

the theatre in Albemarle-street is undergoing interior repair and change.

Recollecting that in the year 1868 we did once assemble in the Theatre of the Royal School of Mines, I directed the issue of the cards of the session with which you have all been furnished ; and, subject to the approbation of the Board of Privy Council, under which I serve, I once more greet the Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society in assembling in the establishment of which I am the Director.

The cause of the temporary change of the day of meeting has been explained on each of the cards sent round to the Fellows and in public advertisements. This change extends only to Christmas, by which time, I am assured, the Great Hall of the London University will be at our disposal. I have only further to announce that I trust the fitting up and arrangement of our new building in Savile Row will be completed by the end of the session, so that the transport of our maps and books thereto may be effected during the summer recess. By that time the large new Map-room, to be constructed in the rear of the house, and of which plans have been drawn up in accordance with the views of Mr. James Fergusson, who has taken the most active part in this work, will be completed ; and I rejoice to add, that this room can be readily adapted for our ordinary evening meetings, though with some restrictions as to the admission of visitors, if, at any future time, we should find it suitable to meet in our own premises. It is, indeed, a grateful reflection for your old President to have seen the Society so augmented in numbers and popularity as to have accumulated within itself the means by which this stable result can be carried out.

The following letters were then read :—

1. *Letter from MR. G. W. HAYWARD to COLONEL SHOWERS.*

“ Camp Roshan, between Gilgit and Yassin,  
“ MY DEAR COLONEL SHOWERS, “ 17th February, 1870.

“ As you are good enough to take an interest in the exploring expedition to the Panir, and expressed a wish to hear of my progress to Gilgit, I am glad to be able to let you know that I am on the point of entering Yassin, which place is only some 12 miles distant from my present camp. Some delay was experienced in Gilgit, and an advance to Yassin was for some time doubtful ; but at length a favourable answer was received to my application to Meer Wulli Khan, the chief of the country, to be allowed to visit Yassin. He has sent an official to escort me in, and comes out himself to-morrow morning to meet me *en route*. Judging from his letter and friendly expressions, a favourable reception seems certain. He is related by marriage to Aman-i-Moolk, the chief of Chitral, and if I can obtain the latter's good will through Meer Wulli Khan, there should be no great difficulty in penetrating to the Karakul.

Should the Yassin chief further my views, and render assistance as far as Wakhan, it will not be imperative to visit Chitral, since his vakeel mentions a very good route leading direct from Yassin *viâ* the Darkote Pass to Gual in the basin of the Oxus, thence to Shignan, Roshnan, Derwaz, Kolab, Hissar, and Shahr-i-Sabz. This route entirely avoids Chitral. After crossing the pass at the head of the Yassin Valley, it would appear that one gets into a valley giving exit to one of the branches of the Upper Oxus. A road branches to the east, *viâ* Sarikol, to Yarkund, and the direct road leads down into Shignan. Our maps must be very faulty in their delineations of the country about the Pamir and the junction of the Hindu-Kush and Karakoram chains. The watershed between Wakhan and Sarikol, must be more to the eastward than is represented, for the passes from the head of Yassin and the Gilgit River lead into the basin of the Oxus, and not into the Sarikol district, as Yarkund and Kashgar are more to the eastward than given in our maps, so the eastern crest of the Pamir range should be found to correspond, and I believe it will be found to follow a meridian of about  $75^{\circ}$  of east longitude. There appears, however, to be no probability of effecting an immediate advance beyond Yassin, as the passes are deep in snow, and will not be open for two or three months. After arranging with the Yassin chief for the onward journey, it will be advisable to return to Gilgit, or perhaps even to Kashmir, until the road is open, for it would be impolitic to linger in such risky ground close to Chitral, the goodwill of whose chief cannot as yet be depended upon.

"Gilgit itself is a place of some 200 houses, situate on the right bank of the river, rising in two branches in the angle formed by the junction of the Karakoram and Hindu-Kush ranges, and joining the Indus near Boonji. It is in lat.  $35^{\circ} 55' 2''$  N., long.  $74^{\circ} 22'$  E., and 5025 feet above the sea. The Kashmir authorities have a large fort occupied by some 900 men, commanding the valley, and the Maharajah's territory may be said to end at Gahkuch, some 24 miles beyond, in the direction of Yassin. They are not on the best of terms with the Hunza-Nagar, and Yassin people, whose territories they have several times invaded, but they have invariably been driven back after suffering heavy losses. Hunza itself appears to be impregnable to them on account of the difficult approach through the mountainous country. They have twice attempted it, but have fled back to Gilgit precipitately, and suffered heavily. The Hunza tribe, mustering about 700 to 800 fighting men, successfully defend the narrow pathway and roll down rocks upon their foes. A habitual and constant feud has thus been engendered; for the tribes, being to a man rigid Mahomedans, regard with no friendly eyes the Hindus, to which caste most of the Kashmir troops belong. It is probable that the Kashmir troops will again advance to the head of the valleys, and endeavour to annex Hunza and Yassin, or will have to retire to their natural frontier the Indus. They will hardly be able to hold Hunza should they seize it, for they have tried the onward movement, and have even reached Yassin, but have been driven back after burning and plundering as many villages as they were able.

"The inhabitants of Dardistan, in which may be included Gilgit, Chilas, Hunza-Nazar, Dilail, and Upper Chitral, are a fine good-looking athletic race, and the difference of race is at once perceived on crossing the Indus. Light and dark brown hair, with grey, hazel, and often blue eyes, are seen. The women have a more English cast of countenance than any I have yet seen in Asia. Black hair is the exception amongst them, light-brown locks prevailing. The country, such as is under cultivation, is fertile and productive, but the population is scanty. Pray excuse a somewhat hurried note, as I am much pressed for time, and remain,

"Yours very truly,

"GEORGE W. HAYWARD."

## 2. Letter from MR. G. W. HAYWARD to SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON.

"Camp, Yassin, 14th March, 1870.

"MY DEAR SIR RODERICK MURCHISON,

"It is with much pleasure I find myself able to address you from Yassin, which place I have safely reached from Gilgit.

"In order to explain exactly the amount of progress made up to date, it is necessary to briefly mention what I have been doing during the winter months.

"After leaving Kashmir last year, I marched steadily to Gilgit *viâ* Skardo and the Indus Valley. The representations made to me by the Maharajah of Kashmir's officials of the state of the Gilgit frontier, offered little hope of my being able to penetrate to the Pamir Steppe by this route; but arrived at Gilgit, I found matters not nearly so hopeless as I had been led to anticipate. It was at once apparent the Maharajah's officials in Gilgit were anything but pleased at the appearance of an Englishman on that frontier with the ostensible intention of penetrating further, to do which it would be imperative to make friends of the different tribes, their enemies. And in this has lain the great difficulty, —to go through either hostile camp, as it were, and still keep friends with both. I sent presents and a letter to Meer Wulli Khan, the Yassin chief, asking to be allowed to visit his country, feeling sure that if they would but let me come on I should succeed in winning their goodwill. At first the Yassin people were excessively suspicious as to the motives of an Englishman wishing to visit a country where, I believe, no European has ever been before, and no doubt were inclined to connect my presence in Gilgit with some further aggression on the part of the Maharajah of Kashmir. However, the chief decided to let me come; and I can only say that I have been most well received and hospitably treated. I have now just returned from an exploring expedition up to near the Darkote Pass, leading over into Wakhan and the basin of the Oxus, as well as to the foot of the Moshabur Pass leading over into the Mastuch and Chitral valleys. Both passes are choked with snow, and will be impracticable for laden animals for two or three months yet, while the Pamir Steppe itself can scarcely be free from snow until the summer is well advanced, perhaps not before the end of June.

"I may mention my having received two apparently friendly letters from Raja Aman-i-Moolk, the ruler of Chitral, expressing pleasure at my having made the acquaintance of Meer Wulli Khan, the Yassin chief, his son-in-law, and hoping I will visit Chitral, in which case he offers to do his best to forward my onward journey to Badakhshan or Jellalabad. There is reason, however, to be suspicious of the sincerity of his good intentions. The tribes here, —that is the inhabitants of Chitral, Yassin, and Hunza,—entertain the most bitter feelings of enmity against the Maharajah's rule in Gilgit, and the Chitral ruler would probably like to get an Englishman into his power, to be able to play him off against the aggressions of the Dogras in the Gilgit Valley. The Yassin chief, at any rate, has begged me not to think of going into Chitral at present.

"I have explored nearly all the valleys in the basin of the Yassin and Gilgit rivers, and the geographical features which I have already discovered may be said to be comprised in the following details :—

"The watershed between Wakhan and Sarikol, *i. e.* the eastern crest of the Pamir, lies some 70 miles to the eastward of the position represented on our maps, since all the passes at the head of the Yassin and Karambar valleys lead over into the basin of the Oxus, and not into that of the Yarkand River, or the Sarikol district. The Warchagam (or Yassin) River rises in three branches; the most easterly one in the Darkote Pass, the others at the head of the Laspur and Moshabur valleys. Below Yassin the Ghirza River, rising in the Shundur

Pass (leading to Mastuch and Chitral) comes down past Shevare and effects a junction. This stream also receives two considerable tributaries, one from the head of the Swat Valley, the other down the Baltibur Valley, up which lies a route conducting to the country of Tangir. The united stream flows to the E.N.E. past Roshan, and then suddenly turns to the south-east. Above Gahkuch, 40 miles from Gilgit, the Ish-Kaman River joins from down the Karambur Valley, up which, at five days' journey distance, is the most easterly pass leading into Wakhan or the basin of the Oxus. There is a large lake at the head of this valley, called Karambar Sar, which has been formed by glaciers falling and blocking up the bed of the stream. An immense amount of water has accumulated, and the inhabitants of the Gilgit Valley fear that should a very hot summer ensue the lake may burst its bounds, and cause much destruction through the glaciers melting. An inundation from a similar cause took place some nine years ago, and the marks of the devastation then caused are still distinctly visible. The Hunza-Nagar stream joins the Gilgit River four miles below the Gilgit fort. Its two chief branches rise in the Shingshal Pass and at the head of the Garmasai Valley. There are some fine snowy peaks in the Moshabur ridge between the head of the Chitral and Yassin valleys. My measurements of some of them give altitudes of from 21,600 to 23,400 feet above the level of the sea. Our maps mark a town of Kashkar near the head of the Chitral Valley, but there is no such place. The *whole country* is called Kashkar. Yassin, Pouyal, and Mastuch (the districts of) are known as Bura (or Upper) Kashkar; and Chitral as Kuz (or Lower) Kashkar. The position of Yassin itself I have found to be in lat.  $36^{\circ} 22' 38''$  N., long.  $73^{\circ} 35' 15''$  E., and 7765 feet above the sea. The Gilgit Valley varies in elevation from 5000 to 5600 feet. The wheat produced is particularly fine and large grained, while the country is rich in vineyards and orchards of apricot-trees. Ruined villages and waste land, however, meet the eye everywhere,—the unhappy results of the incessant feuds waged between the mountaineers (who are to a man Mahomedans) and the Dogra troops of the Kashmir Rajah. The atrocities practised by the Dogras are a disgrace to a feudatory of the British crown. During their raid into Yassin territory, in 1863, they indiscriminately killed innocent women and children. From 1200 to 1400 of the poor Yassin villagers were massacred by the foulest treachery and cruelty. A few days ago I visited the scene of the massacre, and after the lapse of seven years have myself counted 147 still entire skulls, nearly all those of women and children.

“The River Indus would seem to have a course from 25 to 30 miles more to the northward (than represented on our maps) after turning westward below Boonji and below Chilás. The streams it receives on its right bank are the Kanbari, Dilail, and Tangir rivers; the countries of Dilail and Tangir intervening from Swat to Gilgit. Of these streams the Dilail River is the largest, and joins the Indus some 27 miles below Chilás at Sazeen.

“As the passes leading on to the Pamir cannot be practicable until May or June, I may find it advisable to return to Gilgit and there wait for the proper moment to advance, for a prolonged stay here is, to say the least of it, somewhat risky. The Yassin chief has, however, promised to assist me—will even furnish an armed party to accompany me on the Pamir, should I wish it. I don't think there is any necessity to avail myself of this offer; but loading up provisions here for a three months' campaign should ensure success, as the expedition will thus be independent of the Kirghiz.

“I am very sanguine of being able to thoroughly explore the Pamir Steppe during the summer of 1870, for everything promises well for the eventual success of the expedition.

“I greatly wish to accomplish a journey through, and so home by Russia; but if forced to return, shall still endeavour to regain India by way of Chitral

and Cabul. A visit to Chitral could not fail to be one of great interest. The Yassin and Chitral chiefs claim descent from Alexander of Macedon, through the kings of Khorasan. I am in hopes of being able to procure a couple of Siah Posh Kafirs to accompany me; so, if unable to enter Kafiristan, I still hope to get hold of their language.

"I trust the Geographical Society were satisfied with my former maps and reports, and assuring you no pains or labour shall be spared to ensure success on the Pamir,

"I remain, my dear Sir Roderick Murchison,

"Yours very sincerely,

"GEORGE W. HAYWARD."

### 3. *Letter from Mr. G. W. HAYWARD to COLONEL SHOWERS.*

"MY DEAR COLONEL SHOWERS,

"Murree, 27th April, 1870.

"You will be surprised to see from the above address that I am back again in the Punjab. You will perhaps conclude that I have failed in Yassin; but, on the contrary, everything promises well for the final success of the Pamir expedition. Briefly to explain my presence here, I went to Yassin, was most hospitably received and well treated, and have the satisfaction of having established a friendship with the Yassin people. The courtesy and bearing of the chief, Meer Wulli Khan, was quite beyond what I expected to meet with in Yaghistan. Of course the Kashmir officials were anything but pleased at my success, and secretly did everything they could to prevent my going; but the Yassin chief decided to allow me to visit his territory, and I felt sure that once arrived there I could win his goodwill. Having got the chief on my side is a most important step in my project; and although not all the difficulties, yet certainly one of the greatest has been overcome. While in Yassin I received two letters from Raja Aman-i-Moolk, the Chitral ruler (Meer Wulli Khan's father-in-law), expressing pleasure at my having made the acquaintance of his son-in-law, and hoping I would visit Chitral when the passes opened, in which case he would do his best to further my journey to Badakhshan. Apparently his letter was friendly; but as the Yassin chief begged I would not think of visiting Chitral, at any rate at present, I began to think that Aman-i-Moolk would probably like to get an Englishman into his power, in order to play him off against the aggression of the Maharajah of Kashmir in the Gilgit Valley. I went off exploring and shooting up to the foot of the Moshabur Pass, leading over into the head of the Chitral Valley, and also the Darkote Pass, leading over into Wakhan, the basin of the Oxus; and it was evident the passes would be impracticable for laden animals until June. Thinking it dangerous to linger in such uncertain ground until the passes opened, I made every arrangement for a second visit in May, and, bidding a temporary farewell to my Yassin friends, returned to Gilgit. Most fortunately I did so, for the Maharajah's officials in Gilgit (to serve their own purposes) had caused a report to be spread that I had been plundered in Yassin (mark, I was particularly well treated), and had sent off orders to Astor for the whole of the Dogra forces there (from 2000 to 3000 men) to march at once to Gilgit for the purpose of invading Yassin. My return to Gilgit stopped them, and they hurried back to Astor, but not before I had ascertained the truth of the movement. Comment on such an act of faithlessness would be unnecessary: had they invaded Yassin, such an act would have been fatal to the whole Pamir expedition. The Yassin people could but have connected my presence there with the aggressions of the Dogras. I left Gilgit on the 21st March, leaving my camp, horses, &c., there, and have come down double marches. We were delayed five days the Astor side of the Boorzil Pass, waiting for the weather to clear, but crossed

the pass without any accident, although we had to march waist-deep through the snow for fifty miles. We passed three nights on the snow; and further than suffering from snow-blindness, caused by the intense glare of the sun on the new snow, were fortunate in crossing a pass said to be impracticable until May. I stayed three days in Srinagur, and came down to Murree in four days from there, just too late to see the Viceroy in Rawul Pindie. I have now just returned from Pindie, and, after seeing Lord Mayo here, to-morrow hope to get away for Kashmir at once. I should be back in Yassin, and on the Pamir by the end of June at latest. The Yassin chief has promised to assist me, will even send a party of his followers with me as a protection against the Kirghiz, if I wish it. Loading up supplies for a three months' campaign at Yassin should ensure success, and I feel very sanguine of thoroughly exploring the Pamir during the summer of 1870. It was most tantalizing to get to the foot of the Darkote Pass to know that the commencement of the Bám-i-Dooneah (Roof of the World) lay just beyond the pass, and to be unable to get there yet on account of the snow.

“ I have always been of opinion that the true road from India to Yarkund is from Peshawur *via* the Chitral Valley, or from Kashmir *via* the Yassin and Gilgit valleys, and not over the Karakoram range. I am more than ever inclined to uphold the opinion since I have seen the excellent road up the Yassin Valley. The geographical features which I have discovered may be said to be comprised in the following details. I have explored nearly all the valleys in the basin of the Gilgit and Yassin rivers, the watershed between Wakhan and Sarikol, *i.e.*, the eastern crest of the Pamir lies from 60 to 70 miles more to the eastward than as given in our map, the passes at the head of the Karambar and Yassin valleys lead over into the basin of the Oxus and not into that of the Yarkund River, or the Sarikol district; the Yassin River rises in three branches, the most easterly one in the Darkote Pass, the other two at the head of the Daspur and Moshabur valleys. Below Yassin the Ghiza River, rising in the Shundur Pass (leading to Mastuch and Chitral), comes down past Shevare; this stream also receives two considerable tributaries—one from the head of the Swat Valley, the other down the Baltibur Valley—up which lies a road leading to the country of Tangir. The united stream flows to the E.N.E., past Roshan, and then suddenly turns to the south-east. Above Gabhkuch the Ish-kaman River joins down the Karambar Valley, up which, at five days' journey distance, is the most easterly pass leading over into Wakhan or the basin of the Oxus. It appears there is a large lake at the head of this valley which has been formed by glaciers falling and blocking up the valley. An immense amount of water has accumulated, and the inhabitants fear that should a very hot summer ensue the lake may burst its bounds through the glacier melting, and cause much destruction in the Gilgit Valley. An inundation from a similar cause took place nine or ten years ago, the lake bursting its bounds, and the marks of the devastation then caused are still distinctly visible in the valley. I believe the destruction of the cantonment of Nowshera may be traced to this cause, the water brought down through the Gilgit Valley having flooded the Indus and driven the Sunda River back up its bed. The Indus itself has a course of 20 to 25 miles more to the northward than delineated in our maps: after turning westward below Boonji, the streams it receives between Boonji and Balakote on its right bank are the Dilail and Tangir rivers, which countries lie between Gilgit and Swat; the Dilail River joins the Indus two days' journey below Chilas; the Hunza-Nagar stream joins the Gilgit River four miles below that place, its two chief branches rise in the Shingshal Pass and at the head of the Garmasai Valley. Yassin I found to be in lat.  $36^{\circ} 22' 38''$  N., long.  $73^{\circ} 35' 15''$  E., and 7765 feet above the sea. There are some fine snowy peaks, varying from 21,600 to 23,400 feet above the sea, in the Moshabur ridge between the heads



know exactly what ideas he went back with. If the Chitral ruler thinks he will receive justice at the hands of our Government in the matter of the aggressions of the Dogras, no doubt an Englishman would meet a favourable reception in Chitral, otherwise it would be folly to enter the country. However, about the letters, as my maps and reports cannot be ready for some days, I should be glad if you would send them at once to Sir Roderick. I am, of course, writing privately to Sir Roderick and Sir Henry Rawlinson, but have some hard work to do yet before my maps and reports are ready. It has been most gratifying to me to hear that the Geographical Society's Gold Medal has been awarded me for the Yarkund trip. By the way, General Kaufman has been instructed to receive me well in Russian Turkistan if I succeed in getting through the 'Terra Incognita' of the Pamir Steppe. Having got the Yassin chief on my side should insure that success. I will write and let you know my exact movements before leaving Kashmir, and in the mean time

"I remain,

"Yours very truly,

"GEORGE W. HAYWARD."

##### 5. Letter from Mr. G. W. HAYWARD to SIR RODERICK MURCHISON.

"MY DEAR SIR RODERICK MURCHISON,

"Kashmir, 21st May, 1870.

"A former letter of mine will have made you acquainted with the fact of my return to Kashmir from Yassin and Gilgit. The abominable treachery and bad faith of the Maharaja of Kashmir's officials in Gilgit rendered such a step on my part positively necessary to insure my own safety. Under the dread of an exposé of the atrocities they have committed across the Indus, the Dogra officials had evidently planned a systematic scheme to injure me and mar the success of my expedition. Thinking I was still in Yassin and sure to have become acquainted with all the facts of their misdeeds, or perhaps imagining I had been enabled to go on and cross the passes into Chitral or Wakhan, they caused a report to be spread that I had been plundered in Yassin, and, *professedly* to aid me, were on the point of again invading that territory, when my unexpected return to Gilgit arrested them.

"I had been more than suspicious of the sincerity of their goodwill, and when I found the passes beyond Yassin were closed by the snow, and likely to be impracticable for some months, I at once decided to return to Gilgit and wait for the proper moment to advance. My sudden return fully exposed the intentions of the Dogra officials. The treachery they meditated was so palpable as to be quite unmistakable. An invasion of Yassin whilst I was in that territory could not have been otherwise than fatal to the whole of my party, for the Yassin chief and his followers would instantly have connected the aggression with my presence there, and in the heat of the moment would have vented their indignation and anger on myself and party. Leaving my camp in Gilgit, I hurried down to Kashmir and the Punjab for the twofold purpose of making every arrangement to avail myself of the favourable opening to the Pamir Steppe offered by means of the friendship established with the Yassin people, and of representing the facts I had become acquainted with. I have accordingly sent off baggage-animals and supplies for a summer's campaign to Gilgit, and am following myself in a few days. I hope to reach Yassin in 22 days from here, and should be on Pamir Steppe in five weeks from date.

"I regret, however, to have to tell you that a letter of mine representing the atrocities committed by the Maharaja of Kashmir's troops in the countries across the Indus, with an account of their massacre of the Yassin villages in 1863, and certain comments and opinions expressed thereon, has been pub-



lished in the 'Pioneer' newspaper of May 9th. The publication of this letter is most unfortunate; and likely to interfere very much with the objects I have in view. I extremely regret that the editor of the paper in question should have thought fit to publish this letter, and the publication of it has been entirely in opposition to my wishes and instructions, while certain comments in the letter were never for one moment intended to be published in the form in which they appear in the 'Pioneer' of May 9th. The resentment aroused amongst the Maharaja's officials is very great, and it cannot be doubted they will in every way *secretly* strive to do me harm.

"Still, in the interests of geography, I feel myself bound to persevere in the enterprise; and, notwithstanding I have been strongly advised to postpone my journey, I am very loth to think of allowing myself to be diverted from the undertaking by any increased danger incurred through the resentment of the Kashmir Durbar.

"In order, however, to relieve the Royal Geographical Society from a shade of responsibility on my account, I deem it right to offer to sever all connection with the Society during the expedition I am contemplating; and though the severance of a connection so auspiciously begun will be a source of the profoundest regret to me, I am aware that before I left London it was distinctly understood that this exploration was undertaken solely at my own risk and on my own responsibility.

"However, all things considered, the prospect of success looks very fair indeed, after I shall have once reached Yassin again. Whatever resentment the Kashmir Durbar may entertain, the very fact of its being known should prove my greater safety; for the Maharaja is thus, as it were, responsible for the safe progress of the expedition.

"I am the more unwilling to give up the enterprise from the mission of Mr. Forsyth to Yarkand; as, if able to open out the shortest and best route from British territory into Eastern Turkistan—that from Peshawur *viâ* the Chitral Valley and the Pamir Steppe—it will undoubtedly be a great step, and it is for the sake of the scientific and geographical information expected as the result of my journey that I have determined to adhere to my original purpose.

"Forewarned in this case is forearmed, and, notwithstanding all there will be to contend with, I firmly believe that (D.V.) success will ultimately attend my efforts, and carry through the enterprise in safety to the end.

"I remain yours very sincerely,

"GEORGE W. HAYWARD."

SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, at the invitation of the PRESIDENT, rose and addressed the meeting as follows:—

Sir Roderick, the last time that I had occasion to address you on the subject of Mr. Hayward was under very different circumstances from the present. I then had the honour of accepting from your hands, on his behalf, the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, which had been awarded to him by the Council for his great services to geographical science in his journey to Yarkand and Kashmere, and his discoveries and surveys in the Karakoram and Kuen Luen Mountains. As far as I remember, I then described Mr. Hayward as a young man, in the full vigour of manhood, proud of his past honours, full of high hopes for the future, starting on his daring enterprise to explore the Pamir Steppes, resolved to achieve success, and with every prospect of that success before him. Now, all is changed. Mr. Hayward lies cold in death: not on the battle-field, not in Christian or hallowed soil, but under a heap of stones, on the bleak hill-side, near the crests of the Indian Caucasus, the victim of a barbarous, cold-blooded

murder. It is hard to speak coolly on a subject of this sort; it is difficult to trace with judicial care the causes which have led to such a lamentable event. I know it has been said that Mr. Hayward was wanting in discretion, in caution, in regard for his own personal safety. All that may be admitted. Disregard of his personal safety was an essential point in his character, and it was one of his chief qualifications as an explorer in unknown and savage regions. If he had his faults—and I do not dispute that he had them—he has dearly paid for them: and I think it now becomes us to remember him not as an incautious traveller, but rather as a high-minded and determined man, a skilful draughtsman, a first-rate observer, one who was gifted with indomitable energy, courage, and perseverance, one who was impelled by a sense of loyalty and by an honourable ambition to achieve the object before him. I think it is our duty to remember also the great services which he had already performed to geography, and, above all, his sad and untimely end in the cause of science and the path of duty. The universal press of India has paid its tribute to Mr. Hayward, and I would wish his merits to be appreciated by this Society, and in this country as well as in the East. I will read one brief paragraph from an Indian paper, which will show the opinion entertained of him in India. It was the first notice of his certain death, and appeared in the 'Friend of India':—

"It is now clear that he was stoned to death, with several of his friends and followers, about a day's march on the other side of Yassin; and there is no doubt that the murderer is the man who was lately chief of Yassin, and whom our brave and unfortunate countryman defended so stoutly and strove so hard to befriend. We have more to hear yet of this Mir Wulli—scoundrel!—more to hear yet of how poor Mr. Hayward died. The latter is, certainly enough, gone to the great silence, and gone with his foot to the last on the path of duty. Such a death breeds heroes, but such a murder should bring down penalties on the head of the murderer. We hope that Government will now do its duty, as Mr. Hayward did his."

Now, if the meeting would desire to hear, as I believe they will, some particulars of Mr. Hayward's death, I have the papers with me which give the most authentic details we are in possession of, and, with your permission, I will read some extracts. I wish, in the first place, to correct an impression which the meeting might entertain of the complicity of the Cashmere Government in this affair. I can assure the meeting that, as far as I have the means of judging, there is no foundation whatever for that impression. It is clear that Mr. Hayward's letter, which was published, very unfortunately, as I admit, had nothing whatever to do with the circumstances of his death; nor has there been an indication on the spot of anything but the most loyal conduct on the part of the Government of Cashmere. I think it only proper, in justice to the Maharajah, that this should be publicly stated at the commencement, because there was a *prima facie* suspicion that his death might have been owing to the underhand intrigues of the Maharajah's officers, in consequence of the publication of that letter. It must be further seen that if the publication of that letter had really led to Mr. Hayward's death, there would naturally have been a most unpleasant feeling as regards the gentlemen implicated in that publication. But it is now quite clear that the two circumstances are entirely disconnected. It is hardly necessary that I should dwell in detail on the early part of Mr. Hayward's journey. His own letters have sufficiently explained that he penetrated into Gilgit and Yassin, in February and March; but found himself unable to cross the mountains, owing to the snow and the severe climate, and accordingly returned to Cashmere. From Cashmere he again entered the mountains in June and July, and there he met his unfortunate end. There has been a good deal of investigation, which is not yet concluded, as to the particulars and manner

of his death; but the most important evidence that has come before the Government, is given by a servant of the ruler of Yassin. A few words on the political and geographical position of parties in these mountains seem here to be necessary. There are two great valleys in those mountains,—the Chitral Valley running west, and the Gilgit Valley running east. The Chitral Valley is entirely independent of Cashmere, as is Yassin also, which is the upper continuation of Gilgit. It is only the lower or Gilgit valley which is subject to the Maharajah. In the Chitral Valley the Governor is Aman-ul-Mulk. The Governor of Yassin, Meer Wali, the murderer of Mr. Hayward, is a nephew and son-in-law of the Chitral Chief. These are the two people principally concerned. When Mr. Hayward, on his last journey, came to Yassin, Meer Wali was in command. We have not yet the details of the interview which took place between Meer Wali and Mr. Hayward; but I suspect, from many circumstances, it was not satisfactory. There was a sub-governor of Yassin, under this Meer Wali, of the name of Wuzeer Rahmat. This man was evidently a great friend of Mr. Hayward's, and Meer Wali was jealous of this friendship. So far is quite certain, and I attribute the unfriendly feelings of Meer Wali to Mr. Hayward, in a great measure, to the jealousy which he thus entertained of his own Minister. I will now read extracts from the official evidence:—

“They stated that when the Sahib came to Yassin on the first occasion he gave liberal presents both to the Rajah and the people of Yassin territory, and every one was pleased with him. But when he came the second time he did not pay any attentions either to the Rajah or the people, and prepared to go away to Badakhshan. He asked for twenty-five porters, and was told in reply that porters were scarce in the country, the people of which were generally very respectable, and he could not be accommodated with so many porters. The Sahib then said sternly, and in harsh language, ‘Why do you get annoyed at being asked to furnish only so small a number of porters? When I return from Badakhshan I shall have a numerous party of Pathans with me, and a large number of porters will be required. How will you manage then?’ When the people heard these words they were exasperated. They said, ‘At present we are not the subjects of any one, and we are spoken to in such harsh language. When the Sahib returns with a force from Badakhshan, we shall have no homes left to live in.’”

That, of course, is mere gossip. I do not suppose any little dispute about porters could have led to such serious consequences; the motive power came, no doubt, from the chief.

“When Meer Wali heard what the Sahib had spoken, he assured the people and the elders that they need not distress themselves, as he had determined to get rid of the pest, *i. e.* to kill him, and would on no account let him live. He then told the people to furnish the gentleman with as many porters as he asked for, and to convey him as far as Darkote, on the Kuchal road, in the jungle. He would then take measures for killing him there. Accordingly, porters were furnished to the gentleman, and, after the latter had left, Meer Wali sent off the following men: Mahammad Rafik, Sharif (his confidential agent), Shahdil Aman, Razadil Aman, and twenty others. On the way these men learned from some of the porters who were returning after leaving their loads that the gentleman was telling his servants that he anticipated mischief from the people that night, and that they should prepare themselves to guard against it. Subsequently the gentleman had both his tents pitched, loaded his pistols and rifles, lighted candles, and sat up all night. The people seeing the Sahib on his guard, and dreading his firearms, concealed themselves. Early in the morning the gentleman and his servants were overpowered by sleep. The men now emerged from their hiding-places. Kollour and Shahdil Aman entered the tent, caught hold of the gentleman by the neck and dragged

him out of the tent. During the struggle he asked them not to kill him, and told them he would give his own weight in gold and jewels if they spared his life. But the wretches were inexorable. They fastened a rope round his neck and dragged him away to the jungle, where they stoned him to death. The murderers then carried away the gentleman's property and his servants to Yassin, and confined the gentleman's munshi in the fort. Of the property which was seized, Meer Wali gave away the cloth, &c., to the principal men and his own servants, and appropriated for himself the fire-arms and the cash."

When intelligence of this reached Chitral, the Governor, Aman-ul-Mulk, immediately sent to punish Meer Wali. He appointed another nephew, Pahlewan—whose servant makes this statement—governor of Yassin, and on his arrival Meer Wali fled.

"When the report of the approach of Raja Ghulam Mohi-ud-din's (otherwise called Pahlewan) forces arrived and Meer Wali fled, he carried away the munshi, who was confined in the fort, and killed him at the same place where the gentleman had been killed. His body is lying there. Such is the account which was given by the people to Raja Ghulam Mohi-ud-din. This account was given by Wazir Rahmat to Raja Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, and I was present at the time. Only the following articles are lying in the fort: two chairs, a clothes-box, some papers in a box," which we hope will still be recovered. "The remaining property has all been taken away by Meer Wali. The body of the gentleman is lying under the stones. The bodies of the five servants are lying where they were killed. None of them have been interred."

In answer to the question, "How many servants were with the gentleman?" the witness answered, "Five."

That is all that is important in the deposition of the confidential servant of the man who was sent from Chitral to replace the murderer. No doubt the first feeling which arises in all our breasts is the hope that vengeance may overtake Meer Wali. All I can say is, that the mark of Cain is on that man. He is doomed. Whether he will meet with his death from us, or in the wild fashion which prevails in those countries, it is impossible to say; but from the day he committed that murder he has never known an hour's safety. Immediately the information reached Chitral, forces were sent by his own uncle to drive him out of the country as an outcast. He fled at once, taking the moonshee with him, and, passing by the place where Mr. Hayward was killed, he had the moonshee also put to death there. He then escaped across the mountains into the valley of the Oxus. There he was seized, and sent back a prisoner to Chitral. The chief at Chitral said, "This man is my sister's son: I cannot give him up to be executed, but he shall not remain here;" and he drove him out of the country. Meer Wali then tried to take refuge in Cabul, but was refused an asylum; and he again entered the Chitral Valley, where, by the last accounts, he was hiding from the officers who have been sent to seize him. Depend upon it, the man is doomed, and cannot possibly survive; in fact, according to all reasonable probability, he has suffered the extreme penalty before now.

**THE PRESIDENT:** To what motives do you attribute the murder? This man had received Hayward at first with the greatest kindness, and he was induced to go into the Great Pamir Steppe entirely through his confidence in this Meer Wali. What was it that turned him?

**SIR H. RAWLINSON:** It is a point which is still unknown; it can only be guessed at.

**THE PRESIDENT:** You have entirely exonerated the Government of Cashmere; but there are persons, and I hold a letter in my hand from one, who still have their doubts about it.

**SIR H. RAWLINSON:** I can only say that in none of the letters or deposi-

tions can I find a trace of anything like complicity between the officers of the Maharajah and the local chiefs. Meer Wali, on the first occasion of Hayward's visit, was certainly very friendly to him; he also knew, I suppose, that Mr. Hayward had incurred much odium with the Seikh Government for having incautiously published a rather exaggerated account of the ill-doings of the Maharajah's officers many years before, and this ought to have still further cemented their friendship; but from some cause or other there certainly was distrust between them on this occasion. Perhaps Meer Wali suspected Hayward because he had gone away, and had remained two or three months in the confidence of the Cashmere officials. He had resided, indeed, during the months of May, June, and part of July, in Srinagar, was sent back with an escort of Sikhs, was received in Ghilgit in a friendly manner, and passed on into Yassin as the guest of the Maharajah. Meer Wali, then, may have become suspicious of him on this account in the first instance. Hayward also struck up a friendship with the Minister who was in disgrace with his master, and this may have been an additional cause of suspicion. The property, again, was an incentive to plunder; for, according to the depositions, Meer Wali did plunder the property, and I think the man's cupidity was probably the strongest of all the motives which led to this unfortunate affair. At all events, I repeat that there is not in the evidence we at present possess the slightest indication of any complicity either on the part of the Maharajah himself or of any of his officers in Mr. Hayward's murder. Mr. Hayward has done us immense service. He has not merely mapped little valleys here and there, and traced the courses of hitherto unknown rivers, but he has ascertained from personal observation what are really the great lines of communication between India and Central Asia. I have always been satisfied that the time will come when Thibet will not be the line of communication. I do not believe that there ever can be any great thoroughfare over passes of 20,000 feet, or more. The real line of communication between India and Turkistan is by the Chitral Valley. That is an open road, with no passes of any great height, and practicable throughout to wheeled carriages; and there is no sort of reason why, in order to protect trade, there should not be a line of posts from Peshawur to the valley of the Oxus. It is not nearly as difficult a country to pass through as the Kyber Pass, and it is, moreover, the direct road from India to Central Asia. Mr. Hayward has done good service in pointing this out, and he has also the credit of having pointed out another line, on the eastern side, by the Yassin Valley. He was not aware that in antiquity this was the very line by which the famous Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian entered India. But so it was. The great Chinese traveller crossed the mountains from the valley of the Oxus by the Darkote Pass, near which Mr. Hayward was murdered, descended the upper Yassin Valley, and then passed over into *Tho-li-lo*, or *Dilail*, where he found the colossal image of Buddha, subsequently following down the Swat Valley to Peshawur. We thus see that in ancient times, as at present, there were two lines leading from the Oxus to India: one by the Chitral Valley, and the other by Yassin, Dilail and Swat. I am proud of having first brought Mr. Hayward to the notice of the Society, and of having helped him on this expedition. Of course, I have felt the most bitter disappointment and pain at the result. All I can say further is, that as Mr. Hayward has died in the path of duty, I think all honour is due to him from our Society.

The PRESIDENT said in one of the last letters Mr. Hayward wrote, he expressed the greatest gratification at having been made acquainted with the fact that the gold medal of the Society had been awarded to him. The Council adjudicated the medal to him in the full belief that he would have to encounter the greatest difficulties in order to get through this region in which he had lost his life. It was satisfactory to know that the Cashmere Govern-

ment was not in any way implicated in the murder, though at first suspicion naturally fell upon them.

The following letters were afterwards read :—

*Letter from MR. FORSYTH to SIR RODERICK I. MURCHISON.*

“DEAR SIR RODERICK,

“Camp, Shadulla, 19th Sept., 1870.

“You will be anxious to hear what the Yarkand expedition has done in behalf of the Royal Geographical Society.

“The absence of the Atalik Ghazee from Kashgar has compelled me to return without effecting all the objects for which I was sent; but the opportunity of a second visit has been turned to good account by Mr. Shaw, who has been indefatigable in taking observations and determining accurately the position of several important places. I will not give secondhand any information which he will impart to you, but will merely put before you the result of my own inquiries.

“I had hoped to make great use of Major Montgomerie’s Pundit, but unfortunately it was not perfectly understood at the outset that he was to preserve a strict incognito, and when he joined my camp in Ladakh it was announced that he was a surveyor sent by the Government to survey all Yarkand. Now the Yarkand Government, though willing enough to be friends with us, was not quite prepared to admit a flood of European civilization; and to the Asiatic mind a survey is only preliminary to the advance of an army. I had therefore to send the Pundit back to India at once.

“However, in spite of this drawback, I think I have made some advance in our geographical knowledge, or, at all events, am able to put others better qualified than myself on the scent.

“I mentioned in a former letter that Marco Polo speaks of Charchan, regarding the locality of which I could find nothing in any map or modern work. He also speaks of the province of Peyn, Lop, Tangut, &c., regarding all which places our knowledge is very deficient. I will now give what I have gleaned on the subject. There is a town called Charchand, situated about 450 miles, or 30 marches, east of Khoten. The road to it skirts the foot of the Kuen Luen Range, which by all accounts, and certainly so far as we could see from the heights of Linzi Thung, extends far to the east, thus dispelling the notion that a cart-road could ever be found from Khoten to Ghartokh. Charchand is a town of some size, perhaps it has 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants, and lies in the gorge of one of many ravines on the north side of this range. There is said to be abundance of grass on the mountain-slopes, similar, I presume, to what we have observed on the slopes in Yarkand territory. Twelve rivers flow from the mountain-range to the north, and uniting, are said to form one stream and flow into Lake Lop. There was formerly, and possibly may still be, communication between Charchand and China. Merchants travel between Charchand and Khoten. Charchand is famous for its precious stones. The inhabitants are said to be Mahomedan. All this agrees with Marco Polo, it is said that the position of Charchand ‘seems to be that of Karashar. De Guignes speaks of a district named Char-chen, to the south of Hami, and near the Lake of Lop, which can be no other than this.’ I should be disposed, for the reasons already given, to place Charchand about 87° E. long. and 37° N. lat.

“Next as regards the province of Peyn. For a long time I could get no clue to this, till one man, speaking of the rivers which flow near Charchand, said they went into the *Pain Mulk* or lowlands. This at once struck me as the solution, not only of this doubtful point, but also of another which I will