

# CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

## STATE OF BRITISH INDIA:

EMBRACING

### THE SUBJECTS OF

COLONIZATION ; MISSIONARIES ; THE STATE OF THE PRESS ;  
THE NEPAUL AND MAHRATTAH WARS ; THE CIVIL  
GOVERNMENT ; AND INDIAN ARMY.

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OF THE BENGAL NATIVE INFANTRY.

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1822.



## PREFACE.

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THE writer of these observations has passed upwards of 12 years in India; but, until the period of his embarkation for Europe, had no intention whatever of writing for the public, and had collected no materials for that purpose. A month or two prior to leaving India, circumstances threw in his way Mr Prinsep's *Historical Narrative* of the military and political transactions of the Marquis of Hastings's administration. Entertaining different opinions from that author on this subject, he determined to amuse his leisure on board ship, by examining the system of policy pursued by that statesman in the Nepaul and Mahrattah wars; to combine this with a summary account of the two campaigns against the former pow-

er ; and to conclude with some observations on the state of the press and our military establishments in India. A very tedious passage enabled the author to effect this, and afforded him time to throw out his opinions upon colonization, the progress of Christianity and European education, the character of the natives, and the nature of our civil government in India. \*

At the end of the chapters on our civil government and Indian army, he has briefly exhibited the prospects of rank and emolument, which, in the present state of the service, lie open to persons adventuring to India, in the civil, military, and medical branches of it. The writer has expressed himself with freedom respecting Lord Hastings's administration. His sentiments on this subject are formed from the perusal of Mr Prinsep's work, which has been revised by Lord Hastings ; and he has exhibited passages from it which, in his estimation, fully support the opinions he maintains. The Governor-general of India has in-

\* It will be observed that the author has deviated from this arrangement in putting these sheets to the press.

vited the public to scrutinize his public conduct. Emboldened by this call, the author has dared to animadvert upon the policy pursued by the British government in Rajpootana. If he has asserted what is untrue, or adopted erroneous opinions respecting our Asiatic policy, it will be easy to refute him; and the wisdom of this system will be rendered still more apparent.

The political transactions of British India have generally been discussed by men intimately connected with the existing administration (who had been the principal agents in the most important events), or by individuals attached by ties of gratitude to the ruler of the day. Such has not been the case with the present writer. His time has been entirely spent in marching about with his regiment from one station to another in the Company's provinces (or sometimes beyond it), and he is unknown to persons in authority. Perhaps this may have imperceptibly biassed his opinions, and induced him to view the acts of administration too much in the spirit of a regular oppositionist; if so, the intelligent reader will make the requisite deduction from his state-

ments. But it is time that men should speak out. The English public have only been accustomed to hear what can be said on one side of the question, in regard to Indian politics, and it is but just that they should listen to the other. There are various important subjects discussed in this work, to which the writer never specially directed his attention with the view of collecting information for the public ; but, at the same time, he has not been altogether negligent of them during his residence in India. The unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed, will perhaps form an apology for the imperfect view which he has given of some of them.

There are two valuable works—Mr Mill's profound *History of India*, and Mr Ward's publication on the Hindoos—which the author had not in his possession, and upon which he has animadverted with some freedom ; but his opinions respecting them have been formed from a careful perusal when in India.

As regards Asiatic names, the writer has followed no regular plan, having generally written them as is customary in England, that he might be more easily understood ; but, with every

Anglo-Indian, he is powerfully impressed with the superiority of Dr Borthwick Gilchrist's system of orthography; and, had he been writing for persons in India alone, would have strictly adhered to it.

In his observations upon the native character, as contrasted with that of the lower classes of European society, the writer has, in some respects, ascribed a superiority to that of the Hindoos; but perhaps the circumstances in which he has been placed, have led him to form an unfavourable estimate of his countrymen. Having left his native country at an early age, he has had no opportunity of viewing their character in its perfection in the bosom of domestic life, and has principally formed his opinions respecting them from observation of the conduct of the soldiers of the British army in India, whose moral estimation is somewhat inferior to that of the generality of the lower orders in England—many of them having been compelled to leave their native country on account of their irregularities.

*AUGUST 1, 1822.*





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ERRATA.

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- Page 82, line 24, *for* Muhadso *read* Muhadeo.
- 106, — 25, *for* them; only *read* them only;
- 109, — 2, *for* inquiry *read* injury.
- 168, — 29, &c. *for* Soorugghur *read* Soorujghur.
- 179, — 26, *for* effects *read* effect.
- 181, — 15, *for* Rungoor *read* Runjoor.
- 192, — 23, *for* dark *read* dawk.

## CHAPTER IV.

## NEPAUL WAR.

*The causes which led to the Nepaul war arising, in a great degree, from the pacific policy of Lord Minto.—The opinions of the whig statesmen of England examined, in regard to our Asiatic policy; and their inexpediency maintained.—A short account of the military operations against the Nepaulese; and remarks on the peace concluded with this power.—The elevation of our ally the Nabob of Oude to the regal dignity discussed; with conjectures as to the policy of Lord Hastings in sanctioning it.*

LORD HASTINGS assumed the reins of government in October 1813. His predecessor, Lord Minto, had left the state involved in negotiations with the Nepaul government; and, adopting the maxims of the whig statesmen of England as the rule of his conduct, his administration may be regarded as a fair trial of the moderate and pacific system recommended by the theoretical writers of the whig party. The leading characteristics of this system may be said to be, a determination to avoid war, as leading to a dangerous extension of dominion; and a resolution to bear with serious injuries, and even to concede something to the jealousies and caprices of the native powers, rather than resort to the alternative of arms: moreover, a rigid adherence to the principles of the law of nations is prescribed, without at

all reflecting that in Asia they are altogether ignorant of the existence of this system of law.

Such were the pure and elevated principles of action which these statesmen inculcated. Conscious that we possessed superior power, what could be more noble than refraining from using it harshly, even when right: this would be a conduct worthy of a moral and intellectual people. But, with all my admiration of this system, I cannot but regard it as extremely fallacious; the opposite state of civilization in Europe and Asia rendering it utterly impracticable. In the East, force alone is the grand regulating principle. Their poets and philosophers all acknowledge it lawful to use it for the purpose of aggrandizement; and the successful application of it is the standard by which they judge of the fame and glory of their rulers. Hence the monarch who does not make use of it is regarded as wretchedly imbecile. With regard to the Mussulmen, the undisguised use of force, in contempt of faith and justice, may fairly be ascribed to the pernicious doctrines inculcated in the Koran. With the Hindoos it is different: their legislator has preached otherwise, and rather patronizes a defensive system of policy; but in practice they have pretty uniformly followed the example of their Moslem conquerors. In the East, aggrandizement is justified as a manly, honourable, and legitimate course of policy: in the West, this principle is restrained and modified by laws and manners, and disguised under a variety of pretexts, which deceive the vulgar, and very often those who make use of them.

But to return to my argument, which is—that the

opposite state of civilization in Europe and Asia, renders the whig policy impracticable in the east. In the first place, it appears to me that the human mind is so little advanced in Hindostan, that its native princes are in a great measure unable to understand their true interests. This constitutes the most marked difference between European and Asiatic rulers ; and in this respect the inferiority of the latter is decidedly manifest. Considering aggrandizement as a duty, the monarchs of the East grasp at every opportunity for pursuing it, without at all considering their capacity to maintain their conquests, or the probable superiority of the power whose territory they have attacked ; hence, with states of this character, the dignified forbearance and exemplary moderation which the whig politicians inculcate could only lead to further aggression and injury. *2dly*, From their limited knowledge of human nature, the native princes are too apt to infer that the same insatiable passion for war and conquest which stimulates them to incessant action, is equally characteristic of our policy, and that we only wait for an opportunity to crush them effectually : and impelled by this consideration, they rush into hostility, without reckoning the consequences, whenever an opportunity occurs for striking a blow. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that the generosity and disinterestedness of whig counsels are disadvantageous in the East ; and that a more vigorous and energetic policy is better adapted to the state of society there. That jealous anxiety for the fair fame of England—that earnest desire that she should stand pure and unstained at the bar of

public opinion in Europe, are honourable to the national character—and to the praise due to such feelings those writers are justly entitled who have advocated a pacific and moderate system of policy in the East; but they should recollect, at the same time, that the Indian governments have high duties imposed upon them—one of the most sacred of which is, to protect their subjects from wanton aggression; and that they must even do this at the risk of extending our dominion in the east. But to apply these reflections to our dispute with the Nepaulese:—That government, acting upon the generally-received principle of aggrandizement, and conscious of the advantages it possessed from its inaccessible territory, and the courage and hardihood of its warlike population, had directed the energies of its people towards our territory, and made successful inroads thereupon. These aggressions were noticed by the British government in the calm and dignified tone becoming the head of an enlightened people addressing himself to the ruler of a state equally civilized, and who could appreciate his reasoning. Major Bradshaw was deputed to remonstrate against this infraction of the law of nations, but his mediation appears only to have stimulated the Nepaulese to more aggravated outrages. No sooner had the rains set in, 1814, than an inroad was made upon our territory, our villages were plundered and burnt, and our police establishment massacred.

The moment was now arrived when the British government was called upon to chastise these invaders, and to redress the injuries of its subjects by an appeal to arms. Lord Minto had throughout



manifested an extreme reluctance to resort to the alternative of war; and the expected arrival of a successor probably deterred him from adopting a more vigorous policy. Where an administration has been pacific throughout, it is natural to wish that its close should be characteristic. His successor arrived. This nobleman, Lord Hastings, resolved to employ arms as the only effectual means of coercing these savage mountaineers; and thus manifested a deeper insight into the Asiatic character than his predecessor. The most extensive preparations were accordingly made for the invasion of Nepaul. Four divisions of the army were destined for this enterprise, amounting in all to about 24,000 men. It was intended that this force should penetrate the enemy's frontier at four different points. This frontier bounds our territory for about 6 or 700 miles, running along in a direction from east to west; thus presenting a wide field for the operations of an invading army.

The 1st, or Dinapoor division of the army, under Major General Marley, was ordered to push direct for Khatmandoo the enemy's capital, *via* Muckwanpoor. The strength of this division was scarcely more than 6000 men.

The 2d, or Benares division of the army, under Major-general Wood, about 4,500 strong, was ordered to move in the direction of Bootwul, with the view of making a diversion in favour of the 1st division; but Muckwanpoor being, on a loose estimate, at least 100 miles distant from Bootwul, it ought rather to be considered as a distinct operation—nei-

ther division being able to afford effectual support to the other.

The 3d division of the army, under Major-general Gillespie, 6,000 strong, was destined to penetrate towards Sirunugur, by the valley of the Dhoon, and to take up a position which would effectually cut off the communication between the enemy's force on the banks of the Sutledge and their territories in Nepal proper.

The 4th division of the army, under Colonel Ochterlony, was directed to move directly upon the enemy's positions on the banks of the Sutledge, and to drive their force upon General Gillespie's division.—The strength of this division was estimated at 5,500 men.

This widely-extended scale of operations could only have been planned from the supreme contempt entertained for the enemy, and the utter ignorance which prevailed respecting their character and resources. It was known that the Nepaulese had succumbed to the Chinese in 1792, a people whom we are accustomed to regard with sovereign contempt; and that, with respect to tactical skill, their troops were prodigiously inferior to our own. Their courage and military daring—that lofty confidence in themselves which a long career of conquest had inspired—their pride as an ancient and unsubdued people—the impregnable defences of their country;—all these powerfully-exciting causes, which roused their noblest feelings and called forth every energy in defence of their country, were unlooked for, unknown, or disregarded by us. Indeed, the general opinion in Bengal was, that a smaller force would

have sufficed for entirely over-running the country in a few weeks ; and the course of operations seems to have been planned in the general belief that no serious resistance would be offered. Otherwise it must have been obvious, that the plan of operations offered vast advantages to an active and enterprising enemy.—Operating upon so extensive a base, with such weak divisions, would it not have been easy for a daring enemy to have beaten them in detail ? What support could these unconnected bodies have afforded each other ? Was it necessary that they should move thus disunited ? There is something splendid and imposing in the conception of the plan of the campaign ;—the idea of four columns operating simultaneously, and proceeding, by parallel movements, to overrun an entire kingdom, makes a powerful impression upon the imagination, and is calculated to impress us with a high idea of the talent and skill requisite to direct these combinations so as to produce a scientific result ; but, in truth, there was no field for the masterly display of these qualities in the commander-in-chief. He might sketch the general plan of the campaign, and point out the precise spot where each column was to act ; but it was altogether impossible to regulate the movements of divisions operating upon a base of 500 or 600 miles ; and, without communicating with each other, the operations of these corps necessarily became insulated. Could they have been combined, nothing was more calculated to distract an unskilful enemy ; but this unity of effort was utterly impracticable in a mountainous country, the localities of which we were altogether ignorant of. As a means

for the attainment of an end, I cannot admire the plan of the campaign; on the contrary, it always appeared to me, that the object in view might have been attained far more simply, effectually, and cheaply, by concentrating our force instead of dividing it. What occasion was there for these attacks upon the enemy's positions on the banks of the Sutledge? It was known, that the Goorkhas (in that quarter) were a handful of conquerors, like ourselves, amidst a population eager to throw off their yoke, and that they never had, nor could make inroads on our territory—being entirely occupied in guarding against the imminent hazard of a revolt. Surely a regiment of cavalry, and two or three battalions of infantry, would have sufficed for guarding our frontier in that quarter. Instead of consuming our strength in these attacks upon the extremity of their empire, would it not have been wiser to have concentrated a powerful force under General Marley, which would have struck a vigorous blow at their capital:—that in our power, the extremities would fall of course. Whereas the conquest of the outskirts of their empire might not always command the submission of a high-spirited people uninjured in the centre of their power—more especially an uncivilized race, unable to calculate their true interest. Had 14 or 15,000 men been concentrated under General Marley, instead of 6000, in all probability the first success on his part would have terminated the contest: As it was, the war was protracted to two campaigns, and this entirely owing to the weakness of this division, which prevented its advancing against the enemy's

capital. As the avowed object of Lord Hastings was, the signal chastisement of the Nepaulese—not the conquest of the kingdom—the more rapidly and entirely the power of the British state was felt in their capital, the centre of their power, in the same degree were the ends of his Lordship attained in going to war. I shall proceed to advert to the course of operations pursued by each division of the army; not for the purpose of writing a regular narrative, to which I make no pretensions, but merely for the sake of throwing out a few observations.\*

In the prosecution of the design against the enemy's capital, General Marley, with the 1st division of the army, had advanced as far as Baruhgurhee, in the Terhae, on the 25th December 1814; here he halted, until his battering train should come up, which was expected in eight or ten days. In this position, the commanding officer detached a con-

\* It is to be regretted that none of the intelligent officers who served with the army in this interesting campaign has favoured the public with a narrative of its operations. The writer of these observations was attached to General Ochterlony's division during the second campaign; but the corps to which he belonged was not actively employed. Having been just raised, it was reserved to guard the general depôt of the division. The short account here given is founded on no better authority than the gazettes, aided by the recollection of what the writer has heard from several of the officers who were engaged in some of the most interesting affairs of the campaign. Some assistance has been derived from a sketch of this campaign, published in the *Asiatic Magazine*, which commenced in Calcutta in 1818; but the writer does not appear to have had access to better authority, and the view which he takes of it is entirely different.

siderable portion of his force : Major Roughsedge, with 600 men of the Ramghur Battalion, was directed to post himself in advance, on the banks of the Battor river, at least 30 miles distant.

Captain Sibley, with five companies of the 2d battalion 15th N. I. about 400 strong, one 6-pounder, and 50 irregular horse, was ordered to proceed in advance to Pursah, about 20 miles distant from the main body of the army : this position was opposite to one of the passes leading into the Nepaul valley. On the right of the army, Captain Hay was posted with the Chumparun Battalion, about 800 strong ; and, in advance of his position, Captain Blakeney, with five companies of the 2d battalion 22d N. I. was directed to take post at Sumunpoor. Thus, of an army from 6 to 7000 strong, at least one-third was detached. This must appear extremely injudicious, and at variance with the established rules of war, which prescribe, that, before an active and daring enemy, the commander of an army should preserve his force as entire as possible ; but, if the general erred in this respect, he only partook of the delusion which pervaded the minds of the officers of the Bengal army. Animated by a long career of success in the plains, they had come to regard, with unmeasured contempt, the military skill and prowess of any Asiatic enemy. This unbounded confidence in themselves naturally produced some neglect of those precautions indispensable to the safety of an army when in front of a resolute foe.

The enemy determined to take advantage of this extreme division of our force, by making an effort to

cut off some of our detachments. With this view, by a well-concerted and simultaneous movement, the detachments of Captain Blakeney at Sumunpoor, and Captain Sibley at Pursah, were attacked at three o'clock in the morning of the 1st January 1815, completely surprised, and nearly destroyed. In these affairs, Captains Sibley and Blakeney, and Lieutenant Duncan were killed. Never were surprises more complete. With Captain Blakeney's detachment, a number of the seapoys were cut down in their tents;—at Pursah, Captain Sibley's detachment never had time to form. In the darkness they clustered together; and, opposing the most obstinate resistance to the attack of an overwhelming superiority of numbers, were almost all cut down. The European artillerymen displayed the most heroic bravery in defending their gun; the contest became far more animated and personal than is usual in regular warfare. The Goorkhas planted a standard opposite the gun, and after each discharge rushed forward to seize what to them would be the noblest trophy of their valour; but the courage and intrepidity of these men enabled them to repel several daring attacks. With such energy did they resist, and so closely were they engaged, that the matross with the sponge-staff was compelled to knock two or three of them down with this instrument;—but in the end, these gallant spirits, worthy of a better fate, were cut down at their posts, whilst nobly discharging their duty. It is surprising that the practice still prevails of detaching one gun with a division on service. It must be obvious that the fire of one gun can be of little service, unless sup-

ported by that of another ; after the first discharge, a sudden rush on the part of the enemy may obtain possession of the gun, unless the assailants are checked by the fire of a second. From the gallantry and spirit displayed by this detachment, there can be little doubt that, had there been a fair field afforded for asserting its discipline, its superiority would have been abundantly manifest ; the certainty, rapidity, and regularity of its fire, and the spirit and unity of its charge, would have enabled it to repel the enemy with comparative ease. The force of the enemy in these attacks was estimated at 4000 men, with a number of elephants, each carrying a small swivel. In the spirit of a barbarian people, the bodies of our seapoys, who had fallen, were cruelly maimed and disfigured by the Goorkhahs. These unlooked-for disasters having paralyzed the movements of the first division of the army, it was deemed inexpedient to advance with a force so materially reduced in numbers ; all offensive operations were therefore suspended until the army should be reinforced.

It is now time to notice the operations of the 2d division of the army, in the diversion which was intended in favour of the 1st division. This division, commanded by Major-general Sullivan Wood of his Majesty's service, did not advance before the end of December 1814. It then halted at a village within four or five miles of the Bootwul Pass. On the 3d January 1815, the following disposition was made for forcing the pass :—Major Comyn, with the 2d battalion 17th N. I. was directed to make a detour, with the view of getting into the rear of the enemy's position, whilst the Major-general proceeded to at-



tack it in front with his Majesty's 17th regiment, five companies of the 2d battalion 14th N. I. and some light companies. On their march, this column came unexpectedly upon the enemy, strongly posted in a redoubt which we were altogether ignorant of. The Nepaulese commenced a heavy fire upon our troops, which was briskly returned on our part; but the unexpected resistance and the vivacity of the fire appear to have embarrassed our operations. No disposition was made for turning the redoubt. Indeed, the scene of action being a thick jungle, was eminently unfavourable for the display of any superiority of discipline or valour. A general of superior military talent might, therefore, easily fail in such a situation. After sustaining a loss of about 100 men in killed and wounded, orders were given to retire. The casualties principally occurred in his Majesty's 17th foot, which conducted itself with a spirit and gallantry characteristic of British soldiers. Major Comyn succeeded in effecting his detour without experiencing any resistance; but conjecturing, from the fire of the main body having ceased, that it had not succeeded, he deemed it expedient to retire. Thus this diversion entirely failed; and every idea of acting on the offensive, with so small a force, was thenceforth abandoned. The knowledge of these disastrous surprises at Pursah and Sumunpoor (together with the unsuccessful attempt on Bootwul), coming at the same moment to most stations in India, coupled with the lamented death and failure of Major-general Gillespie, at Kalunga, produced a deep gloom in society. It seemed as if the spell of British invincibility had been dissolved by the daring

onset of a few resolute mountaineers ;—as if that powerful hold on public opinion, which the reputation of superior valour had obtained us—that mighty charm which enabled us to rule the minds of men, would operate no longer in our favour. An apprehension was entertained that the native states were ready to pour in upon us ;—and that thus that stupendous fabric which the genius, and enterprise, and heroism of the national character had erected in the East, was likely to pass away like “ the baseless fabric of a vision.”

The profound interest which these events inspired will excite the surprise of the European reader ; especially when compared with their trivial importance. But his feelings can never be those of an Anglo-Indian, who, standing alone in the midst of thousands subject to his sway, feels that his security is far more intimately connected with the triumphs and reverses of our arms than an inhabitant of Europe. In Asia, the success of a barbarous enemy would inevitably lead to the massacre of the European population, or, at least, to the utter extinction of every worldly hope ;—whilst, in Europe, the triumph of an insulting foe is only marked by pecuniary exaction. Thus are the extremes of refinement and barbarism distinctly marked in the scale of civilization. But all this dismay and alarm were groundless : as yet there had been nothing in the contest to warrant our fears. The forces of the contending states had not been fairly arrayed in the field ; there had been nothing but midnight encounters where the assailant generally has the advantage, and escalades, where the odds are greatly against him, at least in the face of day.

Indeed, the colossal edifice of the British power is by far too solidly founded—in the number and disciplined valour of its armies—in the superior military and political skill by which they are directed,—ever to be shaken by the disjointed efforts of the native powers. No! as long as it retains that moral and intellectual superiority which leads to all this, it will stand secure; it is only by the superior science and intellectual energy of a European enemy, or the disaffection of its native soldiery, that it can be seriously endangered.

In the meantime, the 1st division of the army remained stationary. Except a skirmish with a detachment of the enemy, which took place on the 20th February, 1815, nothing of consequence occurred. Lieutenant Pickersgill, of the 24th N. I. had proceeded with a small escort to some distance from camp, for the purpose of surveying. Whilst employed in this duty he discovered 3 or 400 of the enemy posted in a village on the skirts of the forest. This officer immediately dispatched information to camp; and, until reinforcements should arrive, judiciously posted himself within the embankments of a tank, at some distance from the enemy. On receiving this intelligence, Lieutenant-colonel Dick, of the 25th N. I. (upon whom the temporary command of the division had devolved) immediately ordered 100 of the irregular horse, under the command of Cornet Hearsay of the 6th N. C. to reinforce Lieutenant Pickersgill; and, assuming the command of the piquet, proceeded in person to his assistance, at the same time ordering a battalion of infantry and some guns to follow in reserve. Upon the arrival of Colonel

Dick's force, the enemy advanced with spirit to charge it ; but, seeing the formidable reserve in his rear, they halted, and commenced their retreat. This was the signal for our troops to charge, which soon converted their retreat into a flight. The enemy lost 100 men killed in this affair, and 57 were made prisoners. In this skirmish, a number of the young officers of the army performed the part of common troopers, in charging and cutting down the enemy. On hearing, in camp, that there was a prospect of active service, such was their eagerness to witness it, that they mounted their horses and rode to the scene of action. On arriving at the spot, the ardent and impetuous spirit of youth blazed out on seeing the enemy ; they joined in the charge, and performed eminent service. Lieutenants Paton and Wilson of the 25th N. I. and Cornet Hearsay of the 6th cavalry, were mentioned, in General Orders, as having particularly distinguished themselves by their individual bravery. A practice like this, so utterly at variance with the discipline and subordination indispensable to the existence of an army, naturally called forth the animadversion of the superior authorities. It has been asserted that poisoned arrows were employed on this occasion by the Goorkhas. The knowledge of this could not but excite the indignation of our army ; but the fact does not appear to have been distinctly proved. Major-general G. Wood, of the Honourable Company's service, assumed the command of the 1st division on the 22d February. Its force had been augmented to 13,000 men, 3000 of which were Europeans. After passing so much time in inglorious ease, nothing

could exceed the spirit and exultation of this army in the prospect of coming into contact with the enemy; but their hopes were not realized. At this season of the year the Major-general deemed the attempt to penetrate to the enemy's capital hopeless; and limited his operations to a movement in the Terhae, in the direction of Jungypoor, where no enemy appeared. The cause of this resolution is understood to have been the apprehension of sickness within the hills; and it has been asserted that this opinion was sanctioned by a committee of medical officers: but as yet there had been no sickness. To a high-spirited army like this, unbroken in numbers, and reposing a proud confidence in its courage and discipline, no determination could have been more mortifying. What must have been the humiliation of the government, after the exertions it had made to collect so fine an army? Surely some attempt ought to have been made, were it only to have vindicated the reputation of our arms, the lustre of which had been sullied by the prior events of the campaign. The operations of the succeeding year, under General Ochterlony, in this quarter, proved that an army could remain in the hills until the middle of March: this would have afforded General Wood's division three weeks for active operations, had he determined to advance at the time he assumed the command of the army. But, in justice to this officer, it ought to be stated, that sickness had begun to break out in General Ochterlony's camp at that period.

Thus the campaign had entirely failed in this quarter. Its grand object, the capture of the ene-

my's capital, remained as distant as ever. The services of the 2d division of the army were now required for a more ignoble purpose. Orders were given that they should prevent, as much as possible, the cultivation of the Terhae for the ensuing season: also to destroy the resources, so that the enemy might not be able to subsist when our troops were compelled to quit the country on the approach of the rains.

It is time to advert to the operations of the 3d division of the army, which was destined to penetrate the valley of the Dhoon, in order to cut off the retreat of Umeer Singh from the banks of the Sutledge. This force assembled about the 21st October, 1814. A strong detachment, commanded by Colonel Mawbey of his Majesty's 53d regiment, was immediately directed to advance, with a view of occupying Kalunga, a hill fort, the possession of which was indispensable towards prosecuting ulterior operations. Upon approaching Kalunga, Colonel Mawbey found that his force was altogether inadequate for the reduction of the place, and therefore determined to suspend operations until the main body should arrive. Upon receiving this intelligence, General Gillespie moved, with the whole of his force, to the support of his advanced division. On his arrival at Kalunga he determined to carry the place by assault. To effect this object, four columns were formed—the 1st column commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Carpenter, 17th N. I. supported by a reserve under Major Ludlow, of the 6th N. I.; the 2d column by Captain Fast of the 17th N. I.; the third column under Major Kelly of the 7th

N. I. and the 4th column by Captain Campbell of the 6th regiment N. I. A dismounted troop of his Majesty's 8th dragoons formed a reserve at head-quarters. The strength of each attacking column might be estimated at 1000 men: the European and native troops were intermixed. The dispositions for the assault were eminently calculated to distract and appal the enemy. By a simultaneous attack of four columns on separate points, it was expected that the unity, variety, and energy of their onset would confound the enemy, and overpower their means of resistance. To effect this disposition, the 3d column, under Major Kelly, was directed to move to the opposite side of the hill on which Kalunga stands, and to post itself at a village called Kinsale. The 2d column, under Captain Fast, was directed to occupy the village of Lakhound; and the 4th column, under Captain Campbell, took post at Ustul. On the 30th October, the day prior to the assault, batteries for 2 twelve-pounders, 4 six-pounders, 2 mortars, and 2 howitzers, were erected under the direction of Major Pennington, of the artillery, at 800 yards distance from the fort. Thus, every preparation being made, final orders were issued for the storming of the fort on the 31st October. Annexed are extracts from these orders:—

“ Officers will be careful to direct their men on all occasions to reserve their fire, and on no account to allow a shot to be fired at random; and the Major-general expects they will distinctly explain, to their respective corps, the necessity, in action, of taking a cool and deliberate aim; and, above all, to impress

on their minds the advantage to be gained by a determined use of the bayonet.

“Officers at the head of columns of attack will move deliberately, so that the men will not lengthen out, and be enabled to preserve their distance, and keep up without fatiguing their men, or exhausting their breath: officers therefore are recommended to bring their soldiers to the storm in possession of all their physical powers, to effect the impression that animal spirits and unimpaired vigour can always command.

“Strict silence to be observed; and if necessary to give a word of command during the march of a column to a point of attack, it must be communicated from the front to the rear by the men themselves repeating, in a whisper, the word of their commander.

“When the head of a column is prepared to debouche towards the point of attack, a short halt should be made to gain breath, if circumstances will admit; and the officers in command will bring up their men in compact order, with steady and cool determination. This is the moment an enemy will endeavour to take advantage of any coolness or precipitation.

“In all attacks (generally speaking) against entrenched and stockaded posts, firing and halting to reload only causes severe loss—this may be avoided by an undaunted and spirited storm.

“In case of ambuscade or surprise, a soldier requires all his natural courage; and when he is so situated as to be exposed to these attacks in narrow pathways and jungles, he must predetermine within



himself to preserve the utmost coolness : hurry must be avoided to prevent confusion ; and even loss sustained with steadiness can be remedied ; and an officer in command ought always previously to arrange in what way he should repel and guard against such occurrences.

“ The enemy we have to encounter are dexterous in using a short sword.—Officers, caution your soldiers to keep them at the point of the bayonet ; in the storm, beware of their closing.

“ When several columns move to given points, officers commanding columns will bear in mind the utility and necessity of regulating their march so as to render the attack simultaneous. The effects of several columns moving at once on an object is on most occasions decisive.

“ Let emulation actuate all ; but corrected by steadiness and coolness—no breaking of ranks or running for who is to be foremost in the contest—each column must be a mutual support—and every soldier, actuated by the principle of cool and deliberate valour, will always have the advantage over wild and precipitate courage.

“ Major-general Gillespie presumes to offer these few suggestions, notwithstanding the many excellent and experienced officers in the field might have precluded the necessity : he relies, however, on their indulgence, which he is confident he will experience from the harmony and zealous soldier-like feeling that appears to inspire all.

“ Officers commanding columns are requested to set their watches with the Major-general’s. Officers commanding columns will be pleased to order twelve

men armed with tulwars (or swords) to precede each of the columns.”

Who can withhold his admiration of these remarkable orders? What a rare union do they exhibit of science, caution, and fearless intrepidity;—and how forcibly do they inculcate the advantages of disciplined valour in the assault. They are truly the production of a man who had studied the art of command—who was aware what a skilful officer can do in regulating an attack. Such orders as these ought to have been recorded in the regimental books of the Indian army.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 31st October, the signal was fired for the assault. The columns under Colonel Carpenter and Major Ludlow immediately moved forward, and, advancing with rapidity, succeeded in carrying a small stockade which the enemy had erected on the road leading from the Table Land to the fort. Animated by this success, they rushed forward to mount the walls;—but here they encountered an enemy worthy of their valour—the daring onset of the British served only to rouse the enemy to a more noble resistance; they poured such a destructive fire of grape, musketry, and arrows, as compelled the assailants to retreat to the stockade with considerable loss. A troop of the 8th, or Royal Irish, which led the storming party, sustained their national reputation for valour. The inflexible courage with which the Hindoos have defended their forts is exemplified in history, and nowhere was this quality more signally manifest than at Kalunga;—but in this instance they displayed a daring and adventurous spirit, unusual with their

countrymen. Disdaining their artificial defences, they leapt from the walls, and fairly measured swords with the Royal Irish, their opponents. The courage and intrepidity of this small band enabled them to repel this attack ; but the attempt was honourable to the Goorkhas. By one of those unfortunate accidents which frustrate the wisest combinations, the signal for the assault was not heard by the columns under Major Kelly and Captain Fast ; thus the advantages to be derived from combining these attacks were entirely lost. The 4th column, under Captain Campbell, moved forward and covered the retreat of the 1st column and the reserve.

At this period, three companies of his Majesty's 53d foot arrived from camp. The General immediately placed himself at their head, and, with two six-pounders, moved on to the assault. The guns were pushed up within 25 yards of the walls, and served with the utmost coolness ; whilst the storming party formed under their fire, and advanced to the assault. But the courage of the garrison was adequate to the emergency ; the same destructive fire compelled the storming party to retire. A second attempt experienced the same fate. These unfortunate failures served only to inflame the heroic spirit of Gillespie : he felt as if the character of his country was at stake, as if its martial reputation had been sullied ; and that the moment was now arrived when its sons were called upon to risk their lives in its service. Animated by these sentiments, he placed himself once more at the head of the troops, and led them on to storm a wicket, from which a heavy fire was maintained by the enemy ; but this was des-

tined to be the end of his career ;—he was shot through the heart whilst cheering his men, and instantly expired. Thus perished Rollo Gillespie, as a hero would wish, in the field of honour. He was eminently a soldier—whose pride and delight was in his profession ; and his highest ambition the honourable discharge of its duties ;—as a man, his ardent spirit led him to seek danger, and difficulty, and suffering ; he felt that he only existed in scenes which other men shrunk from ; that those hazards to which they exposed themselves, from a sense of honour and duty, were what he positively delighted in ; that in such scenes only could the heroic energies of his soul be gratified. He has been reproached with foolhardiness, and not without reason ; yet, if we judge from these remarkable orders issued by him on the occasion of the assault of Kalunga, it would appear that the elements of prudence and caution were duly mingled, in his mental composition, with the more brilliant qualities which we look for in the soldier.

The loss on our part was very considerable, amounting to five officers, and 24 rank and file killed ; and 15 officers, and 195 rank and file wounded. It is impossible to look back on the operations carried on against Kalunga, without making some observations on the mode of attack adopted against that fort. Disdaining the resources of art, and reposing an entire confidence in the valour of his troops, the General determined to assault the place, and to trust every thing to force. Instead of employing those certain resources which science affords for reducing a fortified post, had he waited for his

battering train, and postponed the assault until a breach had been made, the result might have been very different. As it was, the mode of attack which he pursued was attended with consequences extremely detrimental to the British interests; it was unavoidable that the repulse of a powerful British force should inspire the Goorkhas with a lofty opinion of their own valour; and that this proud confidence in themselves should inspirit them to a more determined resistance. The events of the war appear to countenance this opinion. The idea of the superiority of the British power seems to have vanished from the minds of the Goorkhas; at no former period in our Asiatic wars did we encounter an enemy who displayed similar courage and conduct. Indeed, the whole experience of our Indian wars demonstrates, that no people have displayed a more obstinate courage in defending their forts than the inhabitants of Hindostan; with them it is a point of honour to stand an assault. Where was this spirit more manifest than in the defences of Bhurtpoor, Komona, Kalunga? Were we not invariably repulsed, although these forts were regularly breached? A knowledge of these facts ought to have regulated the operations against Kalunga. The mode of attack which the General pursued, might succeed against a dastardly enemy; but was altogether unsuited to the character of the Goorkhas. Indeed it is obvious that it must be utterly impossible to mount a rampart when defended by men of courage, who are perfectly aware of the time of assault. The advantages of situation are so great as to render the attempt almost hopeless; in truth, behind a wall

men are nearly upon an equality in respect of courage. On the other side, it may be contended, that the attempt at escalade has often succeeded in our Indian wars, and the capture of Allyghur and Rampora may be cited as triumphant exemplifications of it. But these are not parallel cases; they were taken, in a measure, by surprise, by blowing open the gates, when the attention of the enemy was occupied otherwise, in expectation of an open attack against the walls. This, it must be acknowledged, is a very different thing from boldly attempting to mount the ramparts in front of an enemy determined to throw you down. The causes which have led to this mode of attack are obvious. By a brilliant *coup de main*, the waste of human life, time, and labour arising from a protracted siege is prodigiously lessened; and, to effect these desirable objects, in besieging a town of importance, an attempt at escalade ought certainly to be risked; but it appears to me, the attack should be made at night, with the view of surprising the enemy, because the darkness and uncertainty as to the point threatened are greatly in favour of the assailant; and, if unsuccessful in the first assault, the detachment ought instantly to be withdrawn, as the object is to surprise the fortress—not to fight. The enemy being on their guard, there can be little chance of succeeding by main force. An experiment of this kind may be risked with little loss, prior to employing those resources which science affords, in effecting the reduction of a fortified town.

An admirable expedient was adopted by General

Gillespie at Kalunga, for securing the success of his different divisions ; each attacking column was preceded by a body of swordsmen, a disposition which appears well adapted for a storming party, as in the assault it is of great importance that the soldier should possess the utmost freedom in his motions, and that his offensive weapons should be light, so that he may exert every energy in mounting a ladder, without being encumbered by his arms : applying these observations, it is obvious that a sword is infinitely better adapted for this purpose than a musket, the weight of which latter is a great encumbrance. The first impulse of the soldier, indeed, must be to throw it away, and to trust to his bayonet only. Unquestionably considerable advantage is derived from the fire of musketry ; but it would only be necessary to arm the swordsmen with pistols (a much more handy weapon) to produce the same effect ;—and thus armed, a body of men would be far more likely to mount a breach, or climb a ladder, than another party accoutred in the usual manner. No army possesses greater facilities for forming a body of expert swordsmen than that of Bengal. It is the national weapon of the seapoy of Hindostan, and he delights in its exercise ; indeed, it is with the utmost difficulty that commanding officers can restrain their men from carrying their swords into action, or upon the line of march. The practice, however, is with reason discouraged, as tending to induce the men to throw away their muskets, and to trust entirely to their swords. So far this exclusive reliance on the musket may be useful in the field, but it would be the height of folly to persist in it, when it is proved

that the use of the sword is so superior in the assault. Again, it may be highly proper that an entire battalion should be armed with muskets ; but this affords no reason why a select portion of this corps should not be furnished with an additional weapon, where peculiar circumstances warrant its adoption. In such a case, a blind adherence to established rules must prove eminently pernicious.

But to return from this digression, and to resume the narrative of the operations of this division. By the death of Major-general Gillespie, the command of this force devolved upon Colonel Mawbey of his Majesty's 53d regiment, who received orders from the commander-in-chief to invest the fort of Kalunga, as closely as possible, with the view of preventing the introduction of supplies and reinforcements into the garrison. At the same time, a formidable battering train was dispatched from Delhi, to ensure the ultimate reduction of the place. On the 24th November, the battering train arrived. No time was lost in erecting batteries ; and, on the 26th November, a breach in one of the curtains of the fort was reported practicable. Orders were immediately given for the assault next morning ;—the storming party, commanded by Major Ingleby, 53d regiment, to consist of the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion company of his Majesty's 53d regiment, and the whole of the grenadier companies of the native battalions in camp. These formidable preparations served only to inflame the courage of the garrison ; and, instead of resigning themselves to fate, with the blind confidence of Asiatics, they had strained every nerve, during the night, in strengthening their de-



fences. Having erected a stockade behind the breach, with a trench before it, and flanked its entrance with several guns, they awaited the assault, with a determination to exert every energy in repelling it. Early in the morning of the 27th, the storming party moved on to the assault, but encountered such a formidable resistance, that, after exposing themselves for three hours to a most destructive fire, they were compelled to retire. In this assault, in which the officers of the 53d regiment highly distinguished themselves, while endeavouring to lead on their men, Lieutenant Harrington of this regiment perished most nobly. He fell in the breach whilst calling upon his men to follow him. Our loss was very heavy; officers killed 3, wounded 8; non-commissioned officers and privates, killed 34, wounded 409. This severe loss is to be ascribed to the length of time that the troops were exposed before the breach. What useful purpose could be gained by it, it is difficult to imagine; it appears obvious, that, if the storming party cannot attain their object within an hour, it would be infinitely better that they should be withdrawn. Animated with hope, and ignorant of the obstacles which oppose him, the soldier's best chance of succeeding is in the first attempt; but every successive failure tends only to dishearten him, and to weaken his confidence. But the commander-in-chief was not satisfied with the result of this enterprise, and ordered a court of inquiry into the conduct of the troops engaged. In India, it is invariably the practice, where a European regiment is present with a division, that it should lead in every storming party; thus, if this division has seen much service, the European corps

is nearly swept off, whilst particularly the native corps are strong in numbers ; and this was the case with the 75th and 76th regiments in Lord Lake's campaigns. In these two assaults of Kalunga, the 53d regiment must have lost 400 men in killed and wounded. The practice in question has arisen from the superior confidence reposed in European valour. This confidence may be well founded, but if so, would it not be desirable that a European corps should be reserved for any extraordinary emergency? Instead of exposing it continually, it would be much better that each corps and camp should lead in the assault in due rotation, which would cherish a spirit of emulation highly beneficial to the service. The officers of the Bengal army place great confidence in their seapoys, and are convinced, that, were a fair field allowed for their valour, they would mount the breach with a spirit worthy the soldiers of any other service.

On the morning of the 30th, the Goorkhas abandoned fort Kalunga, which was entered by Major Kelly, while the last of the garrison were making their escape. It at first excited some surprise that this heroic band, consisting of not more than 2 or 300 men, which had successfully resisted an English division 6,000 strong, should have quitted their post at a period when their continuance would have proved of eminent service to their country. But it was afterwards discovered, that some measures which had been taken by us to cut off their water, had so completely succeeded, as to force their immediate evacuation of the place. On the whole, their defence of Kalunga must excite our warmest admiration, and, there is reason to believe, that, had it been generally followed, the conquest of the coun-

try would have been achieved with difficulty. On evacuating Kalunga, the Killedar retired to a hill about three or four coss distance, and took up a position with the remnant of his party. A detachment from the English force, under Captain Warner of the 6th N. I. approached this position, but failed in dispossessing the enemy. Having received intelligence that considerable reinforcements were expected to join the enemy in this position, the commanding-officer determined to dislodge them; and, to effect this object, Major Ludlow (an officer of superior skill and enterprise) was directed to assume the command of a detachment, consisting of 150 men of the light infantry battalion, and five companies of the 1st battalion 6th N. I. On arriving at the enemy's position, Major Ludlow found that they had evacuated this post, and retired to one more inaccessible. The commanding-officer immediately halted, and sent forward a seapoy as a spy, who might bring accurate information respecting the enemy. This service was well performed by the seapoy, who brought back the requisite information. The position of the enemy was nearly inaccessible, on the summit of a steep mountain, the ascent to which was rendered difficult by there being only one road, and that commanded by the enemy. But difficulties served only to animate the gallant spirit of Ludlow; at 10 o'clock *p. m.* he moved forward, and, aided by moonlight, commenced ascending the hill. About one *a. m.* they came upon the enemy, whose fires were still burning; but the difficulty of the ascent having occasioned a great deal of straggling, it was necessary to halt until the rear

closed up ; and, in the mean time, the seapoy spy was sent forward to reconnoitre ; his advance, however, was observed by one of their sentinels, who gave the alarm to their camp. At this crisis Major Ludlow, with admirable judgment, determined to attack them in this moment of alarm, although only 100 of the light infantry were sufficiently advanced to be thus employed—such were the difficulties of the ascent. Captain Nathaniel Bucke, of the 16th N. I. volunteered to head the advanced party ; Ensign Turner, of the 7th N. I. commanded the 2d party ; and Ensign Richmond, of the 16th N. I. the 3d party. These divisions attacked the enemy with spirit, and maintained the contest with great animation until the main body came up. Upon its arrival, the advanced division pushed forward, and charged the enemy with such impetuosity that they were unable to withstand their attack, and fled in all directions, leaving 50 men killed in the field. In this attack Captain Bucke received a severe wound by a matchlock ball, whilst engaged in personal contest with the enemy. A seapoy, named Seetul Singh, performed eminent service in bayoneting the Ghoorkha who was engaged with his commanding-officer. Thus these intrepid mountaineers fled before an inferior body of those men whom they had repelled from their walls. The effects of darkness in distracting the faculties, and appalling the hearts of men, are wonderful ! The courage and intrepidity which the British detachment displayed in this night attack are worthy of admiration. The command of the division had now devolved upon Major-general Martindell, whose first operations were directed

against the important post of Nahun ; but the enemy evacuated the post on the approach of our army. The services of the army were now required for the laborious purpose of bringing up the battering train of the division, preparatory to investing the fort of Jumpta, distant about four miles from Nahun. To render the reduction of Jumpta more certain, a combined operation was immediately undertaken against some heights commanding the place ; for which purpose Major Ludlow moved, on the evening of the 26th, with the grenadier company of the 53d regiment, five companies of the light infantry battalion, and the 1st battalion 6th N. I. ; whilst Major Richards moved in the morning of the 27th, in another direction, with the light company of his Majesty's 53d regiment, five companies of the light infantry battalion, and the 1st battalion 13th N. I. for the purpose of coöperating with Major Ludlow. Upon approaching the heights, Major Ludlow found the ascent strongly stockaded in several places—but, undaunted by these obstacles, he determined upon the assault. Advancing with courage, they carried several of the smaller stockades with ease. Emboldened by this success, they rushed forward against the largest stockade : but here their career was stopped ; the abruptness of the ascent prevented there being supported by the main body, which compelled them to retire after suffering severely. Lieutenant Munt, of the 1st regiment N. I. perished on this occasion, and Lieutenant Seyer, of the 6th N. I. was dreadfully cut by the Goorkhas, but rescued out of their hands by the personal exertions of Major Ludlow. With the view of co-

operating in this attack, Major Richards moved forward, and, in spite of the fire of the fort, took up a position within 900 yards of it. This fired the spirit of the Goorkha commander, who drew out his force, and assaulted our troops with fierce impetuosity. Like the heroes of Montrose or Prince Charles Edward, they attacked our line of infantry sword in hand; and were only repelled by the superiority of our fire and the determined use of the bayonet. Never was the triumph of disciplined valour over barbarian energy more conspicuously manifest—nine times did they attempt to storm our position, and as many times were they repulsed. The action of this day presented events of a singular nature; the improved military science of the 19th century was opposed to that which characterized the feudal age. Whilst Major Richards was thus nobly supporting the reputation of the British name, Major-general Martindell had received intelligence of Major Ludlow's failure, which determined him to send positive orders to Major Richards to retire, under the apprehension that the entire force of the enemy might be directed against him. It is to be regretted that this order was given, as Major Richards had completely succeeded in maintaining his position. Had his detachment been reinforced, it would have been attended with eminent advantage to the public service. On receiving this order, Major Richards immediately commenced his retreat, making the necessary dispositions, by ordering the light company 2d battalion 26th N. I. to cover it. With admirable tact, the Goorkhahs had perceived that our division was about to retrograde, and had anti-

icipated such a movement by occupying a hill which lay in the line of their retreat. Thus, after the labours of a well-fought day, a more desperate conflict was to be gone through; but nothing could daunt the spirit of this division. They succeeded in overcoming this obstacle, though with the loss of nearly the whole of the light company of the 2d battalion 26th N. I. which perished with its officers, Lieutenants Thackeray and Wilson. To maintain the discipline of this company in its highest perfection was the great aim of Lieutenant Thackeray through life.—What a noble consolation it must have been to this officer, in his dying moments, to have reflected, that his unparalleled exertions in contending against the enemy had mainly contributed to save the detachment.

After a fatiguing march, during which they were continually harassed by the Goorkhas, Major Richards's detachment arrived at Nahun, having sustained a severe loss in officers and men.—A soobadahr and 40 men had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and, contrary to expectation, were treated with humanity, and dismissed on their parole. Thus, this combined movement entirely failed. The operations of the division were now suspended until reinforcements should arrive: until then, the Major-general contented himself with maintaining his position before Nahun. These reinforcements did not arrive before the beginning of March. The Major-general was now directed to coöperate with Major-general Ochterlony, in the siege of Malown. For this purpose, Major Richards was detached, on the 31st March, with a considerable force, with instructions to occupy the

Peacock mountain, preparatory to reducing the fortified post of Jytuck. To counteract this movement, a force of 1300 Goorkhas moved from Jytuck with the view of surprising Major Richards's detachment. On the morning of the 1st Major Richards continued his march; but the day had scarcely dawned, when this formidable force was discovered in front of our line of march. Lieutenant Young of the 27th N. I. who commanded the advanced guard, lost not a moment in attacking them with the light companies. The Goorkhas received this charge by a well-sustained fire; but Major Richards coming up at this moment, and charging them instantaneously with his main body, they fled in great confusion. In this skirmish the loss of the enemy was very severe—killed, 107; wounded, 250. Our loss was—killed, 7; wounded, 2 officers, 27 seapoys. Major Richards was now at liberty to occupy Punchul, a position which enabled us to cut off the garrison of Jytuck from supplies. The division was now occupied in investing Jytuck, and carrying on the siege of this post until the fall of Malown, which event led to the surrender of Jytuck, by a special article in the treaty concluded with Umeer Singh, by Major-general Ochterlony. This finished the career of this division, the different corps of which returned into cantonments.

It remains now to give some account of the operations of the 4th division, commanded by Major-general Ochterlony. It is understood that this officer (from the facilities which his political situation afforded) was better acquainted with the Goorkha character than any other general officer commanding a di-



vision ;—that he was thoroughly aware of their superiority, in point of valour, to the generality of Hindoos—and that this knowledge guided his operations against the enemy—that he was cautious in risking his troops in enterprises where the most desperate courage would fail merely from the obstacles which the nature of the ground presented—and that he trusted to our superiority in science and resources as the most effectual means of subjugating an enemy, whose country afforded no fair field for bringing the contest to an open decision in the plain. On the 4th November this division advanced to Nalaghur (a hill fort), which was immediately invested. On the 5th the place surrendered. The garrison marched out with their arms, their personal safety being secured to them.

The political address of the General was now exerted in detaching the garrison from their allegiance to the Goorkha power. This course was perfectly justifiable ; inasmuch as it was generally understood that many of the Nepaulese proper had reluctantly engaged in furthering the ambitious designs of the Goorkhas. The operations of the division were now directed against the fort of Ramghur, prior to which the General succeeded in forming an alliance with the inhabitants of Plassiah, who cherished a bitter animosity against the Goorkha power.—Their exertions were found to be of eminent service in overcoming the obstacles which opposed the advance of the division to Ramghur, as the difficulty of transporting a field train, in a mountainous country like this, could only be surmounted by the most laborious efforts on the part of the army. On the 24th

November, batteries were erected against a stockade which defended the entrance to Ramghur. This fort is situated upon a lofty hill, and was occupied by Umeer Singh Thappa, who commanded in this quarter with a force of 6000 men. In the event of being closely pressed, the Goorkha commander had provided a retreat to Malown, the principal seat of his power. On the 25th November, Lieutenant Lawtie, of the engineers, had proceeded from the batteries with the view of reconnoitering the positions of the enemy. Whilst employed in this duty, a powerful body of Goorkhas interposed themselves between his small body and our camp, and cut off their retreat. An officer of talent is never without resources : he instantaneously formed the resolution of attacking a redoubt in front, which would secure his safety until reinforcements should arrive. Animated by his spirit, his men pushed forward and gained the redoubt, but found themselves unable to maintain it against the overwhelming odds which were brought against them. They were therefore compelled to retire, leaving 45 men killed, among whom was Lieutenant Williams of the 3d N. I. The defences of the fort were now found to be so strong that the Major-general was compelled to suspend operations until reinforcements should arrive. Nothing could be more distressing to the Bengal seapoys than the nature of the service in which they were engaged. Transported from a warm climate into one where the cold was so great that their officers amused themselves with throwing snow-balls, and stinted in their usual allowance of provisions, it was a situation, of all others, where their fidelity to the

state was put to a severe test. In such circumstances, how easy would it have been for these men to have deserted to their homes.\* But it is honourable to the soldiers of this army, that they passed through this ordeal without any stain upon their character. On the 26th December, the Major-general was reinforced by the 2d battalion 7th N. I. commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Lyons, which escorted some heavy guns required for the purpose of sieges. Upon the arrival of this force, the General determined to cut off the communication of the enemy with Malown, his principal fortress; and for this purpose Lieutenant-colonel Thomson was detached with the 2d battalion 3d N. I., the light infantry battalion, a suitable proportion of guns, and some auxiliary troops. This officer moved on the 28th December, and commenced operations very successfully, by seizing some heights which commanded the enemy's post. The possession of this position compelled the enemy to evacuate a stockade which was commanded by the heights. Perceiving that they were out-generalled in this movement, the enemy determined to regain their former superiority by a bold attempt to surprise Colonel Thomson's position. At dawn of day, a strong column was observed in our front, and our troops had just time to form when the Goorkhas made their onset. But, aided by the advantage of the ground, the regularity of our platoon fire, and the destructive effect of our shrapnells, our troops succeeded in repelling their

\* Some desertions occurred before this division entered the hills, but I believe none afterwards.

charge. Undaunted by their failure in the first assault, the enemy again attempted to storm the position, but were compelled to retire, leaving 50 killed on the field.

The result of this affair determined Umeer Singh to move to the northward, with the view of throwing himself into Malown; and, in order to force him to this alternative, or to bring him to action, the main body of the army moved forward under General Ochterlony, whilst Colonel Thomson pressed him on the other side of the Ramghur range of heights. At this juncture the Goorkha commander manifested some irresolution in his plans, and seemed inclined to move towards Belaspoor, with the Rajah of which place he had formed an alliance; but a counter-movement on the part of General Ochterlony determined him to hasten his retreat towards Malown. To prevent the Rajah of Belaspoor from affording any efficient aid to Umeer Singh, Colonel Arnord marched with his brigade on the 31st January, and took up a position within four coss of Belaspoor. The nature of the country opposed the strongest obstacles to an invading enemy, but no opposition was made. The Rajah remained encamped beyond the Sutledge, but sent a message to General Ochterlony requesting that he might remain neutral. He was evidently waiting until one party should obtain a decided advantage.—A weak state, between two powerful neighbours, has no other resource but calculations of this nature. The advance to Malown being greatly retarded by the nature of the ground, the Major-general determined to commence operations against the fort of Ramghur,

which had been left in the rear of our army. To effect this object, Captain Hamilton of the 7th N. I. was detached with a force consisting of 200 regulars, and 1000 irregulars. The conduct of the siege was intrusted to Captain Webbe of the artillery, and Lieutenant Lawtie of the engineers. On the 12th February this detachment broke ground before the fort, at 400 yards distance.—The enemy did not sally out until our troops had securely posted themselves; and were repulsed with loss. On the 13th and 14th the pioneers were engaged in constructing a road for the conveyance of the battering train; and on the 15th one of the eighteen-pounders was dragged up to this post. Such were the difficulties of the ascent that another could not be brought up before evening. The fire from this battery soon silenced the guns in the fort; and, in the course of the ensuing day, several messages passed between the garrison and our troops, but the enemy refused the terms which were offered them. On the afternoon of the 16th, the northern face of the fort was laid in ruins, and a report made to the commanding officer that the breach would be practicable in a short time. The powerful impression which our artillery had made on the walls had the usual effect on the mind of the Killedar.—Perceiving that a storm was inevitable, he sued for terms, and was allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that the fort of Jagooree should be given up at the same time. The garrison of Ramghur amounted to 100 men, and that of Jagooree to the same number. With such diminished means their government could not expect much: still, if these

garrisons had fought as heroically as their countrymen at Kalunga, the strength of this division of the army would have been wasted before these paltry fortresses, and the subjugation of their country averted for a season. The fall of Ramghur was followed by that of Taraghur, which was invested on the 10th, and breached on the 11th: the garrison, 250 strong, made their escape during the night. It is surprising that this garrison made such a feeble resistance, considering its numbers and the precautions they had taken to counteract the effects of breaching, by erecting an inner wall of loose stones. The reduction of Chamba, which capitulated on the 16th, threw the whole of the enemy's fortresses (to the south of the Gunba) into our possession. The superior science, judgment, and enthusiastic courage of Lieutenant Lawtie of the engineers, were eminently conspicuous during the whole course of these operations; the labour of conducting the details of these sieges having almost entirely devolved upon him—and to this must be attributed his decease, which took place towards the end of the campaign. His death was felt as a public loss. These successes of our arms were attended with the usual effects, in inducing those who wavered to court our alliance.—The Rajah of Belaspoor, and others, were quite zealous in their offers of service; but they produced a very different effect on Umeer Singh, who was alarmed lest we should attack Soorugghur. To render its defences more secure, he commenced the erection of a new stockade in the line between Taraghur and Malown, and, by uniting ponderous masses of rock with stone walls, he succeeded in

erecting a work of considerable strength ; but heart and soul were wanting—these strong entrenchments were abandoned by the enemy on the first fire from a howitzer. Sir David Ochterlony now determined to commence operations against Soorugghur, and for this purpose Captain Hamilton of the 7th N. I. moved forward at midnight, on the 31st March, with instructions to gain the heights in its neighbourhood, an object which was effected without any opposition. The remainder of the troops, after a fatiguing march of 15 hours, succeeded in bringing up the guns and baggage. A party of the enemy, who were posted in a stockade between our position and Soorugghur, commenced a fire of musketry upon our troops, but were quickly silenced by a six-pounder, which was brought to bear upon the stockade. It was now discovered that the elevation of our position was too great to enable us to form efficient batteries against Soorugghur. Our force, therefore, remained in position, overawing the garrison of Soorugghur, whilst other operations were in progress. The period was now arrived when the Major-general had matured his plans against Umeer Singh. By the reduction of his fortresses the field was now open for attempting a series of combined operations against his positions in the Malown range of hills, and which, if successful, would ultimately compel him to retire within that fortress. To effect this object five columns were put in motion, with instructions to move against separate points in this fortified range of heights.

The 1st column, consisting of the two light companies of the 19th regiment N. I. and 1000 irregulars, commanded by Lieutenant Fleming of the 19th

regiment, was directed to move at 10 o'clock in the morning of the 15th, with instructions to occupy the post of Ryla, situated between Dab and Deothul.

The 2d column, consisting of the 2d battalion, 7th N. I. commanded by Major Lawrie, was ordered to move against the fortified position of Deothul.

The 3d column, consisting of the 2d battalion 3d N. I. commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Thomson, had the same destination as the 2d column, but was directed to move by a different route.

The 4th column, consisting of three companies of the 1st battalion 19th N. I. and a body of irregulars, the whole commanded by Captain Bowyer, was directed to move and occupy a position in the direction of Malown. This attack was to be considered as a feint, but with instructions to convert it into a reality should circumstances afford an opportunity.

The 5th column, commanded by Captain Showers, and consisting of two companies of the 2d battalion 7th N. I. a company of the 1st battalion 19th N. I. and a body of irregulars, was destined to move against the enemy's cantonments to the right of Malown, with orders to consider this attack as a feint, to be improved as circumstances might direct.

By thus dividing his force, the Major-general confidently anticipated that the variety of these attacks, and uncertainty as to the real point threatened, would distract the enemy, and diminish his means of resistance.

At the time appointed, the 1st column moved on and took up its position without interruption. The occupation of this point was the signal for the other



columns to proceed to the different points of attack. The march of the second and third columns was so well calculated that both these columns gained the heights at the same moment—and, uniting with rapidity, they pushed on to gain a more advanced position.

Whilst ascending a steep hill, the progress of this column was checked by the fearless intrepidity of 20 or 30 Goorkhas, who rushed from the summit, sword in hand, and struck a momentary terror into our ranks: The men wavered, and retreated a few steps—the moment was perilous; the success or failure of the column hung upon a thread, but the event was not long doubtful—discipline and a sense of honour triumphed over this temporary impulse; they advanced with renewed courage, and drove the enemy before them. On gaining the summit of the hill, the position of Deothul appeared in view; but, previous to attaining it, it was necessary to dislodge the enemy, who occupied a strong position in the vicinity. This service was ably performed, and the enemy, dispirited at the boldness of the attack, retreated in disorder to another position, which they were again compelled to abandon. Thus far success had crowned the efforts of this column; but it had no effect in relaxing their vigilance, the remainder of the day having been employed in throwing up works for the protection of the post. The moment was now arrived when Umeer Singh felt that it was necessary to make a last and desperate effort to maintain the ascendancy of the Goorkha state, or that it should perish for ever. Should the British maintain their present po-

sitions, the fall of the Goorkha power was inevitable. Animated by this conviction, he determined to assault Colonel Thomson's position next morning, with a select body of 2,000 men, commanded by Bukhtyar Thapa, a chosen commander. At dawn of day, this column assaulted Colonel Thomson's position with a courage and conduct of rare occurrence in Asiatic warfare. Having marched in perfect order within 20 or 30 paces of the entrenchment, they delivered their fire, and then, sword in hand, rushed forward to carry it. Such was their ardour, that several of these gallant spirits leapt over the wall, and were bayoneted within the entrenchment. Never was the courage of the Bengal seapoy put to a severer test; it was only by the superiority of our fire, the advantage of our position, and the destruction which our shrapnells carried into the ranks of the enemy, that our troops were enabled to repel this daring onset. The first fury of this torrent being spent, the combatants had time to breathe. This was a proud moment to the British: the consciousness of the valour which they had displayed, inspired them with a thorough conviction that they would be able to foil every attempt of the foe. Other feelings agitated the Goorkhas—rage, shame, the humiliating sense of defeat; and these stimulated to the utmost by the severe animadversions of their chief, who, conscious that his private interests were identified with the existence of the Goorkha power, was roused, by every personal feeling, to goad his men to the combat. Addressing himself to their national prejudices as Hindoos, and to their feelings as soldiers, he exhorted

them to renew the assault. Impelled to action by these animated remonstrances, they advanced once more against the entrenchment. Their utmost efforts were now directed against the guns (to the possession of which all Asiatics look forward as decisive of the contest.) Every nerve was strained to gain their object. The contest became most animated and destructive in this quarter. The artillerymen were almost all swept off: Lieutenants Cartwright, Armstrong, and Hutchinson, with the assistance of two or three privates, alone remained to serve the guns; but the coolness and fortitude of this small remnant, aided by the exertions of the infantry, enabled them to repulse this formidable attack. The confidence of the enemy had now visibly abated, although several desultory attempts were still made against our position. But the courage of our troops would be restrained no longer; they leapt the entrenchment, and drove the enemy before them. Thus baffled and discomfited, the Goorkhas retreated, leaving 500 men killed and wounded on the field.

The 4th column, commanded by Captain Bowyer, moved forward at the appointed signal; and, advancing with rapidity, gained the point which had been assigned to it in the plan of operation;—it remained in this position from 7 *a. m.* until 12 *a. m.* At this period, perceiving that the column on his right, commanded by Captain Showers, had entirely failed, and that a body of auxiliaries on his left had retreated, the commanding officer determined to retire;—thus acting in conformity to his instructions, which directed that this attack should only be

considered as a feint. This retreat was executed with a skill and judgment which have been rarely equalled on the part of the commander. To retreat down a hill, in the presence of a superior enemy, who is ready to charge from the summit, is at all times a perilous undertaking, and can only succeed where the discipline of a corps is perfect, and the soldiers repose entire confidence in their chief. This was eminently the case in the present instance. The movement was executed precisely as is practised on a field day : one half of the detachment retired and took up a commanding position, which enabled it to cover the retreat of the other party—thus alternately protecting each other ; whilst the Goorkhas rushed down the hill, anticipating the destruction of the detachment. But their hopes were baffled ; their charge was invariably repulsed by the superiority of our fire. In this manner, the commanding officer effected a most masterly retreat. At no period, during the campaign, was our superiority in discipline more manifest than in the conduct of this column.

The 5th column, commanded by Captain Showers, marched from Ruttunghur at the appointed signal. On ascending a steep hill, between the Kukree stockade and Malown, it was attacked by a body of Goorkhas, who charged from the summit, and overthrew our column. Although the failure of this detachment was a humiliating sight to those who witnessed it from the batteries, yet the retreat of this body is said to have been eminently picturesque, having rushed down this steep declivity in the shape of a wedge, pursued by the Goorkhas sword in hand. On reaching the plain, our troops felt that the advantages of

situation were no longer on the side of their opponents : they rallied, and drove the enemy before them. The commanding officer, aware that the reputation of the Goorkhas for superior valour, and their dexterity in the use of the sword, had made a powerful impression on the minds of the seapoys, stood forth in his own person, a heroic example of what they ought to do in the hour of danger. Advancing in front of his detachment, he awaited the shock of the Goorkhas, having slain one of their chiefs, with whom he engaged in personal combat. He fell covered with wounds. Those who knew him, feel how impossible it is to do justice to his character as an officer. His heart and soul were devoted to the service. In war, his ardent spirit led him to seek the post of danger ; but in peace, his conduct was no less marked for a kindness and sympathy with the wants of his soldiers, which did honour to him as a man.

With the most unfeigned respect for his character as an officer, I shall presume to make some remarks on the orders which he issued for the conduct of his column. Reposing an entire confidence in the valour of his men, he had given the most positive orders that his soldiers should only use the bayonet in the attack—trusting alone to their determined use of it for success. To this must be attributed the failure of the attack. On looking back to the operations of the different columns, it will be found that their success can only be ascribed to the superiority of our fire, and the perfection of our discipline. Of the first essential advantage this column was deprived, which, in all probability, led to its overthrow. In-

deed, it must be obvious, that, where the contending parties are upon an equality in point of courage, an attacking column, ascending a hill, when not allowed to fire, must inevitably be defeated. The fire of the opposing enemy must thin the ranks and dispirit the assailants, whilst the advantages of situation affords an immense superiority in repelling the attack. It is only by a superior fire, and greater perfection in discipline, that these disadvantages can be overcome. In these respects the British were immeasurably superior;—but who will dare to say that our seapoys possessed a superiority in valour? An officer should study the genius of his troops, and adapt his mode of attack to their national habits. Every officer who has served with a native corps, must have observed, that our seapoys (like all Asiatics) repose greater confidence in the fire of musketry than in the use of the bayonet. The use of the bayonet has been judiciously introduced into our native armies; but it will require time to naturalize it. At present it ought not to be regarded as an exclusive weapon.\* Thus the plans of the General were in a measure crowned with success. A commanding position had been gained on the heights, which cut off the communication between Soorugghur and Malown, and which would further enable us to prosecute such operations as would compel Umeer Singh to retire into the latter fortress. This successful result of our operations made a profound impression on the Goorkha general. Dispirited at

\* Our loss in this series of operations was two European officers, three soobadahrs, four naichs, and 52 seapoys, killed; five officers, one serjeant, and 287 men wounded.

the failure of his attack on Colonel Thomson's position, he determined to evacuate the fortress of Soorughur, and, concentrating the whole of his force, to throw himself into Malown. This movement was accordingly executed. Sir David Ochterlony could now direct his entire force to the destruction of the enemy's army.

Before adverting to the fall of Malown, I shall proceed to give some account of the operations of the brigade commanded by Colonel Nicholls, the successful result of which had a powerful influence in determining Umeer Singh to surrender his fortress. Colonel Nicholls's brigade was destined to operate in the province of Kemaon, forming the direct communication between the enemy's territory on the Sutledge and Nepaul proper. The strength of this force could not be estimated at more than 2000 men. It consisted of the 1st battalion 4th N. I. commanded by Captain Faithfull, and the 2d battalion 5th N. I. commanded by Major Patton. Prior to the advance of this brigade, a body of irregulars, commanded by Colonel Gardiner and Captain Hearsy (both officers of superior talent, who had distinguished themselves in the Mahratta service), had been pushed forward, and had made considerable progress in reducing the province.

In order to effect its entire reduction, Colonel Nicholls advanced with a battering train, and laid siege to Almorah, the capital of the province. Whilst employed on this service, information was received, that Hustee Dull, a distinguished Goorkha leader, had withdrawn from Almorah, and had taken up a position at Gunnahah, in consider-

able force. To prevent interruption in the siege, Major Patton was dispatched with five companies of the 2d battalion 5th N. I., five companies of the grenadier battalion, and a body of irregulars, with instructions to bring this force to action. By the most rapid exertions, Major Patton came up with the enemy before they had time to take up a position. Losing not a moment, he attacked and dispersed the enemy. Their chief fell, covered with wounds. Our loss was trifling.

On the 25th April Colonel Nicholls determined to assault the outworks which protected Almorah. For this purpose, the 1st battalion 4th N. I. was directed to advance against the principal breast-works occupied by the enemy—a service which was nobly performed by that corps. Animated with a just confidence in themselves, they now mounted the walls with daring intrepidity; and the enemy, paralyzed by the resolution displayed in this enterprise, fled before them. In the advance of this corps, Lieutenants Purves and Wight greatly distinguished themselves. The gallantry which the regular troops exhibited stimulated the irregulars to an emulous rivalry. Eager to display their valour, they advanced, under the personal command of Colonel Gardiner, against the remaining breast-works, which were carried with distinguished success. The loss sustained was not more than 40 men killed and wounded. Although the enemy had manifested a want of their usual courage in defending their outworks, yet they determined to make an attempt to regain the positions they had lost. To effect this object, a combined operation was planned; and, at midnight, a powerful body attacked Lieutenant Costley's position, whilst the garrison made a



sortie against Colonel Nicholls's camp. Lieutenant Costley found it impossible to defend his post against the immense superiority of the assailants, and was compelled to retire with his small force. But the Goorkhas were not long allowed to triumph,—a detachment of the flank battalion, under Lieutenants Brown and Whinfield, supported by Colonel Gardner's irregulars, having advanced against the post, and successfully established themselves. In the course of the night, the Goorkhas made several attempts to regain their position, but were constantly defeated. The sortie of the garrison entirely failed. On the morning of the 26th our approaches were advanced within 70 yards of the fort, which enabled us to throw shells into it with great effect. This intimidated the garrison so much that a great number left the place, whilst the others remained concealed. Our troops, conceiving that the enemy had evacuated the place, now advanced against the principal gate. But the movement was premature; the garrison again took heart, and, commencing a smart fire upon our troops, compelled them to retire. Although the enemy repelled this unpremeditated attack, the spirit of the garrison was evidently broken. Nothing is more calculated to produce effects against an unexperienced enemy than the throwing of shells. Their bursting in a small fort, which affords no protection against the splinters, appals the bravest. Had the use of them been more generally resorted to in our sieges in India, many forts would have been abandoned which caused the loss of valuable lives in the assault. On the evening of the 26th the Killedar sent a flag of truce, requesting a suspension of arms. This was

acceded to by Colonel Nicholls, and a convention entered into, on the basis of terms which Mr Gardiner, the civil commissioner, had proposed to the Kiledar prior to the commencement of hostilities. By this treaty, the Goorkha commander engaged to evacuate the fortified places in Kemaon, within ten days after the signing of the treaty. On the part of the British government, it was agreed by the commissioner, that the Goorkha troops should retire unmolested beyond the Sardah river, one of the boundaries of the province. The most important advantages resulted from the fall of Almorah. By its capture, the army of Umeer Singh was abandoned to its fate. It was now impossible that it should receive succours from Nepal, whilst the possession of an entire province in the centre of the enemy's territory was calculated to dispirit their people, and to convince them of the superiority of the British power. The judgment, skill, and intrepidity manifested by Colonel Nicholls, in the course of operations against this province, were what might have been expected from his high name. With reference to the character of the enemy, it must be obvious that their defence of this province was extremely feeble; indeed, it is generally allowed, that their troops were of an inferior description to those under the personal command of Umeer Singh. When the intelligence of the surrender of Almorah reached Malown, it created a powerful sensation amongst the Goorkhas. Their leaders remonstrated with Umeer Singh, and urged him to surrender the fortress;—but the spirit of this chief remained unbroken. He reminded these soldiers of their duty to their country, and urged, with reason, that, if they held out until the com-

mencement of the rains, the British force would be compelled to retire. These remonstrances produced no effect upon his hearers. They withdrew daily with their followers, until only 200 men remained to defend the place: Unsubdued in mind, the proud spirit of Umeer Singh was forced to bend to circumstances.

On the 15th May a capitulation was agreed upon between Sir David Ochterlony and the Goorkha commander, which terminated the campaign in this quarter, and completely extinguished the Goorkha power and influence in the provinces to the westward of Gogra. By this convention the garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war. The same terms were extended to Rungoor Singh, Killedar of Jytuck, and the troops under his command. These chiefs were at liberty to proceed to Nepaul with the whole of their followers. On the part of Umeer Singh it was stipulated, that he should evacuate Malown and the whole of the posts held by the Nepaulese between the Sumna and the Sutledge, together with those in the adjacent territory of Ghurial. It was further stipulated, that the Nepaul troops were at liberty to engage in the British service, should the British government be disposed to accept of their services. The respect of the British general for his antagonist was manifested in allowing him a suitable guard for his person. Thus, the plans of the Governor-general were crowned with entire success in this quarter; the British ensign waved on those heights which bade a proud defiance to our power. On reviewing the events of the campaign, it is manifest, that its successful result must be principally ascribed to the superior skill and

judgment which characterized the operations of Sir David Ochterlony's division. Appreciating from the first the character and resources of the enemy, he was aware that rash and headlong valour would fail against such a foe, and that it was only by calling forth that superiority in science and resources which we possessed, that we could triumph against such an enemy. Possessing the entire confidence of his troops, every energy was devoted to the public service. It is fortunate for the reputation of the Marquis of Hastings that this division possessed such a commander. Had it failed, the campaign must have been altogether unsuccessful. In adverting to the close of this campaign, it would be unjust to withhold from the Bengal seapoy, that praise to which he is eminently entitled.—Unaided by any European force, the soldiers of this division, and that of Colonel Nicholls, encountered every danger and difficulty with a spirit honourable to any army. The mind of Sir David Ochterlony was now occupied with the measures necessary for the defence of those countries which we had conquered. The means adopted for that purpose will excite the surprise of the European reader.—Those very Goorkhahs who had fought against us were taken into our service, and formed into four battalions, and these men have fulfilled their engagements to the British state with irreproachable fidelity. Such is the confidence reposed in them, that there are only five companies of a regular native corps stationed within the provinces, who could act against them in case of revolt. The plan adopted by the British general manifested a thorough acquaintance with our Asiatic policy. In what other way have we maintained our immense possessions

in Hindostan, but by enlisting the energies of its military population in our service? All conquerors have used nearly the same expedients. It is safer to govern by means of a body which has exercised a commanding influence over their countrymen, and which they have been accustomed to respect: in this way no violent shock is given to their opinions and usages, and they fall naturally into habits of subordination. The alacrity with which the Goorkhas transferred their services to their conquerors, is a singular moral phenomenon, but equally characteristic of the whole Hindoo race. It is remarkable that the same men who have displayed the most heroic courage in a particular cause, should offer their services to those who have trampled it down, without an emotion of shame or repugnance—that men who cherish a love of home, and a tender sensibility to the ties of relationship, should be altogether devoid of the love of country. This is the moral taint which debases all Hindoo institutions: there is nothing in them to excite any genuine patriotism, or generous social feeling. The fact to which I have alluded speaks volumes as to the defects of their social system.

The rainy season having now commenced, this division retired into cantonments. The reverses which its arms had sustained, made a profound impression on the court of Khatmandoo, which began now to entertain serious thoughts of peace.—The idea of contending singly against the overwhelming superiority of the British power was considered by one party as hopeless, whilst another party (reasoning from what had happened to other states) regarded

the slightest connexion with the British state as sealing the destruction of their independence, and the extinction of their national dignity. Men with such feelings naturally looked forward to war as the only means of averting these portentous evils. At the present juncture the party who were anxious for peace prevailed. A negotiation having been immediately opened with the view of learning the sentiments of the English government, these were declared to be—the perpetual cession of the provinces taken in the course of the last campaign—the entire renunciation of the territory in dispute, which occasioned the war, and of the whole Terhae, which bounds our territory along the hills. Besides these, the humiliating condition was required that an English resident should be received at Khatmandoo. On hearing these terms, the Nepaulese envoy broke off the negotiation, on the ground that he was not authorised to treat respecting the cession of any territory excepting that which was in dispute. The negotiation appeared now to languish, but was again resumed. The Marquis of Hastings, understanding that the principal officers of the Nepaulese enjoyed estates in the territory which was proposed to be ceded, was induced to offer similar possessions, or an equivalent in money, to the amount of two or three lacs of rupees, subject to the discretion of the Goorkhah court. This proposition was rejected, on the ground that the possession of the Terhae was indispensable to their existence,—its superior fertility rendering it the granary of the kingdom. The object of the British government, in demanding the entire cession of the Terhae, was simply, that, by establishing a

definite boundary, there might be no cause for dispute in future. In other respects its possession was of no value to us, the revenue scarcely balancing the expenditure. Such being the case, it would have been foolish in the extreme to have maintained so expensive a contest for so inconsiderable an object.

In these circumstances, the Governor-general evinced a becoming moderation in relaxing the original demand. Instructions were now forwarded to Lieutenant-colonel Bradshaw, the British commissioner, empowering him to negotiate upon a new basis, according to which that part of the Terhae which lies between the rivers Kalee and Gunduck, was all that was now demanded, and of the rest only so much as was in our actual possession; which terms, together with the stipulated pensions, were declared to be the ultimatum of the British Government. This disposition to concession was not met in a suitable spirit by the Nepaulese envoys, who declared that they would not accede to these terms, without submitting them to their court. At the same time they offered to sign the treaty, provisionally: provided that the portion of the Terhae, between the Koosee and Gunduck, were substituted for the pensions proposed. This was refused, and the negotiation broken off; but the negotiators declared, that they would return in 12 days with the treaty signed. On the 28th November, 1815, these plenipotentiaries returned and signed the treaty, by the terms of which the ratification of the Rajah was to be delivered in 15 days. This period expired without any appearance of the ratified treaty, and it was afterwards ascertained that the Nepaul government had deter-

mined upon war. Untaught by experience, they had resolved once more to try the perilous hazard of hostilities ; having, in the meantime, received an accession of strength from the arrival of Umeer Singh, who, with becoming disdain, represented the offer to pension the Rajah's ministers as insulting to his dignity, and degrading to the national honour, in placing his subjects in direct dependence upon a foreign power ; whilst he held forth to view the brilliant exploits of their troops at the commencement of the last campaign, as affording a bright augury of what might be expected in the ensuing contest. These sentiments, so flattering to their pride, had a due effect on their minds ; but, in truth, the substantial loss which would result from the cession of the greater part of the Terhae must be regarded as the immediate cause of hostilities.—Although inconsiderable to us, it had ever been regarded as the most brilliant appanage of the Nepaul state. In the meantime, the promise of aid from Scindeah determined them to amuse the English government for the present, by affecting an eager desire to negotiate, that the season for active operations might pass away without any attempt on our part. The Bengal government suffered itself to be deceived by this crafty policy ; it relaxed its preparations, and the commissariat department received instructions to discharge the cattle necessary for the transport of grain, and to sell that which was stored in depôt. This injudicious conduct had nearly frustrated the success of the campaign, as the army was not enabled to move before the end of January, a delay which allowed only two months for active operations. Con-



sidering that the campaign failed in this quarter the former year, solely from the lateness of the season, it is surprising that the government did not exhibit more precaution in guarding against this contingency. The British government, no doubt, justified this conduct on the principle, that it was so much the interest of the enemy to make peace, that he could by no possibility refuse the terms offered. This reasoning might be good as applied to a European state; but it requires little knowledge of Asiatic history to perceive that its princes understand their own interest but imperfectly, and their caprices have a great share in influencing their determinations. The government in this instance appears to have neglected the admirable rule adopted by Lord Wellesley in all his negotiations—by uniting civil and military powers in his deplomatic agents, the collision of civil authorities was avoided, and the public functionary, to whom this power was delegated, was enabled to devote every faculty to the public service. It is only by an energetic system like this, that diplomatists can act with effect, when opposed to Asiatics, with whom every thing is fair which can be gained by subterfuge and fraud; and who are only accustomed to yield to reason when enforced at the point of the bayonet. At this period, the troops, although at no distance from the scene of negotiation, were scattered in cantonments, instead of being concentrated; had they been prepared to move at a moment's warning, and the entire direction of negotiation confided to the British commander, this vigorous attitude might have averted the contest;—at the least, this avowed determination to resort to

force would have spared us the humiliation of being overreached by a people so far inferior to us in real knowledge. The British government now determined to call forth all its resources, with the view of striking such a vigorous blow at the enemy's capital as would terminate the war. An army of 15,000 men was accordingly assembled, consisting of his Majesty's 24th, 66th, and 87th regiments, and 11 or 12 native corps. General Ochterlony was summoned from the western provinces, and directed to assume the command of this force, with the entire control of political and military affairs. Thus the errors of the former campaign were wisely avoided, and our entire force was directed against the principal seat of the enemy's power. On assuming the command of the army, the Major-general directed that it should advance through the Saul forest, which skirts the Nepaul mountains—a march which was accomplished without the slightest opposition from the enemy; and the army encamped at the foot of the Chereea-ghatee pass, which defends the entrance into the first range of hills. On reconnoitering the pass, its defences were found to be of the most formidable nature, being stockaded throughout, and occupied by the enemy in great force. To assault so strong a position would have been a perilous undertaking; and it is fortunate that the judgment and foresight of the British commander rendered this operation unnecessary. With a mind devoted to the public service, this distinguished officer had employed his leisure hours during the rains, in obtaining the most accurate information relative to the passes into Nepaul; and, although there was no prospect of service

at the time, this knowledge was destined in the sequel to be of eminent service to his country. He had ascertained, from the Goorkhas in our service, the existence of a bye-path, unknown to the generality of their countrymen, and undefended at the present moment. With a just confidence in himself, the General determined to stake his professional reputation in an attempt to scale these hills by this path-way. At midnight he proceeded, in person, at the head of a light division, by a road which lay through the dry bed of a mountain-torrent. The rugged bottom, the steep ascent, and the darkness, were calculated to try the nerve of the troops; but the spirit of their veteran leader pervaded the entire body, and animated them throughout their toils. After struggling throughout the night, the morning dawned, when they perceived they had turned the enemy's position in the Chereea-ghatee pass. The joy of the British could only be equalled by the consternation of the Goorkhas, who evacuated their position, which was immediately occupied by our army. This is a brilliant exemplification of the energy of mind as applied to the operations of an army: every thing was effected by superior knowledge—physical force was of little avail. Having succeeded in passing the first range of hills by this admirable manœuvre, the attention of the British commander was directed to strengthening this position, and establishing a direct communication with the plains, which would secure the passage of supplies. With the view of distracting the enemy by a variety of movements, and covering his real design, Sir David Ochterlony had directed that a column,

commanded by Colonel Kelly of his Majesty's 24th regiment, should move in the direction of Hureehurpoor, a hill fort commanding the pass which leads into the Muckwanpoor valley; whilst another should move to the westward, and, if possible, should pass the hills in that direction: this division was commanded by Colonel Nicol, his Majesty's 66th regiment. Colonel Kelly advanced in the direction of Hureehurpoor, and, on arriving within view, perceived a commanding position near the fort, which he directed to be occupied by the light companies. The enemy quickly perceived the error they had committed, and advanced in great force to assault this position; but the superiority of our fire compelled them to retire, after sustaining a severe loss in killed and wounded.—The fort was quickly evacuated. The column commanded by Colonel Nicol succeeded in passing the hills, without encountering any opposition, and joined the force under General Ochterlony.

Thus, the British commander completely succeeded in establishing his army within the Nepaul territory, and these resolute mountaineers were condemned to the humiliating mortification of seeing an enemy in the heart of their country.—That iron frontier which had repelled the tide of Mahomedan invasion, and daunted the spirit of our commanders in the former campaign, failed in opposing a barrier to the superior skill and courage of this army. The Goorkha force, in retiring from the Chereea-ghatee pass had taken up a position in front of Muckwanpoor, against which post the British army advanced, and encamped on the 28th February,

within two miles of the enemy, occupying a hill in front, from which the enemy had retired. As if now taught the value of this position, by the fact of the British occupying it, the enemy determined to retake this hill, and, advancing in force, they drove in the piquets which occupied it. Aware of its importance, reinforcements were sent to maintain the position; and the 2d battalion 12th N. I., 2d battalion 25th N. I. and light company his Majesty's 87th regiment, ascended the hill for this purpose. The importance which the English general attached to the position served only to raise its value with the Goorkhas. As if determined that the courage of the opposite armies should be fairly put to the test, in contending for the possession of this eminence, the flower of their army marched to the assault, and several gallant efforts were made to storm it, but without effect. The nature of the ground at the summit of our position, rugged and bushy, prevented our troops from charging; in such circumstances the efforts of the contending parties were principally confined to the fire of musketry, which was carried on with such animation that several British officers, with their fowling-pieces, engaged in it with the utmost keenness. In this manner the greater part of the day had passed without advantage to either party. Towards evening, as the 2d battalion 8th regiment was ascending the hill, it was perceived that an opening presented itself in that quarter, which would enable us to attack the enemy; the order was instantly given, and three companies of this corps, under the personal command of Major Nation, advanced deliberately against the enemy—reserved their fire until it could

be given with effect ; and then charged with such spirit that the enemy retired in great confusion, leaving two guns in our possession. The success of this charge is principally to be ascribed to the energy and skill with which Major Nation directed the movement of his small body—and yet, his conduct has not been marked by any of those honours which it is the pride of an enterprising soldier to obtain—whilst they have been lavished upon others far less deserving of them. Although hitherto overlooked, it must be consolatory to this officer to reflect, that, in the opinion of his fellow-soldiers, to him alone is to be attributed the successful termination of this affair.

Our loss amounted to 219 killed and wounded. The enemy left 500 men killed and wounded on the field. Lieutenant Tirrell of the 20th N. I. was the only officer killed. There was something in the fate of this young soldier which excited universal sympathy. With the most ardent desire to see service, at the distance of 500 miles from the scene of action, he had given up a staff appointment and volunteered to serve with the army. Pushing on by dark, he joined one of the corps which formed the rearguard of the army ; but a spirit like his could not repose in a post like this. Applying to be removed, his wishes were gratified by being posted to a corps in front. Eager to distinguish himself, he obtained the command of a piquet on the hill, in front of the enemy. This was destined to be the scene of action, and it fell to his lot to repel the first fury of the assault : thus far he had been eminently fortunate. What situation could be more favourable to an as-

piring soldier, ambitious of distinction? But here, in the very hour which promised to realize his brightest hopes, he was doomed to perish.—He fell, covered with wounds, whilst nobly engaged in defending his post. The action of the 28th February convinced the Goorkhas of the futility of contending against British superiority. On the 3d March, the commander of their army requested permission to forward the treaty duly ratified. The British general replied, that it could not be expected that the English government would grant the same terms now as before the commencement of hostilities; but, at the same time, expressed a readiness to receive an envoy from the Nepaul state, if vested with full power to conclude a treaty. In the meantime he pushed on his approaches to within 500 yards of the fort of Muckwanpoor, and made every demonstration of a serious attack against the place. This determined conduct made a suitable impression on the enemy, the Nepaulese envoy having appeared and pressed the acceptance of the treaty which was negotiated at Segoulee. As the English general had previously determined upon accepting the treaty, peace was quickly reëstablished between the two states. The supreme government so far modified its terms, that it deemed it politic to cede a portion of the Terhae in lieu of the stipulated pensions—an arrangement which was acceded to by the Nepaul government. The Marquis of Hastings certainly evinced a laudable moderation and magnanimity in ratifying these terms.—When our superiority was so manifest, it was worthy of the national character that the hour of victory should be marked by a spirit of

conciliation. The intelligence of the cessation of hostilities was not received in a similar spirit by the army. It was contended that the whole of the Terhae should have remained in our possession, in order to establish a definite boundary, and that the fort of Mackwanpoor should have been ceded to us, that we might command a road to their capital, and thus effectually restrain any future encroachments. There was considerable weight in these reasonings; but they would seem insufficient to counterbalance the substantial advantages resulting from a treaty which put an end to a contest operating as a ruinous drain upon our finances, and which vindicated the national honour by obtaining the cession of the territory which led to the contest. All armies delight in war, especially when successful. The various employment it affords to the faculties of all, renders it far more interesting than the monotonous life of a cantonment. The more ardent spirits rejoice in the prospect which it affords them of rising to honour and distinction;—whilst the more worldly are powerfully agitated by the chances it presents of prize-money and promotion, and staff-appointments. The newsmonger, too, is eminently in his vocation, its triumphs and reverses affording him materials for interesting as well as profitable discussion. It must be admitted, however, that these personal interests, and agitating considerations, preclude, in a great measure, military men from forming a sound judgment in regard to negotiations for peace—their affections being enlisted on the other side. But the variety of service which the Bengal army went through in these campaigns, proved extremely beneficial in confirming its disci-



pline, and in developing the military talent of its officers. In the presence of an active and courageous enemy, it was indispensable that every precaution should be adopted in guarding against their attacks; whilst every faculty was called forth in endeavouring to overcome the obstacles which the nature of the country presented. War in the East having, in these more recent periods, assumed a new character, it was necessary to call in the superior science, and rigid application of its rules, as practised in the West, to command success. In the plains of Hindostan, it was only necessary to see the enemy, and to come in contact with his line, to ensure the victory. In the mountainous region of Nepaul, patience in supporting labour, and fortitude under privations, were to be endured, in sight of an enemy whom it was impossible to attack; and, even when an opportunity presented itself, the most adventurous courage and scientific movements would have failed at times in obtaining the mastery, had they not been supported by a prodigious superiority in artillery and powerful entrenchments. It is only in Nepaul that our arms have encountered that resistance which men, possessing a spark of courage or heroic resolution, should oppose to an invading enemy. From the paucity of officers, important commands were confided to captains and subalterns. This early training inspired them with a just confidence in their own power, and elicited talents which promised to be of service to the state in any future contest. Considering the known character of the Marquis of Hastings, it is perhaps superfluous to observe, that, where zeal and enterprize were signally

displayed, they were, generally speaking, justly distinguished and rewarded. On surveying the state of the belligerents on the conclusion of the war, it is apparent that the Governor-general had succeeded in his plan of humbling the Goorkha power, and of curbing their ambitious spirit. By the possession of the mountainous territory to the westward of the Gogra, its means of aggression were diminished in that quarter; whilst the protection afforded to the Sikkim Rajah, to the eastward, rendered it impossible to pursue their views of conquest in that direction, without coming into contact with the British power. The original ground of the war had been obtained by the cession of the contested territory. But these barren conquests were achieved at a waste of life and treasure greatly beyond their value; whilst the question still remains undecided, whether the object of the war might not have been obtained by a resolute determination to drive the Goorkhas from the disputed territory, combined with positive orders to resist the slightest aggression;—and thus the expense of a more extended scale of hostility might have been avoided. The expenses of this war were supported by a loan of two crores of rupees, or £2,500,000 from the Nabob of Oude.\* This prince

\* The wealth which his predecessor left at his decease has been estimated at eight or ten millions—a sum infinitely beyond what any European sovereign is known to have ever possessed. This may be exaggerated, but still it is not improbable. The late Nabob, Sandut Ulee, was excessively penurious, possessing a revenue of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  millions.—It would be no difficult matter to save 3 or 400,000 pounds annually; and this, in 16 years, the time that he remained upon the musnud, would amount to five or six millions. At all events, the fact is certain, that his successor lent  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions to the Honourable Company at this period.

had just ascended the musnud, and, what was very convenient for us, possessed a full treasury. Like all Asiatics (who judge of others as they would act themselves, in similar circumstances), he must naturally have expected to be squeezed on his accession. To be requested only to lend his money must have therefore been very gratifying; at all events, there is no refusing a governor-general who is obliging enough to intimate such a wish. This generous devotion to our cause was rewarded by associating him in the honour and glory of the war. Being declared our ally, this warlike prince proclaimed to the world, that he had drawn his sword purely to avenge the injuries done to his subjects. This magnanimous declaration astonished his people, who were in entire ignorance of the grievous outrages which had been perpetrated in their territory, until their prince announced them to the world; and who were only apprized, on the arrival of the Governor-general, that the state was on the eve of a contest. At the close of the war, his exertions were recompensed by the cession of that portion of the Terhae which skirts his territory, together with a district in Rohilcund, which was said to be acceptable to him.

These sacrifices were not purely disinterested on our part—this arrangement being beneficial to us, inasmuch as it liquidated one of the crores of rupees which his excellency had obliged us with. As it is generally understood, and sanctioned by Mr Prinsep, that the revenue of these districts was inadequate to the expenditure under our management, this must be acknowledged to be an admirable way of paying a debt. Since this period, in 1820, the

Vizier of Oude has assumed the regal dignity, under the title of King of Oude, which has been recognized by our government. It is difficult to divine the motives of Lord Hastings in acknowledging this self-created monarch, in alliance with the Emperor of Delhi, and outwardly regarding him as the supreme power in Hindostan, and his court as the centre from which all titles should emanate. With what regard to honour and good faith, can we countenance (in direct opposition to his will) this assumption of royalty on the part of his servant? Is it from a regard to truth, that the British power is all-paramount, and that of the Emperor of Delhi an empty phantom? This would be the conduct of a noble mind, which disdained the childish, foolish, and insulting mockery which attempts to veil the real and substantial power which we possess in the East. Can there be any thing more degrading to a character possessing any elevation, than a pretended respect to a power which in reality does not exist? Is it from a regard to the independence of the native princes,—from a conviction that the British government possesses no control over their actions? Such a view of the matter would be in unison with the early part of Lord Hastings's political career, when he stood forth the protector of their rights, and advocated the Carnatic claims.