

were some further on. Their locality must, therefore, be very near that which has been visited by Dr. Livingstone.

2.—*Letter from Mr. FREDERICK DREW to SIR RODERICK MURCHISON, on the Death of Mr. HAYWARD.*

“Jummoo, near Sealkote,
“21st Dec., 1870.

“DEAR SIR RODERICK MURCHISON,

“I am sure you will be anxious to learn all that can be known about Mr. Hayward's death; and I am glad to be able to give you some particulars that probably have not yet reached you. I was in Baltistan when the news of the event which has caused so much regret to all Hayward's friends, among whom I count myself, reached the Maharaja of Kashmir, and he sent orders for me to go to Gilgit, and make a thorough investigation into the circumstances: this I did to the best of my power, and have just now returned to Jummoo. I wrote a full report of all I could learn, which report the Maharaja has sent to the Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, so it may reach you through Government; still I am desirous to let you know the result of enquiries in Gilgit without any delay.

“No doubt Mr. Hayward gave you a full account of his first journey to Yāsīn; you will therefore have heard of the friendly way in which Mir Walli received him that first time, and will have seen how completely Mr. Hayward believed in him. Those more used to the two-facedness and the avarice of the people of those parts—developed to an extreme in their rulers—doubted the sincerity of Mir Walli's friendship, and saw cause enough for his civility in the presents given and in his hope for more afterwards, as well as in the wish that he had to make a political use of Mr. Hayward. I did not meet Mr. Hayward between his two journeys to Yāsīn—having missed him at Sirinagar by but a day; but I heard from him by letter, and heard from others, of much that he had experienced. It was clear that he had put away from him all fear of the Yāsīn people, and was most sanguine of the success of his expedition.

“As all details of his last journey will be welcome to you, I will now give the particulars I learnt.

“Mr. Hayward reached Gilgit on the 7th July, and left it for Yāsīn on the 9th; he had much more baggage than on his first journey—then fourteen coolies carried the camp, now thirty-three were required,—and he had these servants:—a munshi, a khansaman (Kashmiri), a chuprasi (Kashmiri), and two Pathāns, whom he met and took into his service at Gilgit. I believe that he reached Yāsīn in five days, that is on the 13th July.

“For what happened after his crossing the Maharaja's border, we have evidence of various degrees of trustworthiness. There is the statement of Wazīr Rahmat, a former acquaintance of mine, who was Mir Walli's wazīr, but who, after the murder, fell away from him, and compassed his expulsion from Yāsīn. This we have in two forms—by a letter and by word of mouth from an agent he sent in to Gilgit; then there are some letters written to us by Imān-ul-Mulk, Raja of Chitrāl; and again there is the information got by messengers whom we sent to Yāsīn. From these materials a connected view of the last events in Mr. Hayward's life can be made out, and one which, from the corroboration of statements derived from various sources, deserves, I think, considerable confidence.

“Wazīr Rahmat says, that on Mr. Hayward approaching Yāsīn, Mir Walli went some miles out to meet him, and, on coming within hail, got off his horse; but that his visitor did not pay the same respect, but remained mounted

till quite near, and that Mr Walli was somewhat offended at this. We have no corroboration of this statement of Rahmat's, and if anything of the sort did occur, we may be sure that it was simply from Mr. Hayward not knowing what exactly was expected of him; nor is it likely that this of itself would have led to any serious consequences. Mr. Hayward pitched his camp in Yāsīn, and stayed there two days, Mr Walli coming twice or thrice to visit him within that time. During one of these visits, Mr Walli asked what had been done in the matter of getting his right—or supposed right—to Gilgit recognised by the Governor-General, for which purpose he had sent an agent to the Punjab, in company with Mr. Hayward. Nothing having been effected in this (the agent himself not having stayed to prosecute the suit), Mr. Hayward could not give any answer that would be satisfactory to people unused to the delay necessary for careful investigation and consideration. Mr Walli, it seems, had built much hope on Mr. Hayward having originally undertaken to represent his case, and was proportionally disappointed at nothing having resulted from it.

“Then we hear, through Rahmat, that Mr. Hayward asked for coolies to carry his camp to Badakshān by the straight road, while Mr Walli desired him to take the way to Chitrāl, whence he might be passed on by the Chitrāl Rāja. It seems that the Rāja of Chitrāl had given orders for him to be sent on to him. Certainly he wished to see him; and on this occasion Mr Walli (who had on the first visit dissuaded him from going there) pressed him to go there, probably thinking it better that the Englishman should go to Chitrāl and part with his goods there than pass altogether out of the family territories,—or perhaps he had, since the first visit, received such orders about this as he dared not disobey. This argument between the two was conducted with a good deal of warmth. The accounts say—but I am unwilling to believe them—that Mr. Hayward called Mr Walli by a hard name that he was likely to resent. However, Mr. Hayward kept to his purpose (which was to go by as straight a road as possible to Pāmīr), and Mr Walli gave in and provided coolies; and probably then only, when he saw the coveted goods going out of his reach, formed the design against Mr. Hayward's life.

“The progress of the camp was slow: the marches made were—Saudi, 3 miles; Hundar, 5 miles; Darkūt, 6 or 8 miles. It is not unlikely that delays were purposely interposed; at the same time it must be remembered that carrying heavy loads is by no means a practice in that part of the world, and the coolies very likely refused to go beyond their own bounds, and so caused delay too. I reckon that Mr. Hayward's camp reached Darkūt on the afternoon of the 17th July.

“Mr Walli having made up his mind to plunder and murder his guest—the man who had done his best to serve him—sent Shāh Dīl Imān, one of his relations, and Kūkālī, a man well known in Yāsīn, with, some say, as many as sixty men. These reached Darkūt in the evening of the same day that saw Mr. Hayward arrive there; and the collection of so many in a small village aroused attention, and—although Shāh Dīl Imān said he had been sent to see Mr. Hayward safe over the Pass—even suspicion. There had been yet another cause for doubt in the mind of Mr. Hayward, in some words which Mr Walli had let fall to one of the Pathans, when trying to persuade him to leave his master's service; so much influence had these doubts on Mr. Hayward that he sat up all that night prepared, expecting an attack. The headman of the Darkūt village describes him as sitting in his tent, with the candle burning, with guns ready on the table before him, and writing, but in his left hand holding a pistol. No doubt, he thought that if he could tide over the danger of this night he might escape free, for close in front of his camp was the ridge, the boundary of Mr Walli's country, which crossing in the next march he would have reached Badakshān territory, out of reach of Mr

Walli's treachery, and have had new countries before him to find his way through.

"It was not, however, to be. The watch kept certainly deterred his enemies from an attack during the night; but these people are masters in the kind of warfare that consists in surprises: they waited their time, and when, by sunrise, Mr. Hayward, thinking all danger over, lay down to take an hour's rest before the day's march, their opportunity had come. The position of the camp helped their design: it was at a little distance from the village, in a small garden at the edge of a thick pine-forest; in this they could collect their men, and even stand them near to the tents without observation. It seems that they did this on finding out that the object of their wiles was asleep, and then Kūkalī entered the tent with a rope, picked up from among the baggage, and while others came on and held in check and bound the servants, he, aided by more, seized Mr. Hayward and bound his hands behind him; and then they led both him and his servants away from the camp into the forest, for a distance of a mile or more, Mr. Hayward on the way offering them a ransom for his life. When they had come that distance they stopped, and Shāh Dīl Imān, drawing his sword, cut him down with a blow on the neck that must have killed him at once; and this was while he was in the act of saying a prayer. At the same time four out of the five servants were killed close by; the bodies were covered up with heaps of stones, and so left.

"The evidence of most of this that has been recounted comes from two separate and independent sources: first, Wazīr Rahmat's letters, and the statement of the agent present; secondly, the account of the head-man of Darkūt, given to Gufār Khan, our sepoy, who went to that place afterwards. That, however, you may understand how it was that we received these accounts, I must tell what next occurred in Yāsīn.

"Wazīr Rahmat was not in the murder, and he says that he tried to dissuade Mīr Walli from it. Now Mīr Walli designed, first of all, to keep the whole thing a secret from the Maharaja's authorities and the British, and in Rahmat he saw a channel by which the news might ooze out; it was natural, too, that he should be incensed at his wazīr being less guilty than himself: hence he designed to kill him. But in Rahmat he met his match. Getting private news of the plot, he sent his son to Mastīj, the Rāja of which place was Pahlwān Bahādūr, who equally with Mīr Walli was tributary to the Chitrāl Rāja; there a scheme was made to displace Mīr Walli, and, with the consent of Rāja Man-ul-Mulk, Pahlwān Bahādūr brought a force of 500 men to Yāsīn before Mīr Walli had time to prepare a resistance; so he fled away by the Darkūt road, and Pahlwān Bahādūr reigns in his place with Rahmat as wazīr.

"Mr. Hayward's munshī, who had been kept prisoner up to this time, was killed by order of Mīr Walli, when on his flight he reached the same village of Darkūt.

"No sooner was the new state of things established than agents came to Gilgit to apprise the Maharaja's officials of the change, saying that Rāja Man-ul-Mulk had deposed Mīr Walli in punishment for his having murdered the Englishman. The agents from Chitrāl and Yāsīn were in Gilgit when I reached the place. Rahmat's special messenger I at once sent back, having got from him (not without taking advantage of his natural cupidity) a promise that he would send in Mr. Hayward's body; with him I sent Gufār Khān, who went to the place of the murder, uncovered all the bodies from the loose stones, buried on the spot those of four of the Muhammadans who had been killed, the fifth not being found, and brought Mr. Hayward's body into Gilgit, where it reached me on the evening of the 26th October. The next morning we buried him in a garden near Gilgit Fort. A detachment of troops fired three volleys over his grave.

“Gufār Khān’s whole statement is of such interest that I send it in full with this letter; I think you will be glad to hear that the Maharaja has promoted him to the rank of Jemadar, and has otherwise rewarded him.

“They at the same time gave over to Gufār Khān a few of Mr. Hayward’s goods, declaring that the rest were taken away by Mir Walli in his flight. Those we recovered will be made over to the Punjab Government: they include some books, loose papers, and maps. The papers I looked over, to see if anything were written that might give help in finding out the cause of the murder, but there was nothing of late date.

“You will like to know the last news of Mir Walli. He was pursued as far as the Darkūt Pass, but got away, with the loss of a few followers, to Badakhshān; soon afterwards, however, he turned from there, and came to Chitrāl and asked forgiveness of the Rāja, and he has so far received it that he is now allowed to live there. We have sent back the Chitrāl Vakeel with a demand that he should be given up; but it is hardly likely to be agreed to, though Iman-ul-Mulk may insist on his leaving Chitrāl. There are few places where he would be safe from the influence both of the British Government and of the Maharaja; but one there is—Swāt, and there I think it likely he will take refuge.

“Mr. Hayward’s death produced much regret among all who had met him—I speak of the people of the countries he had lately passed through. Many were the enquiries made of me as to the truth of the reports of it that had spread, and deep was the pain which my answers caused. All who had had intercourse with him took pleasure in praising him for his courage and energy and for his pleasant manners.

“The Maharaja desires me to say that if any of Mr. Hayward’s friends or the Royal Geographical Society desire any inscription to be placed over his grave, and will communicate it, he will be glad to have the tablet executed in India, and will direct that the stone be properly placed. I put a wooden cross at the head of the grave till something else should replace it.*

“Believe me to be sincerely yours,

“FREDERICK DREW.”

Statement of GUFAR KHAN, Sepoy (now Jemadar) of the Maharajah’s Irregulars.

“I went to Yāsīn with Mushan, in order to get Mr. Hayward’s corpse and obtain as much information as I could about his death.

“I will tell first what I heard from Wazīr Rahmat. He said that Mr. Hayward showed Mir Walli all the things he had brought for presents for the various chiefs he would meet, but that he gave not a thing to Mir Walli himself. Mir Walli even arranged that he should come to his durbar, thinking him more likely to give a present on that occasion; and he came, but there also made no present. Rahmat, as well as others, repeated what has before been told about Mr. Hayward using a hard word to Mir Walli. He said that Mir Ghāzi, Mir Walli’s relation, was one of those who tried to dissuade him from committing the murder; Sūjā or Sūjāk and Shāh Dil Imān were among those who prompted and advised him to the deed; that after the murder Mir Walli became silent, said hardly a word to any one, even up to the time of his flight.

“Now I will tell what I heard from the Lumbardar of Darkūt with whom I had free communication:—

* The Council of the Royal Geographical Society have availed themselves of this offer, and a suitable inscription, drawn up by Sir Henry Rawlinson, has been sent, through Mr. Drew, to the Maharaja.—[Ed.]

“The sahib came to Darkūt in the afternoon, and encamped in a garden, close to which is the forest. Shāh Dil Imān came the same evening with sixty men; he went to the house of one Rustam, who asked why he had come with so many people, to which he answered that he had orders to see the sahib safe across the Pass. There being some communication between these new comers and the coolies who were with the sahib, it reached even to his munshi's ears that there was cause for apprehension, and he informed his master. That night the sahib did not eat any dinner, but only drank tea, and sat watching the whole night in his chair with guns and pistols before him, and a pistol in his left hand while he wrote with the other. In the morning, after taking a cup of tea, he lay down for an hour or two's sleep. Shāh Dil Imān having sent a man to see, and found that he was sleeping, took his men by a round to the ground in the forest above where the tent was, and then himself coming, asked the Khausanman if he were asleep: on his being told that he was, Kūkālī entered the tent. One of the Pathan servants asked what he was about, and took up a stick to stop him, but others coming round and keeping the Pathan back, Kūkālī went into the tent and caught the sahib by the throat, and, more at that moment coming in, put a noosed rope round his neck, and, with the same rope, tied his hands behind him. The servants were all overpowered and bound at the same time. Then they brought the sahib, thus bound, away from the village into the forest for a distance of a mile or a mile and a half; and as they were going he tried to induce them to spare his life by promises, first of what was in his boxes,—but that, they jeeringly said, was theirs already; then of a larger ransom to be obtained from the English country; and, lastly, he said he would write to the Bukshee at Gilgit for money for them. This, however, they would not listen to. Then the sahib asked for his munshi to be brought, but he had been taken off in another direction, and could not quickly be found; then they took the ring off his finger, and then Shāh Dil Imān drew his sword, on which the sahib repeated some words which seemed like a prayer, and Shah Dil Imān felled him with one blow. Then Kūkālī brought the sahib's own sword, and said he should like to try it; so he struck a blow with it on the sahib's body. It was 8 or 9 in the morning when the murder was committed.”

“Thus far the lumbardar. As to my own doings; they gave me a horse to go on to Darkūt. Arriving there in the evening, I at once went to the place they pointed out to me, and saw the heaps of stones that covered the bodies. They would not tell me which was that of Mr. Hayward; but I saw protruding from one a pair of hands crossed and bound together, the palms turned upwards, and at once I recognised them as those of the sahib, not by the colour, for that was changed, but by their form. Clearing the stones away, I saw by the hair and beard that this was indeed the sahib's body; so I brought it into the village. The rope round the neck had been severed by the sword-cut, but the hands were still bound behind. The next day I opened four other heaps, which covered the bodies of Mr. Hayward's servants. Those who had been killed at the same time as their master had been much cut about, but the body of the munshi (who was killed later) had but one wound, in the back of the neck. His body was found in the village, not in the forest. These four I buried on the spot; the sahib's remains I have brought to you in Gilgit. The Kashmiri chuprasi I could find no trace of, though the people said he had been killed at the same place.

“I have learnt also that there was really a pursuit of Mir Walli by Pahlwān Bahādur's people. On hearing of the Mastūj force being on the way, Mir Walli went to Darkūt with all his family and goods. He stayed there two nights; and, during the time he was there, he ordered Mr. Hayward's munshi (whom having kept up to that time, he had now brought with him) to be killed, and that order was carried out. Then, the troops coming more quickly

than he expected, he had to fly suddenly; his family were captured (and afterwards sent to Chitrāl), while three of his men, being wounded, were taken prisoners. These three have since, with the family of one of them, been sold to the Badakhshi traders.

"I was detained for three days at Yāsīn on my return, the authorities making excuses about coolies not being ready, &c.; but their real object was to keep me until orders came from Chitrāl. I believe that orders did come for me to be allowed to return with the sahib's body; for now they have mounted a post all the way to Chitrāl, and news comes and goes quick.

"Before leaving, I got Pahlwān Bahādur and Rahmat to set free a sepoy of ours, named Bahādur, who had been captured when Gilgit was attacked nineteen years ago, and had been kept in slavery for years there and in Badakhshān. At last he had been set free by Jahāndār Shah of Badakhshān; but on coming through Yāsīn had been robbed and imprisoned by Mir Walli, and kept there till now. Pahlwān Bahādur and Rahmat agreed to let him go, but Rahmat's brother—to whom he now belonged—objected strongly. That difficulty, however, was got over, and I have brought him with me.

"They also handed over to me the following goods of Mr. Hayward's—these I have brought with me too:—a pony, a tent, the legs of a table, some books and papers,—and they declared on oath that there is nothing more in Yāsīn that belonged to him."

The CHAIRMAN said that, as far as he had means of forming an opinion, this report might be depended upon. Mr. Drew was a well-known person. He was not in the service of the British Government, but in that of the Maharajah of Caashmere; and of course a great deal depended upon his trustworthiness. Rumours had indeed been spread in India that these accounts were not to be believed, and that the Caashmere authorities were in some way connected with Mr. Hayward's death, but up to the present time, he (the Chairman) had not seen any evidence of a nature to incriminate the Caashmere authorities. Still in a matter of this sort it was well to suspend judgment until we obtained the official accounts.

Sir DONALD M'LEOD (late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab), on being invited by the Chairman to state his opinion, said he had known Mr. Drew for some five or six years and had always found him to be a gentleman of perfectly honourable character. So far as his information went, he was a thoroughly trustworthy person.

The following Paper was then read:—

Report on the Kaieteur Waterfall in British Guiana. By CHARLES B. BROWN.

[EXTRACTS.]

DURING the last expedition of the Geological Survey, whilst descending the Potaro River, in April, I came quite unexpectedly upon a large fall, which the Indian guides called "Kaieteur." I was much struck with the beauty and grandeur of this fall, and regretted extremely that I could not remain longer to make proper observations of its height, width, &c. I had, therefore, to content myself with mere estimations, which at best are exceedingly doubtful and unsatisfactory.

His Excellency Governor Scott, deeming it advisable to have the