

ABBREVIATIONS ETC. USED IN FOOTNOTES

Bld Barotseland

DL David Livingstone

DNB *Concise Dictionary of National Biography*. I. To 1900.

Expedition The Zambesi Expedition of David Livingstone, ed. Wallis (1956)

Fam. Letters David Livingstone: Family Letters, ed. Schapera (1959)

GSGS Map published by Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office

JRGS *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*

Lectures Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, ed. Monk (1860)

LMS London Missionary Society

Miss. Corr. Livingstone's Missionary Correspondence, ed. Schapera (1961)

Narrative Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, by D. and C. Livingstone (1865)

PP England British Parliamentary Papers (cited by year and official reference number)

Private J. Livingstone's Private Journals, ed. Schapera (1960)

Travels Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, by D. Livingstone (1857)

Page references to works cited are normally given in such forms as, e.g., *Travels*, 672 (i.e., *Travels*, p. 672), or *Fam. Letters*, ii. 166 (i.e. *Fam. Letters*, vol. ii, p. 166).

Letters written by Livingstone are cited simply by date and name of addressee, e.g. 15.xi.54 Gabriel = 'letter from Livingstone to Gabriel, 15 November 1854'.

Cross-references to specific footnotes are made in the form 'p.258.1', i.e., footnote 1 on p.258.

LIVINGSTONE, David

Livingstone's African Journal 1853-1856

London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.

INTRODUCTION

(i)

David Livingstone's journey across south-central Africa in 1853-6 has been described by an eminent authority as producing 'the greatest single contribution to African geography which has ever been made'.¹ Leaving Cape Town in June 1852, and travelling via Kuruman and the Kalahari Desert, he reached Linyanti on the Chobe River, for the second time, in May 1853, two months after his fortieth birthday.² He first explored the course of the upper Zambesi as far as the Kabompo confluence. In November he set out again from Linyanti, for Luanda on the west coast, where he arrived on 31 May 1854. On 11 September 1855 he was back in Linyanti, having left Luanda almost exactly a year before (20 September 1854). In November he began the third and longest stage of his journey, to the east coast, and on 20 May 1856, 'which wanted only a few days of being four years since I started from Cape Town',³ he at last reached the port of Quelimane. From there he sailed home in July, via Mauritius, Ceylon, and the Red Sea, and early in December he landed in England, which he had not seen since leaving sixteen years before (December 1840) to work for the London Missionary Society in Bechuanaland.

Long before its completion his journey was already being hailed as epoch-making. When news reached England of his arrival at Cassange, about 325 miles east of Luanda, *The Times* (8 August 1854) described his achievement as 'one of the greatest geographical explorations of the age'. The University of Glasgow in December 1854 conferred upon him, *in absentia*, the honorary degree of LL.D., and at the ceremony his sponsor (Dr Andrew Buchanan) said, 'The University would receive as great an honour as she conferred, when she bestowed this mark of her approbation on a man whose name would be remembered as long as the great lake and the noble rivers he has discovered, . . . and who had, perhaps, made the most important advance ever yet made towards the civilisation and the Christianisation of Africa'.⁴ In May 1855, similarly, the Royal Geographical Society awarded him its highest distinction, the Patron's Gold Medal, 'for his Explorations in Africa, between Lake

¹ J. W. Gregory, 'Livingstone as an explorer', 1913, p. 239.

² He had previously been there in the middle of 1851.

³ *Travels*, 672.

⁴ *Scottish Guardian*, 22.xii.1854, quoted in *LMS Chronicle*, vol. xix, (February) 1855, p. 37.

porary church was erected at these spots, and mass performed. When the goods were expended the fairs were broken up, presents having been given to the chiefs for the privilege of gold washing. The soil everywhere near Mushinga range produced abundance of the metal. The same sort of trade was carried on at Abutua and at Dambarari, which was situated not at the confluence of the Panyanie but some way inland or S. of Zumbo.¹ The larger pieces of metal or flakes of it were the property of the chief, and sometimes so much was demanded of the washers as tribute they were unwilling to labour.

The rocks of Mashinga are said to be quartz, but soft enough to allow the women to pound it in wooden mortars for washing. The gold I have seen exists in exceedingly minute scales, indicating its having come a long way. That found at Manica and Abutua is about the size of wheat, hence the gold-field would seem to be of a semilunar form and not very much removed from the eastern ridge. The existence of a coal field in the middle of a gold one is I believe unique in the world. And when the diggings in California and Australia are exhausted, here is another mine, combining the advantages of abundance of wood, water, coal, and provisions. Iron, too, abounds in large quantities, occurring in tears well roasted in the operations of nature, and shewing veins of the pure metal in its substance.

The people, too, are friendly, though presents are expected for the privilege of working the gold. No difficulty would be experienced by any one of a liberal turn of mind. The present Governor of Tete has put a stop to the war here four times by his well known pacific and liberal character. He has a good opinion of the people who inhabit the gold country to the south-east of this. With presents of cloth, he says, one might go anywhere. The respect which the natives have for a bargain may be seen at Zumbo, where the people told us, 'All this land on the river belongs to the Bazunga'. It is a dear way of getting land to fight for it. The little we have in Caffreland cost several millions sterling.²

21st March. The river continues rising, and is not much discoloured.

¹ For Mushinga (Mashinga), see below, p. 434; Abutua (Butua) is 'the Que Que, Gatooma, Hartley goldfield', south-west of Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, and Dambarari was in the vicinity of the modern Jumbo mine, Mazoe district, S. Rhodesia (Axelson, *Portuguese in SE Africa*, 7 n., 69 n.); the Panyanie (Panhame) joins the Zambesi from the south in lat. 15.37 S, long. 30.40 E (GSGS 4355, SD 36/4).

² A reference to the cost of the wars against the 'Caffre' (Xhosa) tribes, 1846-7 1850-3, which resulted in the annexation to Great Britain of the territory known as British Kaffraria (cf. *Fam. Letters*, ii. 185; *Lectures*, 169).

This is clearly the water of inundation of the valley. The rise from rains shews water much discoloured, and the rainy season is now pretty well over. The Luenya runs into the Zambesi with so much force the large river is, as it were, held back by it, and at the eddy, which when the river is full is dangerous, much gold is deposited. It never dries, though it becomes low enough to allow of being forded.

Church ceremonies

There was a service in the church which lasted nearly the whole of last night, and on account of the death of Christ.¹ I believe the image was mounted on the cross, for when I went this evening I found the whole as if the image had been left on it, and now the image was taken down and placed in what is intended to look as the sepulchre, and a full-size image of the virgin, as a handsome matron and very good expression of sorrow, was placed with a towel in her hands. The padre gave a sermon on the death of Christ, which, though it contained expressions which sounded strange in Protestant ears, was agreeably concluded by a cry for mercy to Him who never disregards the call of the penitent. Candles were then handed to all who would join in procession, and with a bier and image of the virgin, the troops with their arms reversed, and band playing mournfully, the procession moved round the village, which was illuminated with little lamps. On re-entering the church there was some singing, and then all went one by one and, kneeling down, kissed the toe of the virgin and her son.

This bowing down to images was that which shocked my senses most. We cannot help, as religious animals, from looking on with respect and reverence on the religious ceremonies of every portion of humanity. We feel reprov'd when we see the Mahometan turning his face toward Mecca and praying. And so with the ceremonies of the Roman Catholics. I cannot call them mummary, or speak of them with scorn. In a very short time we shall pass before the tribunal where every man will be awarded strict and unerring justice. We may let others alone till then, and be careful so to live as to exemplify our religion, let our lights shine, and live in love and peace with all mankind. (Witness the Quaker women speaking in church.)

This church was rich, but has lost much of its silver and gold by

¹ March 21, 1856, was Good Friday. In *Travels*, 644, DL describes the 'service' very briefly: 'During the period of my stay, a kind of theatrical representation of our Saviour's passion and resurrection was performed. The images and other paraphernalia used were of great value. . . .'