feudal constitution under which these States subsist that its introduction, I conceive, would not be practicable, except by the total subversion of the States themselves. And, again, even if it were possible to effect the change the vast subsidiary system which would thus be created might be expected, from the experience of the past, to prove utterly unreliable for our defensive purposes, and, on the contrary, dangerous to our power if ever threatened from any quarter or cause, external or internal.

In the first place, the presence of a body of retainers in the Courts of the native States, and even at the chiefships of the subordinate feudatories, is considered essential to the dignity and status generally of all the aristocracy of the States in their several degrees. I may cite one striking example which passed under my own eyes to show the tenacity with which the feudal privilege of maintaining retainers is held. Maharana Soroop Singh of Oodeypore tried, as a means of increasing his revenues, to commute the feudal personal service of his chief's retainers, in the proportion to which he was entitled, into money payments, waiving their attendance. But the chiefs banded themselves together in a league of rebellion to resist such an encroachment on their privileges, and the Maharana had to abandon the attempt. But supposing, for the sake of argument, in the second place, the change effected, and in place of the native retainers a British contingent at each Court or within each territory, irrespective of the repugnance with which such a change would be regarded by the Princes generally, what might be expected of the conduct of the contingents if tested in the crucible of public danger? Let the history of the great Mutiny answer. Nearly all the contingents revolted, many of them killing their officers. The Gwalior contingent, numbering some 10,000 strong, the best paid and equipped of all the native troops of their class throughout India, and distributed throughout some half dozen stations, all went-the Kotah contingent, the Mahidpore contingent, the Jodhpore legion, the Bhopal contingent, &c. Now, it may be asked, what inherent defect is there in the subsidiary system that, as a rule, renders it so unreliable in the vital point of fidelity to the commanders of its legions. I answer, the fact of the knowledge of the men that they are eating the salt of one party while commanded by another. Fidelity to his salt is the highest honour of man in all stages of society. In the lower grade of the military mercenary among the natives of India the feeling is intensified by the terrors of superstition. Namuk-harâm! (faithless to thy salt!) is the last reproach among Orientals.

You say well, in rating the strength of the native armies at 300,000, "but these are broken up into a number of small forces, among at least 40 States and little principalities which have never

been able to unite, and by their very geographical position are unable to do so." Herein I quite agree with you. Let us, then, only so order our rule in India in relation to the native States that, since all history exhibits them as owning nominal allegiance to some suzerain, they shall feel that the just and tolerant protectorate of the British is the best possible condition under which they could subsist, when, as in the great Akbar's time 300 years ago, and in our own of yesterday, so in the future, the brave retainers of our faithful feudatories will ever be found ready to defend our cause and, as identified with it, their own.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

C. L. SHOWERS, Major-General.

Lahore,

March 20.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S MINUTES ON THE SATARA SUCCESSION QUESTION. ~

30th August, 1848. .

Para. 3 "I am clearly of opinion that the death of His Highness Shreemunt Maharaj without heirs natural having rendered the throne of Satara vacant, that territory should be held, in accordance with practice and with law, to have lapsed to the paramount State, and should henceforth be incorporated with the British territories in India."

Para. 22. "I am unable to admit the force of the argument advanced by Sir George Clerk for its continuance, which is founded on the happy and prosperous condition of the State, and the just and praiseworthy government of the late Rajah."

Para. 25. "I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or to neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue as may from time to time present themselves, whether they rise from the lapse of subordinate States, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatsoever, or from the failure of heirs natural, when the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of government being given to the ceremony of adoption according to Hindoo Law."

Para. 29. "There may be conflict of opinion as to the advantage or the propriety of extending our already vast possessions beyond their present limits. . . . But I cannot conceive it possible for any one to dispute the policy of taking advantage of every just opportunity which presents itself for consolidating the territories which already belong to us, by taking possession of States which may lapse in the midst of them; for thus getting rid of these petty intruding principalities, which may be made a means of annoyance, but which can never, I venture to think, be a source of strength; for adding to the resources of the public treasury, and for extending the uniform application of our system of government to those whose best interests we sincerely believe will be promoted thereby."

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