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THE WRONGS OF CASHMERE :

A P L E A

FOR

THE DELIVERANCE OF THAT BEAUTIFUL COUNTRY
FROM THE SLAVERY AND OPPRESSION
UNDER WHICH IT IS GOING TO RUIN.

By ARTHUR BRINCKMAN,

LATE MISSIONARY IN CASHMERE. C

"In conclusion, whatever may have been its former history and its previous condition, Cashmere is now undoubtedly a very fine province; it possesses a delicious climate, admirably adapted to the European constitution; its soil is exceedingly rich and fertile, and under skilful cultivation and an enlightened Government, there is no reason why the Vale of Cashmere should not maintain its reputation as one of the fairest spots on the earth's surface."—*Cashmere Handbook*, by John Ince, M.D., M.R.C.S., L.S.A.L., B.M.S.

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P R E F A C E .

THE object of this little pamphlet is to inform the British public of *five facts*, of which it seems to be ignorant. Firstly, That there really is a beautiful country, called Cashmere, situated in Asia ; and that Cashmere is not a mere name distinguishing a peculiar kind of shawl. Secondly, That this country, Cashmere, a short time ago belonged to us, but that we sold it, against the wish of its inhabitants, to Gholab Singh. Thirdly, That since this noble bargain was concluded (1846), the poor Cashmerees have been shamefully oppressed by the rulers we put over them, and that this oppression is getting worse and worse. Fourthly, That for the last fifteen years, these unhappy people have been asking us in every way they could, to release them from their wretched condition. Fifthly, That the ruler of Cashmere is tributary to us, and bound by treaty to acknowledge our supremacy, and yet he is allowed to insult us continually with impunity, and to persecute Christians. In short, to get Cashmere well governed, is what I am trying for ; how this is to be done, ought soon to be decided for many reasons. The only plan that I humbly think would secure this object would be annexation. Those who think they know Cashmere affairs better than myself, will, I hope, suggest a preferable plan if they can. My hope is, that this little pamphlet will bring Cashmere and its present wretched condition into the notice of the public and the press, and that Government will be called on to release that unhappy country from the oppression and misery which the Indian authorities have allowed to exist there for years. How to arouse Government; I must leave to others. Public opinion in a worthy cause

can exert its influence on Ministers, without any of the ranting clamour and abusive spouting, which is the fashion of some disturbers of the peace, who seem to delight in finding fault with the Government in presence of mobs. I hope that some member of Parliament will bring the matter before the House; that the press also will join in calling attention to the wrongs of Cashmere, and then I have every reason to believe that our Government, which any country might have confidence in, will do what is right as well as politic. The Indian government seem to be ignorant of affairs in Cashmere; at least they seem to know little from official sources, which is by no means surprising to myself and some others. I am aware of some of the obstacles that prevent the truth about Cashmere affairs reaching the ears of the powers in India. Sir John Lawrence and Sir Donald M'Leod are both of them men who would grieve as much as any one over a ruined country or an oppressed people, if they could see with their own eyes what goes on in Cashmere. But grieving for Cashmere does not help it; sympathy and no assistance is of no use. This pamphlet is badly written, but, with the Appendix, it informs the reader of the wretched condition of a beautiful country we threw away, of the misery of a people we sold against their inclination, and of their united cry to us, to set them free once more.

Some of my readers in India will be surprised at my silence on certain matters. I can but assure them that Government has not offered me anything to be quiet, but that I simply think it best to let the things take their chance of being exposed by others or not, or of coming to the surface themselves. In speaking of Cashmere, I include all the territories of Rhumber Singh.

40 BERKELEY SQUARE, *December 1867.*

THE WRONGS OF CASHMERE.

CHAPTER I.

IN trying to arouse public attention to the state of things tolerated by us in that ill-fated country of Cashmere, it will be as well if I try and show that my motives are entirely disinterested. There is no result of any kind that I wish to obtain, except the release of a suffering state of our own from its present melancholy condition. As a clergyman, I can expect no possible advantage from writing this book, for in showing up the state of affairs in Cashmere, allowed there by the ignorance or the choice of our Government, I am not pursuing a course likely to induce that Government to offer me either a living or a chaplaincy, or anything else that I could possibly be supposed likely to covet. Neither have I any ambition to bring myself into public notice, and except that I consider it right for a person accusing all sorts of people of all sorts of misdeeds to do so openly, I would not have published my name in this book at all. To make a few pounds by this pamphlet, if it sells well, is certainly not my reason for publishing it. I would sooner pay some one else to do it, if a suitable man could be found for the work. It is something more than "the suggestion of a few friends" (whom no one ever believes to exist) that has prompted me to come forward. I am told that Cashmere ought to be at once brought before the notice of the people at home, that they only want to be told of what things go on there, and they will insist at once on matters being changed. I am told that not being a government servant, no one is so free to move in the

matter as myself. Numerous officers, civil and military, who know something of Cashmere affairs, are comparatively tongue-tied, being servants of the Government, whose fault, whose crime it is, that such abuses exist in Cashmere as do abound there. Moreover, I am supposed to know more about Cashmere affairs than almost any other European (not having been there on Government duty), and having had greater intercourse with the natives than most men, having also for some long time made "oppression in Cashmere" a subject of inquiry. To put myself forward just now as champion of Cashmere, was by no means a pleasure, as others know full well. I had also wished to remain out there longer, working quietly as a missionary, but, after much anxious thought, and after receiving the advice of greater men than myself, I reluctantly resolved to return to England at once to try and get the condition of Cashmere ameliorated. Some said, "If you fail, you will never be able to come back to Cashmere again." Some said, "If you fail, the rajah will only be encouraged to go on worse than before, and the state of things in Cashmere will be more intolerable than ever." Some said, "It is not the business of a missionary to do anything but preach to heathen." Others said, "You will only get laughed at, and terribly cut up in the papers." As to the first objection, "the chance of failing, and its bad effects," I can only say, that if a fiftieth of those men who have been in Cashmere (and who have said far harder things of its government than I have now published with double their experience) will but back me up in forcing the public attention to this matter, there will be no chance of failing. As to the duties of a missionary, I think it the business of every one to set his face against injustice and oppression, and to try and get wrongs redressed that loudly call for relief. As for making myself ridiculous and getting laughed at, I am quite prepared and hope to survive it all. I am not afraid of the press, my hope is in it. I only wish the editor of the *Saturday Review* (that terror of rash authors) had taken a walk with me in Cashmere once or twice last summer, I am sure he would have insisted on writing

the pamphlet himself. It has also been suggested, that many will say, "you are only a disappointed missionary who, being bullied by the rajah of Cashmere, and finding no success in converting the inhabitants of that land, went home to vent his wrath upon the place by abusing it." I can only reply, that in the Indian papers none have spoken more cheerfully than myself of mission work in that country. I do not think there is a more promising field anywhere, considering all the circumstances. A missionary often has a far more disagreeable time of it when preaching in the Punjab, or any other part of India, than in the streets of Serinaghur. I cannot recollect at this moment ever receiving anything approaching to an insult, or even an uncivil word, when preaching to Cashmerees. Dr Elmslie, the medical missionary, is perhaps the most popular traveller that ever resided in Cashmere. Four men in the last two seasons left their homes and became Christians, and are now living for safety in the Punjab. Others, I believe, would have come forward, had not their fears of the rajah kept them back. Considering the proclamations of the Cashmere government, it is wonderful that any of the people ever dare come near a missionary at all, even by stealth, like Nicodemus. The first convert that was baptised in Serinaghur was put in a dungeon with a log of wood chained to his leg, and only released at the intervention of the British resident. Every one seen frequenting the mission premises is reported and punished. The missionaries are surrounded by spies all the day long, armed sentries are posted at all the avenues leading to the mission tent, to prevent the people coming; and yet, for all this, the people who are sick manage sometimes to steal by, and inquirers risk all this as well. Serinaghur has not seen anything yet to make its inhabitants think highly of Christianity. Our allowing the Cashmerees to perish yearly in hundreds by the rajah's famines and misrule, our having sold them to a tyrant, and then turning a deaf ear to their constant cries for help, is not calculated to make them think much of the religion of the great nation whose fault it is that all these things take place. No; I have no reason to doubt that Cashmere may

some day become, as Vigne hoped, "the focus of Christianity in Asia, the centre of a religion as pure as the eternal snows around it." I think it may also be said that it was a pity the wrongs of Cashmere were brought into notice by a missionary, as people and the Government may think they are wanted to be made use of for furthering proselytism in Cashmere, and so they may be less inclined to help that country. I quite agree with those who think that the less a missionary trusts to aid from the Government the better; but I think that the Government means to show equal favour to all religions in India; and this is insisted on in the Queen's proclamation, that intolerance, when brought to the Queen's notice, will meet with her marked displeasure. Now this alone would justify my asking the Government to mend matters in Cashmere, and so far help mission work there; but I have revealed *very little* in this book concerning the conduct of the Cashmere government towards Christians, inquirers, and missionaries. The Diwans may well wonder, as some of them will, at my forbearance. When the country is governed by us (which must very shortly come to pass), then Mullahs, Missionaries, Llamas, Sikh priests, and Brahmins, can all work away without fear or favour there. I wish in this book simply to write as an English eye-witness to the oppression and misrule calmly tolerated by us in the dominions of our subject, Rhumber Singh. No matter who brings these things before the public, they are facts whoever deposes to them, they are such as require instant action whoever writes about them. Throughout this book I have *understated* matters; I have not shown up all I might, but have chiefly, almost entirely I think, confined myself to points that have been already noticed by writers in the Indian newspapers. I think that what little has been published of doings in Cashmere by the Indian press, is quite enough for the public at home, without adding much that is probably only known to and proved by myself. I beg the reader to realise clearly these following facts before perusing this book, and I will remind him of them as I proceed:—

1st. That Cashmere and its people were sold by us to Gholab Singh for 7,500,000 rupees in 1846.

2d. That this sale was against the wish of the people, who were allowed no choice in the matter,

3d. That the Rajah of Cashmere is our tributary, bound by treaty to acknowledge our entire supremacy, and is not an independent prince but our subject.

4th. That some of the matters referred to in this pamphlet have before this been brought to the notice of the Indian Government, and that its remonstrances and injunctions to the rajah have either been very weak or not attended to by him, as things in that country get daily worse and worse.

I have no personal animosity against the rajah; I sincerely believe he has no better friend than myself. I look on him as a weak ignorant prince—a puppet in the hands of his diwans.* When I honestly could, I have defended him in the Indian papers, but though he does not know all that is done in his name in his dominions, yet the state of things there is the result of his apathy and weakness. I am a far truer friend than those who only talk softly with him, and who keep pandering to his pride, hiding what is notorious from him, and letting him and his Durbar go on in a way that must sooner or later compel us to act toward him in a very stern manner. He said to me himself: “I know I have many enemies around me.” I think the rajah would like to be released from the evil hands into which he has fallen. He has not one atom of authority or power in Cashmere, except when he issues orders that please the set who rule him. Neither have I any personal ill feeling against any of his diwans. Kirpa Ram, the most dreaded and unpopular of them all, I found to be always most civil, most obliging, most friendly in manner to me, so far as regards my interviews with him. But I have nothing to do with the civilities I myself received from the rajah or his diwans. Few natives in power in Cashmere would not be civil if they they thought it their interest so to be. The rajah, poor man, is responsible, next to us, for all the misrule of Cashmere. Ten years have proved him utterly unfit to govern the country. Our constant remonstrances (if they have not been sent, more

* Ministers.

shame on us) have been unavailing, and Cashmere is daily going from bad and worse to utter ruin. The country was never sold to the friends of Gholab Singh, and to his son's friends, *our* subjects, to rule over to our dishonour and detriment. There is no remedy but immediate annexation, and this annexation ought to take place at once.

I can see no remedy for the evils in Cashmere except annexation, and in this instance I know of no valid objection. Quietly to seize an independent kingdom governed by a rajah, simply because we think it good policy to do so, is most unjust, but as regards Cashmere things are different. Grant that kingdom to be an independent state (which it is not), then if annexation is unjust, why is not war at once declared against it, and the country taken by force? Men who cry out against annexation, cry out for war when England is insulted, or her commerce unjustly interfered with, and therefore can have no objection to war being commenced against the ruler of Cashmere. Let the reasons for all the wars we have undertaken during the last two hundred years be considered, and it will be found that no independent king has given us so much cause of offence as the ruler of Cashmere, our own feudatory. War (at present) with Rhumber Singh is absurd. I would undertake to hand over the country to an English governor without one soldier to help me, or one life being lost, if written authority were given me by the Indian Government. If the inhabitants of Cashmere were allowed the choice, every one of them, except a few in power, would give their vote to be governed by the English. Why are they not asked who they wish for their ruler, Victoria, or Hindoo diwans? Every man, woman, and child in the place would welcome us, and are now calling to us to free them, and govern them, and turn out the vultures that prey upon them. As yet their entreaties have been of no avail, the rajah has bought over and won over many who, if they chose, could have moved even Sir John Lawrence to rouse himself, and insist on Cashmere being fairly treated. But instead of Sir John's mild remonstrances being cared for in Cashmere, they are positively laughed at; the man-

ner in which the viceroy, the governor of the Punjaub, and the Resident are humbugged, as regards Cashmere, is a never failing source of amusement to a few of my friends in the Serinaghur Durbar. The things that are palmed off upon those excellent worthies as facts about Cashmere are almost too absurd for even their credulity. And so I can see no remedy but annexation. Inquiries ordered by the viceroy into affairs in Cashmere would discover nothing. A committee of inquiry sitting in Serinaghur would be a farce. The childish way our authorities have behaved towards Cashmere has put things so much into the hands of the rajah's friends, that I really believe if Sir John Lawrence was to visit Serinaghur, raise the British standard on one side of the Jhelum, and invite those who wished for our rule to flock around him, that all the people would cross over and shout long live the rajah. And why? Because the Cashmerees see how long the rajah has cajoled and insulted us with impunity, and they see how utterly weak in diplomacy and everything else we have always been in all our actions regarding Cashmere. But if the thing were done properly (no child or native sent up as Commissioner), and the people could see that we were prepared not to listen to interested nonsense any more, then the day of the annexation of Cashmere would occasion one of the most affecting scenes that Asia ever bore witness to. That land, with its "traditions coeval with the flood," the garden of the world, "the paradise of Asia," "the vale of Cashmere," would suddenly seem touched with a divine wand. Thousands and thousands of exiles would return to their land once more; the spot that now is the scene of vile oppression and abominable misrule, would change from a scene of ruin and decay into a busy happy colony of subjects of England. Until this happens, let every one who writes and talks about our fostering care for the people of India, our justice, our mercy, our honour, our religious tolerance, and our hatred of oppression be silent. No historian or legislator who loves truth can talk of our enlightened rule in India, and the blessing it is to natives, so long as Cashmere remains trodden down and trampled on as at present, giving all such assertions the lie.

CHAPTER II.

In the debates in Parliament, concerning the advisability of sending an expedition to liberate the Abyssinian captives, one of the strongest arguments put forward by men who know something about Eastern politics was this : " If we do not at once act in a very decisive spirited manner, in this matter, then our *prestige* by which we rule India will be greatly damaged, the consequences of timid or lethargic action in this affair may be productive of the most disastrous consequences to the stability of the government in our Indian possessions." This was well said ; the natives of India do not yet obey us for love ; it is not their affection for us, their rulers, which prevents their trying to turn us out of India. It is the prestige attached to the British power throughout the world, the belief that though we are infidels or unclean, yet that they cannot stand against us in battle array successfully ; the knowledge that when we consider ourselves insulted, that satisfaction is at once demanded, and if not obtained, that we take it by force of arms, whether the offender be powerful or weak. It is these ideas of us that keep the Mussulman, the Hindoo, and the Sikh, from rising against us if they wished to do so. Anything that tends to lower our prestige, anything that shows the people of India that sometimes the lion can be bearded in his own den with impunity, that sometimes we can be treated in a way that we should never think of treating our own subjects, and yet not notice the insult, such things, I say, will weaken our power and the hold of its dread upon the natives of India. It is all very well to talk of winning the people to us by our good government, and so making them see that it is for their own advantage always to be loyal to us, but, unfortunately, few natives reason as we do ; those making plenty of rupees under our raj may tolerate us for a time, and gladly, but the masses, if they think or reason at all, consider that all the improvements we effect in the country, and all rupees that are laid out to benefit it, are only for our own purposes, and the more we improve

the country by what we do for it, the more they covet to possess it again. If India ever becomes Christian, perhaps we may trust more to gratitude among the people for the advantages bestowed by our rule over them ; but for a very long while to come, we must be content to feel ourselves obeyed, simply because we are the strongest. When that strength is doubted, then, and then only, is there danger in India of losing our authority over that country. No doubt if the people rose to-morrow and killed every European in Hindoostan, we could very soon take and conquer it all again ; but without such an insurrection great harm can be done, if the natives are allowed to have reason to think that they have it in their power only to shake our government a little, or even to treat it in an offhand way, to disoblige, to throw discredit upon it, to cajole it, or to offend it with impunity. Now the Cashmere government is not only daily, by its acts and diplomacy, ruining our prestige in India, but in Central Asia as well. If the French (much as we dread them according to some) were once to treat us as the maharajah of Cashmere daily behaves towards us, our ambassador would be recalled, and war declared in a week. It is no use saying we must be jealous for our place and honour among the nations of Europe, and that we can afford to be insulted by a feudatory rajah, just as a mastiff may despise a cur who insults him, with no loss to his dignity. We *cannot* afford to be laughed at in India by any one, we cannot afford to be quietly treated in a manner by one of our own subjects, which would make even the mild Hindoo, were he a king, to order his troops to arms to punish the offender, even though an independent sovereign.

Until Cashmere is ours, it will be a sharp thorn in our side. At present everything connected with that country is poisoning our reputation, not only in India, but in Central Asia also. Our policy from first to last as regards that unhappy land has been unjust, unfeeling, unworthy of us, and suicidal. The following assertions and remarks I make knowing them to be true and just, and they will prove, I think, that our conduct towards Cashmere, and that of the Cashmere government (put there by us), towards

ourselves, and towards the unfortunate people we *sold* to them, has been productive of much that is spoiling our prestige as Christians, as just, as haters of oppression, as powerful, as defenders of the poor,* as tolerant regarding religion, and as protectors and encouragers of commerce.

1. First be it remembered, that, as far back as 1820, two envoys were sent to us from Cashmere asking for protection.

2. That it was a cruel injustice (nothing in the annals of slavery was worse) selling Cashmere to Gholab Singh at all, the injustice being the greater, as an inoffensive people, who never harmed us, (who once had asked us to govern them, and who still wished for us to be their masters instead of Gholab Singh, who was hated from Leh to Jummoo,) were handed over to a tyrant, whose antecedents had caused his name to be hated by the Cashmerees.

3. That it is a source of serious discontent amongst the Musulmen in Cashmere, and not there only, our having sold so many followers of Islam to a Hindoo idolater, to rule over, and terribly oppress as well.

4. That the Mullahs pray daily for us to come and govern Cashmere, and the whole of that country echoes the prayer.

5. That the Government is so bad in Cashmere, that it is a great reproach to us not to do away with it as that country prays.

6. That hundreds and hundreds of Cashmerees die yearly, owing to the avarice and oppression of the rajah.

7. That the rajah has several times violated the treaty between our Government and Gholab Singh.

8. That the famines in Cashmere are not caused as a general rule by the failure of the crops, but by the locking up of the grain, by the doling it out in handfuls at exorbitant prices, and by sending the grain out of the country to sell in the hills near Ghilghit, the peasants whose labour produced that grain being

* The common title by which we are addressed by the natives is Garib parwar.

forced to carry the loads to Ghilgit themselves, where hundreds of them die from cold and starvation yearly, with loads of food on their backs.

9. That the rajah has attacked neighbouring hill tribes sometimes without our permission, violating Article 5 of the treaty.

10. That this causes ill feeling among those tribes towards us, they knowing that the rajah is bound by treaty with us not to take up arms against them at all without our special permission and sanction.

11. That false reports of these affairs are sent to us by the rajah, or published by him, to make us think what an excellent ally we have, keeping these frontier tribes in check at no expense to ourselves.

12. That the Cashmere government are in the habit of sending false reports of affairs in that country to some of the Indian newspapers.

13. That the head of the Cashmere government sends false official reports to the English Resident at Serinaghur, knowing those reports to be false, and the natives knowing it also.

14. That the rajah has been for some time levying duties and customs from people who are not his subjects but *ours*.

15. That he has been in the habit of preventing commerce flowing into our dominions by *force*.

16. That he has compelled traders by *force* to come through his territory, who were coming to us, in order to levy money from them.

17. That he has annexed territory to his own without asking our permission. See Article 4 of the treaty.

18. That the trade ready to flow to Hindustan from Yarkund Khoten, Tartary, and other places, is stopped by the treatment traders receive from the rajah's officials, which fact damages our prestige and popularity in those parts of Central Asia.

19. That the inhabitants of Cashmere are not allowed to come into our territory, no one being allowed to come without a pass, which is seldom obtained without having interest or giving a bribe.

20. That hundreds of Cashmerees escape over the hills to our territory yearly, leaving their country, their homes, their families, solely on account of the oppression and misrule rampant in their own land.

21. That that country, said by all to be so fruitful and so fair, is comparatively going to waste, and becoming depopulated year by year.

22. That "slavery," in every sense of the term, exists in Cashmere, no man having anything of his own, not even his soul and the care of it,—everything, the land, the water, the food, and the refuse, the weeds, being the rajah's.

23. That everything is in the hands of the rajah, so that there is no chance for private enterprise—no encouragement to genius ; in fact, to be in appearance in possession of money is a crime, unless much of it goes to the rajah.

24. That the rajah will not allow a British gentleman to remain in his dominions during six months of the year. Persians and others with whom we may happen to be at war being allowed to remain. Affghans, Ghilgitees, Yarkundees, Tartars, Bengalees, Punjabees, strangers of all kinds remaining while the countrymen of the sovereign to whom the rajah is tributary, whose supremacy he acknowledges by treaty, are turned out of the country in November.

25. That the conduct of the rajah and his officials towards us brings great discredit upon us, *we only* being allowed up as visitors as a treat for a time,—the rajah fixing the date of our coming and going, sending spies to watch and report upon many of the visitors, rendering things unpleasant in numerous ways, so as to make the country unpopular with us.

26. That the rajah increases the price of supplies to visitors year by year with a twofold object,—to make gain of us in particular, and to make us think that Cashmere after all is not such a fruitful country.

27. That the rajah makes us buy our provisions from himself, at a fixed rate, which is most exorbitant, getting the English Resident yearly to sign the tariff paper. People wishing to

supply Europeans at their own prices, being forbidden so to do and punished if detected so doing.

28. That contrary to the spirit of this extract from the Queen's proclamation, 1858, religious toleration does not exist in Cashmere, it being a crime in Cashmere for any one to become a member of the same religion of the Queen who issued that proclamation, and of whom the rajah is a subject, and whose supremacy he acknowledges. "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, or our rights, to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own, and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government. We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. *We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.*"

29. That men have actually been persecuted and imprisoned for inquiring after or professing Christianity in Cashmere.

30. That not only is religious toleration not shewn to the people, but that hindrances are put in the way of *our having* divine services. The English visitors having to worship in the

upper-room of the residency, sometimes a building most unsuitable for a place of assembly for worship.

31. That the rajah has distinctly refused permission for the English to build for themselves a suitable place for the performance of divine worship.

32. That the object in making us worship in the residency is not seeking our benefit, but an interested plan of the rajah's.

33. That we have not a foot of land wherein to bury our dead ; that the rajah will not even allow us to keep and consecrate an acre of ground wherein to bury officers who die. Bishop Cotton was allowed to read the consecration service over that spot where the graves are, but with the condition that the land, the tombs, everything there, were to be fully understood to be still the *sole property* of the rajah, he in return engaging to keep the graveyard and the tombs in repair, which he does not do. This year (in the early part of it) until a complaint was made, the place was in a disgraceful state.

34. That a proof of the country being comparatively depopulated owing to oppression, is the fact that no woman under any pretext whatever is allowed to pass out of the country.

35. That instances have occurred when the authorities have stopped English travellers who had Cashmere servants, and locked those servants up. In one case, a gentleman and his wife had to witness their Cashmere servant, who was carrying their baby in his arms, turned back through a large village, baby and all!

36. That it is very seldom, if an English visitor is annoyed or insulted in Cashmere, that he can obtain any redress or satisfaction whatever, except promises which are not fulfilled.

27. That every possible difficulty is thrown in the way of procuring supplies, except at certain places, for certain reasons.

38. That while the poor peasants are forbidden to bring their supplies to the English visitors for sale, that women of improper character are allowed to come freely, because they are all *tax-payers* to the rajah. I mention this simply to shew the avarice

of the rajah's government, and its oppression of the labouring classes.

39. That if a moonshee comes to the bungalows to teach Cashmere to a European, he is threatened and punished, if his visits are repeated, by the rajah.

40. That the rajah only allows us fifteen annas for our rupee in Cashmere, his annas being far inferior to ours, while his own wretched Chilkee rupee is valued at ten annas.

41. That, according to the rajah's own reports, the cholera was far worse in Cashmere this year than in any other part of India. By his own account it is a hotbed of cholera, and as he refuses to do anything to try and stay its progress in his dominions, it would be as well if we took Cashmere, if only for the reason of making it healthier, and stopping the spread of that pestilence.

42. That owing to the indifference and cruelty of the rajah's government, hundreds of lives were needlessly lost by its inhuman behaviour, while cholera was raging this year in Serinaghur.

43. That intolerance as regards Christianity is carried to such a pitch, that men coming to the medical missionary to have an operation performed, have been prevented so doing, and have died in consequence.

44. That sentries are regularly posted to prevent people coming to the medical missionary.

45. That not only are the Cashmerees persecuted for coming to the medical missionary, but that Pathans have also been thus dealt with.

46. That the rajah takes bad characters from our army into his, and that his Sepoys cannot return to Hindostan without bribing, or escaping back over the hills.

47. That not only are Cashmerees forbidden to quit the country, but our subjects also, unless in the service of European visitors.

48. That although the resident has no authority to punish a Cashmeree, yet the rajah has in one or two instances seized and put in chains our subjects who have been accused of crimes in

Cashmere, and has also imprisoned our subjects who were blameless.

49. That the rajah will not improve his roads, thereby hindering traffic and inconveniencing us.

50. That if it is true that the Russians are advancing, as said, they can have a fair pretext for quarrelling with us, and attacking Cashmere at any moment, owing to the manner the rajah oppresses the traders coming from those lands which will soon be Russia's, according to all accounts.

51. That the rajah's government have been in the habit of opening, reading, and destroying letters sent to Europeans in Cashmere.

52. Article 9 of the treaty : "The British government will give its aid to Maharajah Gholab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies."

Let us make our own enemies, not let ourselves be bound any longer to defend a prince whose wretched court may plunge us into a war at any moment by its mean policy and intrigues. There is not an officer of the Indian army who knows anything of Cashmere that would willingly draw his sword to uphold that tyrannical collection of bunniers (merchants), the Cashmere Durbar. And yet by that treaty we are bound to defend the rajah from his enemies. Are we then willing to send British troops across Cashmere to engage armies subsidised by Russia on the borders of Gilgit and Ladak? Russia perhaps does not want to fight us in Central Asia; but will Russia, when approaching Ladak, allow herself and her traders to be treated as we have been? If the rajah is friendly to Russia, he will be an enemy at any time to us; if he treats Russia as he has treated us, Russia will subsidise and send a force from the Gilgit direction that would punish him severely, or else insist on our doing it. If he is friendly to Russia, on their approach, then such conduct demands our wrath, for why did he not act friendly to us, his masters, to whom he swore allegiance? Far better let Cashmere be ruled by us, and win the neighbouring countries to us at once, by helping them in commerce, than let a collection of

men from the plains of Hindostan, our own subjects in the rajah's service, draw us into an Asian war by their grasping oppression for self, which is alienating the poor Cashmerees from us for not freeing them, and making them ready to welcome any one, Russian or Turk, as a deliverer from the cruel shameful bondage into which we sold them. If we are bound to assist the rajah against his foes, why have we not done so? Depend upon it, if it was a righteous war at Gilgit, the rajah would have asked our assistance before now.

CHAPTER III.

JUSTICE and humanity require that we begin to govern Cashmere ourselves. If it is not right, yet political interest ought to induce those who think more of politics than justice to insist on Cashmere being handed over at once for us to govern. If it was expedient to sell it unlawfully, and against all principles of justice and humanity, surely it is expedient as well as right to rebuy it. If you sell a man a beautiful horse, or rather give him one at a nominal price, surely most men would consider it right to take back the animal if its new owner immediately began to starve and beat it to death. Surely all the English blood that was shed in fight with the Sikhs till March 1846, was not poured forth to gain Cashmere, in order to sell its innocent people into slavery, into the hands of grinding oppressors. Surely it must be our duty to govern those people who pray daily for us to come and free them from the yoke under which we bound them. Surely England has conquered many a fair land against the wish of its people, and called it glory, and never a sin! Then why not—why not rule over those people whose voices, whose prayers, whose degradation and sufferings, and whose living blood calls us, if not to avenge, at least to free them? He who is dead is called at rest, but the blood of the living calls as loudly as that of the dead Abel. One blow, one pang, and many

a murdered soul is set free, but lifelong bondage is living death. It is not one Cashmere, not one discontented peasant, not the Mahomedans only, but the Pundits also, it is all Cashmere, that groans under a rule that would plunge any people into misery that endured it. If a man worked his horse from sunrise till dark daily, then took some of that animal's food to sell, and let his groom do likewise, then all England would cry shame. "Shameful cruelty to a horse" is an attractive heading to a newspaper paragraph, but the same cruelty to living human souls is either not believed or not cared for in England, if it happens out of it, sometimes. At almost any pothouse you can hear songs about old England, "the land of the free," "the dread of the slaver," and so on; but in Cashmere slavery exists simply because *we* uphold the slaver. How many slave ships have we taken since 1846? How many of the slaves in them have we restored to their homes? and how much money have we spent in putting slavery down? All the same good results can be effected with a stroke of a pen. "Annex Cashmere," these two words would, if sent to the Viceroy in India, set free at once more than four hundred thousand slaves, and enable a hundred thousand exiles to return to their homes and country.

We talk of ruling natives by their affection, *acts* of kindness wins them; it would be a cheap purchase annexing Cashmere; we should win at one moment thanks and praises of others, who, if not conciliated soon, may some day help our foes. The other Rajahs are said to be jealous at the licence allowed to the ruler of Cashmere, who, in their ideas, is only the son of the adventurer Gholab Sing. The Cashmere gate at Delhi sets one thinking, that possibly our conduct to Cashmere was one reason God allowed the mutiny. Many orators told us that the mutiny was a punishment for our sins in India and failure of duty towards it. If this was the case, then one of our great sins was our treatment of Cashmere. Is there anything more cruel, more unjust, to be read in the world's history than the story of our treatment of Cashmere, selling a country against its wish to a tyrant, for a

sum of money, and then for years refusing to listen to the cries for freedom of the slaves we bound and sold ?

Hundreds of objections will of course be raised. Let us look at some that have been raised by the rajah's friends and others.

1. "To annex Cashmere would be to break a Treaty."

To this I reply, the treaty is broken already by the rajah himself, and that the treaty was an unjust one. That in the recent settlement of the Mysore question it was said, if the Queen's Proclamation was not faithfully observed, that all trust in our Government would be gone. For the same reason these paragraphs of that Proclamation should be attended to at once, and the rajah made to feel Her Majesty's great displeasure by putting an English Governor over Cashmere.

2. "It might involve us with Russia," or with somebody somehow or other; better to involve ourselves than letting it be done for us. If Russia seeks territorial aggrandisement, she is more likely to advance near us with Rumbher Singh as the ruler of Cashmere, than if we ruled that country. The Cashmere officials, by their conduct, are more likely to provoke her to war than we are. If the object of Russia's advance is commerce, she must either win over the Rajah or sweep him away, as the great hindrance to commerce in central Asia is the Cashmere Government. By annexing Cashmere, we should please the French; they are the chief buyers of the shawls, which are yearly getting dearer and worse under the extortions and oppression of the Rajah.

3. "The expense." The great objection of course.

Unfortunately no expense would need to exist. If properly ruled, Cashmere would pay us ten times over, and far more than any other spot in India does. The country would pay as a sanitarium; the force to keep it in order a mere nothing. And if a large force was required, better to have one there ready, than to march an army there at a week's notice, to drive out enemies who will pour into it some day if things go on as at present.

4. "The people are a despicable lot." Starve a dog and then call it a cur. I know the Cashmerees as well as any one; in their

own country no one knows them better ; and I unhesitatingly aver, that, considering the circumstances we compelled him to live in, that a Cashmeree is as fine a character as any in India. If one had a son, and flogged, punished, worked him from seven till he was twenty years old, I suspect that youth would turn out a mean-spirited, inferior man. The poor Cashmeree is like a mouse trying to drink milk with an army of cats in the same room with him. The Cashmeree dresses dirtily, walks slouchingly, does everything slyly, lies constantly in order to save himself from oppression, from the suspicion of not having enough for himself and his family. Spies, reporters, bribery, treachery, are all among and around them ; they sometimes are afraid to speak much to each other, and are afraid to talk of their wrongs even sometimes to each other, every one is suspicious of his neighbour. When in the plains, he is a stranger ; if a cotwal * is after a thief, and cannot find him, he will be sure to collar and accuse the first Cashmeree he can, he having no friends. When bargaining with us, they do not lie worse than Hindustanees ; as regards stealing, I have always found them to be far more honest. I have seen far more thieving, cheating, and roguery of all kinds practised by servants of the plains than by Cashmerees, both in the Punjab and Serinaghur. It is all the more reason for annexing Cashmere, (abusing the people) half their vices being the fruits of long periods of mis-rule. They are as clever as any people in India, far more so than any I ever met with there. If schools were established in Serinaghur, I believe, in course of time, the Cashmeree students would beat any class of students in India in almost any subject. Those who keep calling us to educate, educate, educate ! the natives ! (to do so without teaching Christianity is simply digging away the ground under our own feet) ought to join the cry "Annex Cashmere." The rajah will not allow education there, but to blind us, sends us a few thousand rupees occasionally to our Punjab schools. The Cashmerees are not allowed to improve in *any* way by the rajah. "Keep them

* Police officer.

grinding for our benefit," is the sole thought of their rulers. If Thomas Hood had ever been to Serinaghur, the "Song of the Shawl" would have made him more pathetic than he was in his "Song of the Shirt."

5. "Our breaking the treaty would make us distrusted in future in our promises to natives." Again, I say the rajah is already the violater of the Treaty, and that as he has broken it we are bound no longer, in honour to ourselves, to treat him as if he was blameless. This conduct lowers us far more in the native opinion, it creates jealousy, makes them wonder at our motive in tolerating his conduct so long. Certainly those who made that silly treaty with Gholab Singh only gave him Cashmere to be ruled over, not for the people to be torn from their homes to die in the snows in Gilgit, to die of starvation in the midst of luxuriant crops of all kinds, to toil like slaves and then not to have enough to live on, while the food is often reserved for sale till it rots, and then is doled out to those who can bribe the Pundits to sell them enough for a day. It is not as if I was the only person who sorrows over the wrongs of Cashmere. Almost every traveller who goes up there comes back saying what a shame it was to sell it, and what a shame not to take it back again. Take the Indian press, even those papers in the pay or interest of the rajah, admit that the almost unanimous opinion of English travellers in Cashmere is, that it is cruelly oppressed, and ought at once to be annexed.

These gentlemen say the travellers listen to tales that are not true, and that they are mere strangers in the country, and really know nothing of its affairs; but it is not the custom of English gentlemen, after travelling in any state, to come back and tell of its shameful misrule unless it was all true. One or two travellers might come back with such tales, but two hundred would not go there year after year, and yet all come back saying that Cashmere is a place shamefully misgoverned. Without being prejudiced, I have always observed that those who persist for their own objects in screening the rajah, either from ignorance or worse reasons, continually publish untruths. Assertions such as the

following have been made:—"That Cashmere is the best ruled province in India;" "That the streets and roads are kept clean by the maharajah;" "That hospitals were built all over the country immediately the cholera broke out;" "That a famine was prevented by the noble exertions of Kirpa Ram, 1866;" "That the people are happy and contented;" "That the maharajah had remitted in one year, 1866, twenty-five lacs of revenue;" and so on. Every single statement here quoted, I assert to be contrary to the fact. What object can officers have to gain by crying down the rajah? The majority of men go to Cashmere for shooting. Nothing disgusts an Indian sportsman more than to hear his favourite region for game is going to have a cantonment built near it; and yet these sportsmen are the very men who come down to the plains again saying we ought to govern Cashmere ourselves. When almost every traveller says it,—when all the people themselves say it,—when there is the unanswerable proof of hundreds of Cashmerees flying yearly from their country to ours for refuge, it is simply folly to try and throw discredit on the fact. Most travellers who go to Cashmere, go, I suppose, to enjoy themselves and not to inquire about the oppression said to exist, and yet they return to the plains saying Cashmere is greatly oppressed. I went to Cashmere to work, and not to play, and studied continually to get at the truth of the matter. To see the oppression is easy enough, to prove each act and trace it to its source is harder; but this I tried to do, and I proved that oppression exists far more than any one dreams of that I have yet met with; and I solemnly declare that the oppression in Cashmere allowed by us there to exist is a crying sin in the face of God, and a disgrace to our Government. Travellers will, I know, sometimes tell you that they heard no complaints, or that the people seemed contented enough. The people may seem to work away quietly—many of them may be happy, never having known a better lot; the ordinary traveller might not see the oppression, though hearing of it, unless he tried to see it. Very good care is taken that Europeans do not see all that goes on by the Cashmere authorities.

A gang of convicts seem uncomplaining enough at work, which, considering how they are fed and cared for, is not surprising; the Cashmerees are just like so many convicts,—none work for their own benefit. They set to work quietly and with no pleasure like convicts; it is all sowing for themselves to reap and carry to the barns of a hated government and race. The sooner the guns on the Hurree Purbut Fort fire a salute to welcome our flag on its ramparts the better; the sooner, for the sake of mercy, we annex a country that is more trodden under foot than it was even by Gholab Singh, the better for all. The sooner we turn out that Durbar composed of our own subjects, who use their upstart power only to annoy and insult us, the better for us. There is an old tradition that Cashmere is Eden transplanted to its present site, after the curse of God alighted on it. It seems almost as if the place first cursed was to be the last to receive the blessing of Christianity. No other kingdom that pays us tribute is allowed to persecute those wishing to be Christians. Those at home who hate the Church cry the loudest for toleration everywhere, and yet this rajah of our own making, our own subject, is allowed openly to persecute those wishing to believe as we do.

Cashmere is an Asian mystery for Disraeli,—something more than shawls are looming in the future there. Here is a grievance for the Irish members, a country as beautiful as “Ould Erin” ever was, but ten thousand times more oppressed and worse governed; here is a theme worthy of your eloquence, John Bright—worthy of any man’s. You would like a republic, or at all events excite men to dislike our form of government; here is a tyrannical despot living on men *we* sold to be his slaves, and whom we stretch not a finger to help. Here is a despot with the blood of those on his hands who wished to be your fellow-subjects to a Queen they would love as much as you do. We have been called a nation of shopkeepers,—the most cruel bargain we ever made was selling the souls of men. Whether that was justifiable or not, here are the men calling to us now to bear rule over them, —slaves praying to us to set them free.

Does England not know of, or does she wilfully forget, the existence of such a spot as Cashmere, which might have been and still may and must be one of the fairest jewels of her crown? Because Tom Moore wrote a poem and mentions Cashmere in it, are we to think its existence only a myth? Ladies all know of it by its shawls; shopkeepers call their fine flannels by its name, yet we quietly shut our eyes to all the ruin we ourselves allow to exist there.

I have not the interest, the talents, or the money to rouse the British Empire to do its duty towards poor Cashmere; perhaps others will take up the cause, for it is a good one to plead in. I hope, I pray, and so do many beside myself, that the wrongs of Cashmere will be redressed at once by annexing it. I am not the only person waiting for the answer to the question, Will you free Cashmere or not? There is many a Cashmeree wishing success to my mission, and asking his prophet or his stocks and stones, to bless it. Things cannot go on as they are; attention will be forced upon Cashmere ere long, and it must eventually be governed by us in self-defence. My motive, however, is not for policy but humanity—to set free a people oppressed by our own subjects; and I can only attempt it (being a clergyman, and not Garibaldi) by writing a sixpenny pamphlet to inform my countrymen, whose boast it is to be the haters of oppression, that there is slavery—cruel bondage allowed to exist by us in our own land India, and that Cashmere is like Israel in Egypt, with its cry continually going up to Heaven.

APPENDIX.

I PRINT these extracts from Indian newspapers to shew the reader that others besides myself have called attention to the wrongs of Cashmere. The Viceroy seems quite indifferent, or wants instructions from home. The press in England may succeed in getting Parliament to take the matter up in a very decided manner, and insist on Cashmere being relieved from oppression governed by us, or annexed, the only way to make sure of the object. Again, I may remark that I have not "told half" the facts, but have understated things. Those who ought to know something about the state of affairs on the frontiers of India will some day be filled with wonder at their own ignorance as to what goes on under their own noses in and around Cashmere.

CASHMERE THE CUBA OF THE EAST.

If the British public were told of a country whence their trade is barred by prohibitory imposts, and themselves excluded except under vexatious and dishonouring restrictions of time and place, their first thought would be of China or Japan. But China and Japan have now been opened to English enterprise. If it were further explained that the country in question not only kept its own trade from us, but cut us off from the commerce of a continent, a rich mart for our produce and a fertile field for the supply of our wants, no one would doubt that such a land must be under the rule of a sovereign formidable by his arms or influence, thus to keep the great British nation at bay. Such things could scarcely be believed of a feudatory of our own; lately the petty chieftain of Jummoo, now, through our ill-requited liberality, the Maharaja of Cashmere. The father of this prince, who ventures to practise towards us an exclusive policy

which we should not tolerate from any of the nations of Europe our equals, received from *our* hands his dominions and rank not twenty years ago. The interval has been spent by him and by his son in reducing the valley of Cashmere into a Cuba; and by us in exalting our own creature until we have almost persuaded ourselves that he is powerful, and him and his ministers that he is omnipotent. A close copy of Napoleon's famous "continental system," by which all the ports of Europe were shut against British commerce, now flourishes on our own frontier, combined with a depth of national slavery to which we can no longer find parallels on an equal scale, since Russia has emancipated her serfs, and America her negroes. This obscure Punjaub chief can boast that he is acting with impunity towards the "Lords of the East" in such a manner as once cost Denmark her navy, and Napoleon his throne, at their hands; and is inflicting on the people confided by us to his care, a curse such as brought the great republic of the West to the verge of ruin but yesterday. He is the representative and source of a policy not merely of protection but of prohibition; not only of political but of personal slavery. And this policy is upheld by British bayonets, supported by the apostles of commercial and social freedom.

It is unnecessary to give a detail of this chieftain's measures against our trade and intercourse with Central Asia. All Northern India knows them too well. Take the following official account as a sample of his proceedings in the one article of shawl-wool. The extract is from a report made to the Punjab government in 1863 by Mr Egerton, then deputy commissioner of the hill district of Kangra. Speaking of Chanthan, the frontier province of Thibet, he writes:—"The influence of the Maharaja of Cashmere, partly from old established commercial intercourse, and partly from his generally having an imposing military force on frontier, while hardly a British police constable has been seen there, is quite paramount, and quite eclipses ours. . . . There exist, in fact, two great monopolies—the monopoly of shawls, held by the Maharaja, and the monopoly of shawl-wool, held by the Thibetans—and so they play into each other's hands. But not only does the Maharaja endeavour to monopolise the shawl-wool of Chantham, he absolutely interdicts the passage of the shawl-wool of Yarkund through his territories." Thus, as Mr Egerton shews, by monopolising the shawl-wool of Thibet on the east, and interdicting that of Yarkund on the north, he effectually

prevents a single ounce of that valuable commodity from reaching British territory; for, "if he supplied himself with Yarkund pushm, he could not prevent the produce of Chanthan, which would thus be left in want of a purchaser, from finding its way to Noorpoor and Umritsur; whereas, with the co-operation of the Thibetans, he can, and does, exclude the wool of Yarkund." But the climax was reached when, last year, Mr Forsyth, the commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, discovered that this feudatory chief was actually levying tribute within the dominions of his liege lords; exacting a tax from our own officials in the border province of Lahoul. Surely never was vassal so insolent since Charles the Bold imprisoned his suzerain, Louis XI., in Peronne Castle.

So much for his conduct towards ourselves. But what will the English nation say when it discovers that it is upholding a great slave-owning dominion. For this must come to light. England must before long arrive at a knowledge of the facts. Slavery, rooted out in the West at the cost of the prosperity of our colonies and of millions of treasure, flourishes in the East under the shadow of the English flag. We sacrifice hundreds of valuable English lives on the fever-stricken coasts of Africa to guard against the extinct evils of the slave-trade; and at the same time we exalt among the princes of India the great slaveholder who owns, not a gang, but a nation of bondsmen. We decorate him, and point him out to his peers as the ruler whom England delights to honour. It cannot be concealed that Cashmere is one vast slave-worked plantation. The passes are jealously guarded against the tide of fugitives which yet annually escapes into the British provinces. Throughout the year, the villagers, men, women, and children, are turned out each morning at the sound of a drum to work in gangs under alien taskmasters, at a husbandry of which they are not to reap the benefits. When ripe, the crops of each village are stored in open-air granaries strictly guarded; and when after many weeks' and even months' delay, the whole produce of the country has been duly calculated and valued, the grain is "doled out in quantities just sufficient to keep life and soul together"—to use the words of Colonel Markham. Meanwhile, they may starve, should their last allowance happen to be exhausted. This state of things Englishmen have witnessed. For two years, owing to a deficiency in the crops, there had been a famine in the land. In the ensuing year, 1865, there was a splendid crop, especially

of rice. This crop had been gathered in and stored. But the calculations had not been completed ; the new crop could not be broken in upon ! Thus the villagers, who had been starving for two years, must starve on still for week after week in full sight of the beautiful harvest which their fields had produced. At Budrawar, owing to the neighbourhood of the British provinces, the people were at first able during the famine to supply themselves with food. But this traffic no sooner sprang up than it was taken advantage of for fresh exactions by the pitiless officials. A special impost was established ; and the starving wretches, who at the expense of a wearisome journey had brought loads of food to save their families alive, found themselves compelled to surrender a great part of their hardly earned supplies at the frontier.

And, in the valley itself, when dying from the scarcity which had afflicted the land, they sought a substitute for their usual food in the fish of their rivers, they were met by a stern interdict from their rulers. And why were they thus debarred from the resources which nature offered them ? Because their Hindoo masters, in their puerile superstition, chose to give out that the soul of the late Maharaja Gholab Sing had suffered transmigration into the body of a fish. Hence this source of supply was interdicted to the whole people, happy at least that his highness' soul had fixed upon a definite place of residence ; for, at first, the whole animal kingdom, fish, flesh, and fowl, was tabooed to them. An English officer, passing up the Jhelum in his boat during one of those years of famine, observed three half starved natives chained naked on the bank of the river, at a desolate spot many miles from any habitation. Each of them wore a necklace of stinking fish, and they had been left thus for three days and three nights already without food or drink. What was their offence ? They had been driven by hunger to catch a few fish, in defiance of the interdict, and had been found out. While thus the Maharaja does not accept the responsibility, acknowledged even by the slave-driver of America, of providing with sufficient food those whom he holds in bondage and who enrich him by their labour, he in addition taxes them in every particular that is capable of taxation. Every fruit-tree as it ripens is guarded, and its produce taken over for Government. Every hunter has to pay tribute in kind of the proceeds of his chase. Every one who wears ornaments beyond the common, or clothes better than the roughest, is marked down for plunder by the rapacious

officials On one occasion, noticing a bracelet on the wrist of a village head-man, an English traveller asked whether it was of silver. All the bystanders burst into laughter, while the wearer anxiously assured him that it was only lead, adding,—“silver! why, how should men wear silver in the country of the Maharaja?”

At the village of Atwat, where the remains of terraces on the hill-sides give evidence of the former size of the place, and where tradition affirms that there formerly dwelt a race of chiefs sufficiently rich to own elephants, the sole inhabitants are now an old man and his wife. A few trees now remain of a grove of fine walnuts near his house. These few are still assessed at the full tax which was formerly demanded when all the trees were standing. Three times has he escaped into the mountains, abandoning both land and house, and three times has been brought back by emissaries from the district officials, who had promised that he should be released from a tax on property which had no existence. Each time he was deceived, although the engagement was made in writing. “Now,” he told his inquirer, “I am too old to fly again; but the Maharaja won’t get much more from the walnut trees of Atwat; for I shall not last much longer.”

From October till March, no European is suffered to witness the state of the people; but of this long “winter of their discontent” stories ooze out in each returning spring, when the rough work of annual oppression has somewhat abated, and the country is again considered presentable to civilised eyes. One considerable item of this chieftain’s revenue is derived from a traffic which most countries endeavour to conceal, but which flourishes openly and avowedly in Cashmere. The class engaged in it are owned as slaves by others who were formerly in their position. The authority of the latter is backed by the whole power of the Maharaja, to whom reverts at their death all the wealth gathered during their infamous life. Should one of their bondswomen attempt to leave her degrading profession, she is driven back with the lash and the rod into her mistress’s power. These facts are certain. Here is a prince fit to be decorated with the Star of India! A worthy Knight for an Order of which our Queen is the head! The owner of a whole nation, he sucks his riches from their life-blood, and stoops to draw a degrading revenue by pandering to their vices. Each nautch girl dances in his service; every cajolery she bestows on her admirers, every gift she extorts from their liberality, is for the benefit of the Maharaja’s treasury. To complete the picture, imagine a chief as insolent to British power as

he is hard to this people whom he holds in bondage. No Englishman may come into Cashmere except by two or three prescribed routes. No Englishman may visit certain parts of his dominions. Every Englishman must leave them before the end of October in each year. He may not take Cashmerees who are in his service beyond the frontier. After this it will excite no surprise that, when a medical missionary visited Serinaghur, sentries were posted on the bridges and in the streets to prevent the sick from going to him to be cured of their diseases.—*Friend of India.*

CASHMERE.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

THE love of money lies at the root of most of the tyranny, cruelty and extortion in Cashmere. Wherever you turn you see proofs of this. But not only so, the avarice of the prince of Jummoo and Cashmere is so great, that at times he has the impertinence and audacity to insult the very dignity and honour of the British government in India. A notable instance of this has occurred this season in Cashmere. Shortly after the Resident and the first of the European visitors arrived in the valley, a report got abroad that the double rupee of India had only a value of 15 annas instead of 16 in Cashmere, and that this was by the Maharaja's order. Well, the matter was siftingly investigated, and the report was found to be correct. The Company's rupee, as it is called, is in Cashmere, a tributary state of Great Britain, actually reduced one-sixteenth in value. It is very easy to see how a measure of this kind will operate in the valley. In the first place, Europeans visiting Cashmere will have to pay one-sixteenth more for everything that they buy and pay for with double rupees. For, of course, the natives, knowing that the Maharaja has fixed the value of the double rupee at 15 annas instead of 16, making due allowance for that in the prices that they take for their goods. The natives, therefore, will not allow themselves to be the losers by this regulation. It is the Europeans who suffer. But the pecuniary loss to them is as nothing when compared with our loss in a political point of view. The natives are greatly puzzled why the British government puts up with this insult and others like it, if it be true that it is so powerful. Surely, they say the British government is afraid of the Maharaja, or it would not tolerate such things. This matter

was brought to the notice of the Resident at an early period of the season, but nothing has as yet been done. This then is one way in which his highness augments his princely revenue, and Englishmen are the losers by it. He adopts other methods to fleece his already impoverished Cashmere subjects. The copper paise is the chief current coin of the valley. Every now and then, as often as once in two years or once in a year, the old paise are called in by a certain date, after which date they fall in value as much as one-half. The whole thing is so arranged, that it turns out a very profitable and easy way of making a little money. Speedy and decided measures are urgently required for the amelioration of Cashmere.—*Friend of India.*

Simple and plain in manner, they have become a poor, miserable race, who have been driven even to sell their sons, daughters, and wives, to keep themselves alive.—*Letter in Lahore Chronicle.*

CASHMERE, A REPROACH TO OUR RULE.

WE have drawn attention to a few of the milder measures of oppression regularly resorted to by our highly honoured feudatory, the maharajah of Cashmere. It may well be asked why does the British Government uphold or even countenance a chief who thus opposes our commerce, degrades us in the eyes of neighbouring nations, and reproduces under our protection that system of slavery which is so opposed to our conscience and opinions; for it must not be forgotten that, but for British power, his rule would neither have been established nor would it now subsist. Let but our hand be withheld from him publicly, and all connexion with him be disclaimed, and his heterogeneous power would fall to pieces in a year. Ladak, Baltistan, Gilghit, and Astor, all know how to resist even Sikh troops; and with Cashmere itself encouraged by the successes of these frontier provinces, and refusing supplies to his army, a retreat into Jummoo would before long become necessary.

Even now he seems to be preparing for this eventuality; and the Cashmerees point with exultation to the new road to Jummoo commenced under an English engineer, and say, "That is the route by which the Dogras mean to retire." Why, then, does England maintain an evil, which has only to be left alone to right itself? One reply often given is, that our policy requires the existence of strong native States on our borders in

alliance with us, to act as *buffers* against an invading force, say of Russians. This policy, however, was not so successful when applied to Afghanistan, as to induce us to repeat it elsewhere. We attempted to establish a friendly Afghan kingdom under our ally Shah Sooja, in order to guard against an imaginary enemy from the North-west. The result was that we converted a turbulent race, who would of themselves, if properly managed, have proved a most efficient frontier guard to us, into a nation of enemies,—friends to any future foes of ours. The consequences are not likely to be very different in the present case. Our buffer policy, if rightly read, would lead us to strengthen the existing obstacles which oppose any invasion. These are to be found in the border tribes of mountaineers, accustomed to their own mode of warfare, and almost unassailable in their own hills. We should carefully abstain from interfering with their independence, but make much of their natural chiefs, while giving the latter plentiful evidence of the greatness of British power. Instead of this, we, by our feudatory of Cashmere, have annexed their States, thus converting them into enemies of our dominion; while we have not even gained the advantage of a more consolidated frontier, guarded by all the resources of discipline and science which we can command. The Northern frontier of India is now held alternately by the tribes, and by the maharajah according to the swaying fortune of a guerilla warfare. The former are now predisposed to allow access to any invader from the north who will join them in expelling the maharaja's troops; while the latter even, had he the will to support our interests in those quarters, would find his lowlands already hard pressed by the mountaineers, quite unable to cope with an alliance between their local knowledge and civilised tactics. Who that has his undisciplined levies struggling by twos and threes over the roads, firing their matchlocks at random, or crying like children with the cold on the passes, would like to confide the northern border of the Empire to such a guard, assailed by hardy Russians or their mountain allies. Whole regiments are composed of such miserable materials. Any runaway shopboy or discontented peasant from the plains, has only to curl his moustache upwards, buckle on a sword, and call himself a Dogra and a soldier. This is how the Cashmerees describe their oppressors; and their appearance confirms the account.

And is it for this that we have estranged the true guardians of the borders? If we permit a recurrence to our worn-out policy

of "annexation," let us at least ensure that it be tempered with the benefits which always accompany it in our hands. If we allow this chieftain to include Cashmere and Little Thibet within the limits of the Indian Empire, let a British commissioner or resident be deputed to see that their administration is not a shame and a reproach to our name. We should provide that treaties are carried out, that commerce is not shackled, that some part of the wealth which annually flows into the maharaja's coffers is diverted to public works, in a country where at present the foot of man and of beast are the only road-makers. Other Indian princes, as great as he of Jummoo, have maintained contingents disciplined by British officers. This would give some security to the northern frontier. Let Englishmen be declared to have at least equal privileges with Asiatics in his dominions. Then would be avoided the paradox of Englishmen being ordered out of the country every winter, while their menial servants are welcome to stay; of passes and routes being closed to Englishmen which are open to the rest of the world. Then an envoy from Central Asia, coming from afar to claim the support of the great British nation, could no longer be astonished by such a sight as he might have seen last year—an Englishman turned back from the easy route out of an English dependency, and forced over snows and ice, while a Parsee shop-keeper, lately cringing for his orders, is welcome to every facility and convenience which the road affords.—*Friend of India.*

It is a work not beneath a Governor-General of Sir John Lawrence's antecedents to free Cashmere and our trade from the shackles imposed by the policy of a grasping ruler, who owes everything to us from whom he derives the power to oppress. Call Cashmere Spain and Jowala Sahai Narvaez, and think how soon ironclads and armies would be brought to the front to check a hundredth part of the insults which are constantly being heaped on British subjects. But they are *black*.—*Ibid.*

CASHMERE—ITS RULERS AND THE CHOLERA.

(*From our own Correspondent.*)

This valley is deserted by the English residents, and the hands of Dr Elmslie, the medical missionary, have been effectually tied. Notices in the native papers of the oppression of the Maharaja

and the notorious Dewan Kripa Ram having attracted the attention of Sir John Lawrence, the Punjab government has been making investigations into the facts through the Resident, Major Cracroft, and the result is such that the supreme government cannot surely refuse to act at once. From the very beginning of the season sepoy have been placed at the entrances of all the principal avenues leading from the city to the European quarters. Several of them have admitted that the express reason for their being stationed there, is to stop the sick from going to the Doctor Sahib. This is the statement, also, of many of the Serinaghur merchants, and of the few patients who dare to brave the Dewan in their eagerness for medical aid. Several of them declare that they have been stopped by the sepoy, several roughly handled, several beaten, several fined, and several imprisoned. Many of those who were able to reach the Dispensary, had to bribe the sepoy to allow them to pass. Two cases among the patients shew to what a great extent the local government drive their cruelty and tyranny. The first is that of Sher Ali, a Pathan by birth, and a man of considerable means, whose aged father had played a prominent part in former days in the valley. The father and son came one day to the Dispensary for medicine and advice for the former, who says his age at present is ninety-eight years. The fact of their having been to the mission dispensary soon came to the ears of the authorities, who gave orders that their supply of provisions should be stopped, and that they should pay a fine of Rs. 200. The other case is that of Samad Shah, a leading man among the merchants of Cashmere. He was suffering from stone in the bladder, and an operation was necessary for his cure. He was afraid to have it performed on account of the prohibition which the Dewan had issued. He was urged to go to the Dewan, and to ask for permission to go to the Doctor Sahib's. He had a private interview with the Dewan, who expressly forbade the poor man to go the Dispensary, and advised him to write out a petition in Persian for the Maharaja, imploring permission to have the operation performed by the Doctor Sahib. He would not write, for he was afraid that the Maharaja would order him to go to his native doctor. The most convincing proof of the barbarous inhumanity of the Cashmere authorities is the diminished number of patients. From 9th May to 23d June inclusive, 269 attended. In the first year of the Mission, during a corresponding length of time, the number of patients was 595. Last year, during a similar duration

of time, the number was 998. The Maharaja is said to have opened 3 dispensaries in the city, but the natives declare this is a ruse, they have no faith in them.

Well, what has happened? On 18th June cholera was reported to have broken out in Serinaghur, and the day after the Resident cut off all intercourse between it and the European quarter. The sepoys became more active than ever, but a few patients managed to elude them in boats. On 20th June Dr Elmslie, in a polite Persian letter, offered to the Dewan his assistance in the epidemic, and received a verbal reply to the effect that he was much obliged and would write next day; but no answer came. On Monday the 24th June, the British Resident, with the doctor in medical charge, called on Dr Elmslie and asked him what he knew about the cholera in the city. They said they intended establishing a "cordon sanitaire" for the protection of the English visitors, and that to carry out this precautionary measure efficiently, four things were necessary:—

The closure of the Medical Mission Dispensary as being within the limits of the "cordon." II. Dr Elmslie ceasing to assemble the blind and the lame on Sundays to give them alms. III. The boatmen in the service of the European visitors to receive an anna a day extra, to remove the necessity for their going into the city for their meals. IV. The prohibition of prostitutes from going to the European bungalows. Dr Elmslie expressed his willingness to coincide in these measures, though they implied the closing of his dispensary, which was within the "cordon." The Resident said he would ask that a tent might be pitched on the other side of the river for the dispensary. But that would have been unsuitable, and Dr Elmslie asked for the premises said to have been built expressly for him by the Dewan. But those too were within the *cordon*, though they are near the city, and far from the European quarter. The Dewan refused permission even to pitch the tent, then Dr Elmslie begged for a small house in the city for his work of healing. But no answer has been given. On 2d July Mr Johnson, the government doctor, and Dr Elmslie assured themselves of the existence of cholera in the city, and by 6th July the station was deserted by the English visitors, including Resident, doctor, and chaplain, who went to Gulmarg. Dr Elmslie remained at the post of duty and visited the sick in Serinaghur. He tried to organise the *Hakims*, but was left single-handed. A missionary of the Propagation Society alone assisted him.

The neglect and inefficiency of the local authorities have been very great and culpable. The people everywhere and of every grade have thankfully received the visits, and readily taken the medicines of the missionaries. Most unaccountably, the British Resident did not remove the *cordon* before he and the English visitors left for Gulmarg, and in consequence the dispensary is still closed. It is very hard to think that the sick people are the only class excluded by the sepoys placed all round the European quarters. Merchants and all others except the sick come and go as if there were no *cordon*. The mortality up to the morning of the 19th is officially returned by the Resident as 1580 out of 8907 reported seizures. And this is how one of the Queen's feudatories is allowed to slaughter Her Majesty's subjects.—*Friend of India.*

The Maharajah of Cashmere, a noble whom we created by the very blindest act of all our history in the East, has not concealed his design of stopping all trade between India and the north, by a series of oppressive exactions which ought not to be tolerated for an hour. If the Duke of Northumberland were to establish a *cordon* from Alnwick to Carlisle, and permit no trader to pass north that he might monopolise the market of all Scotland, he would do exactly what Her Majesty's Indian Government has so long tolerated at the hands of one of her nobles, whose father bought his estates of Cashmere and Ladak not a generation ago. Nor is this all. This noble of yesterday, under our rule, who sends his annual tribute to Her Majesty, himself exacts homage and tribute from our native representative in the frontier province of Lahoul, and only on this condition will he permit a little trade to trickle through a corner of the territory we sold to him. Facts so scandalous would be incredible were they not vouched for by an official of so high a position and character as Mr T. D. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Jullundur.

Never was there such an opportunity for meeting Russia in the spirit which all classes of thinkers admit to be desirable and advantageous to our own subjects. And there is no obstacle but Cashmere; our only enemy is our own feudatory. We trust that the determined action of Sir John Lawrence will prevent for ever the loss which our prestige has long suffered, the wrongs which our simple subjects have long suffered, and the death which our trade has long suffered, all at the hands of one of our own nobles.—*Ibid.*

Well, we see all this, and we see the neighbouring and intermediate states, Cashmere on the one hand fast sinking down to the lowest state of decay and degradation ; Afghan on the other filled with anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed. This picture is before us in India and before the world, and yet our highly civilised government looks on with cold indifference ; with cold and unimpassioned indifference to the advance of Russia from the north ; with cold and unimpassioned indifference to the dastardly and demoralising government of the fairest valley in the east ; and to confusion, and war, and rapine among a nation second to none for bravery in our Indian possessions. As a Christian and moral government we fail to lend our improving influence to the one, and though belonging to the bravest and proudest of nations, we fail through our timid policy to acknowledge a ruling power in, and so secure the staunch alliance of the other. Our government is not, it is true, at this moment either rapacious or aggressive ; it may be doing no wrong, but it does not follow, therefore, that it is doing right.—*Letter in Delhi Gazette.*

It is in perpetrating such atrocities, that we, a Christian Government, protect the Maharaja against the revolt which would otherwise justly hurl him from his seat. It is to this, and such oppression as that of Holkar and Joudhpore, and such a massacre as that of Lawa by the Nawab of Tonk, which we recorded only last week, that a policy of non-interference inevitably leads. The only check we have recently placed upon the Cashmere chief and his myrmidons is the appointment of a British Agent to watch over the interests of our traders in Ladakh. But the continuance of even that is still doubtful. To Cashmere itself we depute a Resident for six months of the year, but he either, like Mr ———, plays into the Maharaja's hands, or is compelled to wink at evils which it ought to be his duty to prevent. Will the Viceroy not deal with this question in a manner befitting its importance and his own antecedents ? What is wanted is a permanent Resident at Cashmere, and the announcement that the appointment of an Agent to Leh is no mere temporary concession to public opinion, but is required at all times in the interests of our oppressed subjects.—*Friend of India.*

The Deputy Commissioner of Kangra writes—"Next as regards the restrictions put on the free passage of merchants by the authorities in Ladakh. Throughout my journey I heard but

one story of the oppressions of the Maharaja's Government in Ladakh, the avaricious and grasping character of the ruler himself, and the utter corruptness of all his people in authority.—*Ibid.*

The accounts of cholera in Serinaghur seem to have been very exaggerated. We hear from a reliable source that the average of deaths during the worst time was 150 per diem, which by the way is a very great percentage on the population of Serinaghur. Most of the visitors appear to be at Gulmurgh and its charming vicinity. Great complaints of the Maharaja's Government continue to reach us. The dissatisfaction in that country seems daily on the increase and imperatively demands the interference of our Government.—*Indian Public Opinion.*

The key of India is as much Kabul as Cashmere, and whilst we should render the rulers of the former country subservient to our interests, we ought without any delay annex the latter. Expediency, the Maharaja's misgovernment, and his flagrant breach of the treaty justify, and in the interests of humanity and statesmanship, demand such an annexation.—*Ibid.*

I pity Cashmere, which has often been called "heaven upon earth" by the oriental poets, groaning under such a miserable ruler. Certainly such a fair tract of land was not destined to be trampled down under such a rule for ever and ever. Consider how scantily he pays his servants and troops, and even out of this scanty pay he will make certain fixed deductions, *e.g.*, on his birth day. What have people to do with it? Instead of receiving gifts from the Maharaja on such an occasion, why should they be compelled to pay him what is unjust? Nor does he again pay them regularly. They groan and moan under his rule! Oh I see them, I hear them, I pity them. Hark, there comes the sound, "Avenge us, Oh Lord." I cannot but cry out with them. "Heaven seize thee, ruthless king." Not only would he press his subject people, whilst in his dominions, but he will not suffer them to change their country for a better one. He will frame no just laws for his people, nor will he adopt those framed by other intelligent men. Justice is thus alien to him and injustice lies at the door. His example has been followed by his ministers, and there appears no end to fraud and treachery. I may go on writing pages if not volumes, describing the great injustice and

mismanagement, but let the handful serve as the pattern of the heap. Should then, Mr Editor, such a ruler be allowed to proceed in his course? A republican form of Government in Cashmere, would be much better, if the British do not want it. But why should they not want it? Oh, I long to see the day when Cashmere shall bloom like a rose under the British Government.—*Indian Public Opinion.*

It is now time for the Government of India calmly to assert their rights secured by the convention of Peking, and to acquaint the Maharajah of Cashmere with his proper position under the engagement made with his father. Gholab Singh began life as a petty farmer of the revenues under Runjeet Singh, and the present Dewan Jowala Sahai was then his moonshee's brother. They rose together till, after the six years' anarchy which followed Runjeet Singh's death in 1839, the wily Gholab Singh so temporised, that Lord Hardinge was, in a weak moment, induced to honour him. Of the million and a half sterling due by the Lahore durbar for the expenses of the first war, it could pay only half a million, because Gholab Singh owed no less than £680,000 to the Lahore treasury before the war broke out; moreover, as feudal governor of Jummoo he was bound to assist the Lahore leaders. Gholab Singh really owed more than a million to Lahore, yet we overlooked that and sold him Cashmere for that amount. Next to the Cabul disasters, this is the greatest blot in our history. Our engagement, however, not only did not give him sovereign rights, but it expressly declared that he was not to make war or annex territory without our consent, while we were bound to defend him against his enemies. This engagement has been consistently violated. Since it was made, Gilgit has been annexed, and Yasseen conquered, by Cashmere troops, without the Chief even consulting us.—*Friend of India.*

30th.—On the afternoon of this day the Cashmere inquirer, Mohammed Hussan, was baptized. This is the first baptism that has taken place since the commencement of the Cashmere Mission. On that account it is most interesting, as being, we trust, the *first fruits* of the harvest that is to follow. Mohammed Hussan is a young man of respectable family, and a Syud. During his course as an inquirer, he has undergone many reproaches and persecutions. By his own family he has been cast off, as unfit to associate with them; and by the Cashmere govern-

ment he has on two occasions been imprisoned. When he was last in charge, it was only through the interference of the British agent that he could be released. The treatment which he underwent, when in prison, was of a most cruel kind. Indeed, he was placed in a dungeon, and fettered in the same manner as those who were guilty of murder and of the gravest offences. And when, by the influence of Mr Cooper, C.B., the order was given for his release, he had been lying on the ground for three days and unable to rise. From this position he had been prevented from moving by reason of a ponderous log of wood that had been fastened, in a most painful manner, to one of his legs.
—*C. M. S. Reports.*

No Englishman deserving of the name, and no Englishman whose advocacy has not been bought, can deny that for years and years the grossest oppression has been practised in that unhappy country, oppression to which nothing which we have witnessed elsewhere, can offer a parallel; that crime is to its government a principal source of revenue, and that it shrinks from no depth of degradation, the blackest mire of which may yield to high or low official a small golden proceed.—*Indian Public Opinion.*

CASHMERE.

(*To the Editor of the Indian Public Opinion.*)

SIR,—“Dunsal Hall” of Simla of the Delhi, should apply to me for information as to Russian progress in the Maharaja’s country! I might also place in his possession a few facts regarding the mis-government of Jummoo and Cashmere which would lead him to advocate the immediate occupation of both by British troops. Half measures are useless, and in this case dangerous.

There is only one weak point, and that is Cashmere. From Cashmere to India the communications are many and facile. For one half the year the Indian government submits to be told by a feudatory chieftain that the ordinary international communications observed between all civilised countries in the world, are not to be observed with her. From Cashmere to Central Asia the routes are numerous and open.

One would think the duty of our government was clear enough. We do not advocate annexation, but we do affirm that a military occupation of Cashmere has now become, in our own self-defence, an actual necessity.—*Delhi Gazette*.

Steadily the wave from the north advances, and when England awakes to the fact too late, it will resent the policy which is now so dear to men with whom statesmanship means a financial surplus, and England's honour is less valued than party jobbery. We have come to this, that we leave intervention in Central Asia to our own feudatory, Cashmere, and that intervention is against our interests and contrary to his engagements with us. The assertion of our Cashmere correspondent as to Pundit Munphool, and the despatch of an envoy by the Maharajah, to the Russians at Tashkend, demand inquiry from Government.—*Friend of India, Sep. 5*.

Thus, "on the 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rubbeeoolawul, 1262, Hijree, was done at Amritsur," the treaty of ten articles, by which Gholab Singh was raised to the rank and dignity of an independent ruler.

For seventy-five lacs of rupees the unfortunate Cashmerees were handed over to the tender mercies of "the most thorough ruffian that ever was created—a villain from a kingdom down to a half-penny," and the "paradise of the Indies," after remaining rather less than a week a British possession, was relinquished by England for ever.—*Knight's Travels in Cashmere*.

The *Indian Public Opinion* hopes, and we join in the hope, that the day is coming near when our troops will be stationed at the sanatorium of Cashmere, when European colonists will, by their industry and bravery, make it a truly "happy valley" as well as the best frontier for India. Then should the Maharaja—to whom we might return seventy-five lacs for which we bargained away the welfare of hundreds of thousands of human beings, a sum too less than a year's income of that country—take up the position of an honoured and simple country gentleman and pensioner in the Punjab, with the hope of being eventually entrusted, should he shew himself worthy of it, with an "honorary magistracy."—*Scinde News*.

Another illustration of the weak policy forced on the government of India by the home authorities, is seen in the following letter to a feudatory who behaves so badly. Writing in reply to the Maharaja of Cashmere's excuse for not doing homage to his Excellency at Simla, Sir John Lawrence says:—"I assure your Highness that it was with much regret that I missed the opportunity of meeting you in April last; but there was no remedy. It would have been very unwise had I kept your Highness near Umballa, and exposed you and your people to the dangers of the cholera. I entertain sincere feelings of friendship for your Highness, and shall always be anxious for your welfare. I shall be very happy to see your minister, Dewan Joalla Sahai, who has been an old friend of mine for many years, and whom I look upon as a devoted supporter of your Highness's interests." There is the glove of silk; but, oh! for the hand of iron, in the interests of oppressed millions.—*Indian Public Opinion*.

That a Cashmere official should act after his kind is no matter of astonishment, especially when he had the double advantage of recouping himself at the expense of a rival in trade for losses caused by his agent's default. No exercise of power could well be sweeter than this, but no trade could survive many repetitions of it. A native minister's oppressions will always go to the very verge of becoming dangerous to himself. Formerly, it was possible to practise the usual barbarities of oriental rule. Therefore it was done. Now, such things might attract inconvenient notice; so an official of Cashmere must confine himself to bloodless tyranny. He can still, however, create a reasonable amount of misery. Last year, the happy valley resounded with wailings and lamentations. The Maharaja's government, which claims at least two-thirds of the produce of each field, (practically far more) proclaimed that it would take its share of grain in distant Gilgit, where its troops were engaged in ever recurring wars with the border tribes. For months the lightly clad peasantry of the valley were employed in transporting the fruits of their own labours over deserts and snows, an unrequited toil. *Sic vos non vobis* would apply equally to all the works of this unfortunate people. The consequent dreadful loss of life, which spread desolation among the homes of the valley, afforded a fine specimen of Cashmere rule. Such is its mode of taxation, and such its commissariat in the field! And so with the commercial relations of the Cashmere government. It can still smother the

trade of a whole continent for the sake of enriching a few officials. Two figures are sufficient to shew the effects of the system, and to prove that all the barbarism and anarchy of Afghanistan and its tribes are not such a deadly obstacle to commerce as the tender mercies of the Cashmere Raj. The trade of India with Central Asia takes two routes, that of the Afghan passes, and that of Ladak, The former amounts to £621,918 per annum, the latter to £28,604, according to the official statement in Mr Davies' Trade Report. Thus can the natural advantage of a shorter route from mart to mart be neutralised and reversed by the noiseless malpractices of a feudatory government, even though it enter the lists of mis-rule against so formidable a rival as the wild and bloody disorder of the Afghan States.—*Friend of India.*

CASHMERE TREATY.

TREATY between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Golab Singh of Jummo on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharajah Golab Singh in person.

Article 1.—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharajah Golab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated on the eastward of the River Indus, and westward of the River Ravee, including Chumba and *excluding Lahoul*, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

Article 2.—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Golab Singh, shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Golab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

Article 3.—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharajah

Golab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nānukshāhee), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year A.D. 1846.

Article 4.—The limits of the territories of Maharajah Golab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5.—Maharaja Golab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6.—Maharaja Golab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7.—Maharaja Golab Singh engages never to take, or retain, in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8.—Maharaja Golab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of articles 5, 6, and 7 of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

Article 9.—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Golab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10. — Maharaja Golab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Golab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Since the Pamphlet was printed, a gentleman has written to me from the Punjaub, where he has resided sixteen years. He knows Cashmere and its people well, and says :—

“ Affairs in Cashmere are only growing worse and worse. That government is a disgrace to ours. Year by year is English honour trailed in the dust through its means. Were but an hundredth part known at home, the country would be moved from one end to the other ! ”