REV. CHARLES LIVINGSTONE

From an original picture by Charles Gow
CHARLES LIVINGSTONE: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY, WITH EMPHASIS ON HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS ON THE ZAMBEZI EXPEDITION, 1858 - 1863.

by

Gary W. Clendennen

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
1978
To Sharon,

for snaring that long and winding road.

To Sharon.
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Rocks in the Bed of the Zambezi River below the Junction of the Lue, which is shown on the Spectator's Right in the Sketch, 1858, by Thomas Baines, NARS.

Corythaix livingstonii, Plate viii in appendix, FHVA.

He looked east, he looked west,  
To see what he could see.  Child, 102

General Guidelines. As the following study contains many  
abbreviations, phrases, and terms etc. which require explain¬
ation, the reader who pauses here for a moment may well find  
his or her time well spent.

To begin, it is hoped that none will be offended by the  
frequent use of given names in reference to David and Charles  
Livingstone, as such informality is often necessary to dis¬
tinguish between the two, to avoid cumbersome sentences, and  
to save space. Similarly, as the figure of John Livingstone  
stands almost beyond the periphery of this work, the phrase "The  
Livingstone Brothers" almost always refers to David and Charles  
only. "Livingstone" may refer to either of the two, and every  
effort has been made to prevent confusion in such cases.

It is hoped that the use of ink in underlining, as opposed  
to the proper typewriter key, will not prove disconcerting;  
this was deemed a neater if more tedious method of providing  
stress. Permanent blue-black was chosen especially for its  
characteristic of fading to a gentle medium shade of grey in  
time, which should prove less harsh to the eye than would jet  
black ink. And as the typewriter used was not of British man¬
ufacture, was used when necessary instead of $, for aesthetic  
reasons.

Due to the nature of the subject matter, which unfortu¬
nately must be based on a great deal which has been written be¬
fore, the full story of Charles Livingstone's work on the Zam¬
bezi could not be presented as a smooth-flowing narrative.  
While pains have been taken to cover all the major and most of  
the minor phases of the work accomplished by the expedition as a  
whole, there are no doubt occasional omissions which will in¬
dicate that some prior knowledge of the Zambezi Expedition

would prove helpful. It is hoped that the arrangement of the
text and the steady supply of footnotes will help to compen¬
sate for this shortcoming.

Footnotes. A great deal of space has been saved by following
the common practise of abbreviating sources which occur re¬
peatedly in the footnotes. As a general rule, such abbrevi¬
vations consist of four characters, which are usually capital¬
ized. These symbols usually refer to books or articles, or to
archives in which a manuscript may be found. The reader will
recognize the difference instantly, as abbreviations for books
and articles are always underlined, while those for archives
are not. In most cases, footnotes citing books and articles
provide the usual standard information the first time the
source is cited, and thereafter the abbreviation is used. As
a further aid, the abbreviation is based upon the author's name
and the work's title, which aid it is hoped will facilitate
recall. All such abbreviations are repeated for easy reference
in the Bibliography. Archival abbreviations are not explained
in the notes, but are listed in alphabetical order at the end
of the Bibliography.

In a few cases, documents cited in the notes are not accom¬
panied by archival abbreviations. These include all items
designated FO 2/ or FO 84/, etc., which are Foreign Office
Papers found in the Public Record Office, London (PROL); all
items designated G5/, which are in the National Museum, Living¬
stone, Zambia (NMLZ); and those in the latter category design¬
nated CL - HCL are letters written by Charles Livingstone to his
wife, Harriette C. Ingraham Livingstone. Occasionally, the
brothers are designated "CL" and "DL" in the notes, again, as
always, to save space. Documents appearing, for example, as
"Henry Drummond to W.M. Dawes" are letters from the former to the
latter. Unless otherwise noted, all items in the School of
Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) are filed in that archive
under "Africa, odds, Wooden Box of Livingstone's Letters." The
locations of original letters is not given in cases where the letter has been published. More detailed descriptions of all of David Livingstone's letters, journals and notebooks cited herein, plus brief biographical information on his correspondents may be found in DLD.

Spelling. An attempt has been made to reduce spelling irregularities by adopting a few rules, each of which, unfortunately, has its exceptions. Portuguese place-names are usually spelled as by the Portuguese: "Lisbon" for "Lisboa" is an exception. African names are frequently spelled according to the rules of modern orthography along the lines found in Professor Schapera's works: exceptions are "Linyanti" for "Linyanti," and "Kolobeng" for "Kolobenh." The spelling of "Sinamani's" was taken from Kirk's journal (PZJK). When quoting from the men concerned, their spelling is always honoured, but the same word when used by the present writer may be spelled differently - Livingstone's "Nyassa" becomes "Nyasa." Again, as the lake of that name is now called "Malawi," it is usually referred to as such. However, the earlier "Shirwa" is preferred to "Chilwa" or "Chirwa," as modern sources are not uniform in the spelling of that lake's name. As a general rule, names of places in Mozambique and the Comoros Islands have not been changed to conform with very recent revisions, as again exact spellings remain uncertain.

The Oxford Pocket Dictionary has provided a constant guide for words in English, and every attempt has been made to replace habitual American spellings with more appropriate English versions. No doubt occasional exceptions have crept in, for which the reader's indulgence is kindly requested, and for typographical errors overlooked in proofreading the reader's dispensation is again importuned.
The Child Ballads. The text of each chapter is preceded by a couplet which is designed to provide a theme for that chapter, and the reader should be aware that while in some cases the lines are meant to be literal, they are at times ironical, and at other times require the imagination of the reader if their function is to be realized.

Francis James Child (1825 - 1896) was born in Boston and educated at Harvard, Berlin, and Göttingen (which granted him the Ph.D. degree in 1854) as a philologist and a linguist. He spent over half his life collecting, editing, and annotating the ballads of England and Scotland, and in all he listed 305 songs, most of which had so many versions that the entire collection numbered well into the thousands. Among scholars and interpreters they are better known by the number he assigned to them than by any title or first line, and thus they are so identified in this work. Of course, most of these ballads have North American counterparts, but these were beyond the scope of Professor Child's work.

That ancient British ballads may in a sense be applied to events and circumstances far from their point of origin is a tribute to their timelessness, which in the final analysis is a most important ingredient in anything worthy of the name "literature," and certainly the value of an annotated collection of ballads to the study of history cannot be overlooked. The quotations appearing herein are taken from Francis James Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 5 vols., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965, an unabridged and unaltered republication of the work of that title originally published by Houghton, Mifflin and Co., of Boston, between 1882 and 1898. Charles Livingstone, Professor Child, and the present writer share an association with Scotland and New England which makes the inclusion of quotations from this work seem singularly appropriate.
**Visual Aids.** All maps and tables were drawn and compiled by the present writer; sources and/or copyrights of the illustrations are given in every case.

**Acknowledgements.** Those persons and institutions who have been helpful and cooperative in the research stages of this work are legion and beyond, and space simply will not permit all to be mentioned by name. High on the list comes the David Livingstone Documentation Project, whose financial support over a three-year period permitted research on this work to progress alongside other work for said Project. Chief among Project members deserving mention at this time are Professor George Shepperson of the University of Edinburgh, Chairman; Mr. D. H. Simpson, Librarian of the Royal Commonwealth Society, London, who never for a moment withheld his germane and considered advice; and Mr. I. C. Cunningham, Project Secretary, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, co-editor of the Project's first major publication (*DLC1*), whose almost daily advice helped guide the present writer around many pitfalls in both that work and this. Others who aided in the work of the Project are listed in its publication; those mentioned here also contributed freely to the present study.

David Livingstone's descendants have proven very helpful, among them Mrs. Diana Livingstone Bruce Harryhausen of London; the late Dr. and Mrs. Hubert F. Wilson, of St. Fillans, Scotland; and Mr. David Livingstone of Scarboro, Ontario (who is descended from John Livingstone).

A vast number of archives and libraries large and small in Scotland, England, the Continent, Southern Africa, New Zealand and the United States made contributions, and in almost every case, staff members cooperated in a cheerful and competent manner. Those who went beyond what one can usually expect from the average librarian/archivist (and the present writer speaks as a member of their profession) include: Mr. William
Bigglestone and Ms. Mary E. Cowles, OCLC; Sra. Rosalina
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ing of Baines' Storekeeper's Journal.

Finally, I am most grateful of all to Professor George A.
Shepperson, who has served as my postgraduate adviser while I
have been a student at the University of Edinburgh. It was he
who suggested (coincidentally on the 100th anniversary of the
death of Charles Livingstone) that a full-length study of the
younger Livingstone's career be undertaken. At first it seemed
hardly challenging, as writers were virtually unanimous about
the negative character of the man, but in time a new picture
began to emerge, which entirely justified a hunch that Pro-
fessor Shepperson had nurtured for a number of years.
Throughout the five years we have worked together, in a number of capacities, Professor Shepperson was always challenging and encouraging, forever replying in optimistic terms to my pessimistic queries, and never faltering in support when support was needed. To him goes my last word and warmest thanks.

In accordance with the regulations of the University of Edinburgh, I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by the undersigned, and that the work is entirely his own. All major contributions by way of advice and guidance have been acknowledged above, and all sources directly influencing the content are recognized in the footnotes and in the Bibliography.

Gary W. Clendennen
Elk Lake
Sherburne County, Minnesota
20 April 1978
INTRODUCTION

Harken to me, gentle men,
Come and you shall heare;
Ile tell you of two of the boldest brither
That ever borne were. Child, 51

To most readers of works on David Livingstone, his brother Charles appears a rogue of low degree. Indeed, so few and far between are non-derogatory comments about him that they appear in high relief from the rest. Because the years of the Zambezi Expedition was the only period of their mature lives that the brothers spent together, it is with reference to this enterprise that Charles is usually mentioned in David's biographies. In recent years, greater attention has been given to this exploit of David's - perhaps in the past it was skimmed over frequently because it was the one part of his life which did not lend itself easily to missionary propaganda. Greater concentration on this expedition has brought about increased attention to its members, and hence to Charles Livingstone. Furthermore, in recent years David's over-all posture as a semi-saint and the redeemer of Africa has fallen to more human proportions, and brother Charles no longer is dwarfed by the presence of his greater brother.

Charles' life is easily divided into four periods, which parallel closely the divisions of David's life. After spending his first nineteen years in Scotland, Charles went to the United States in search of a liberal education. In this country he lived for seventeen years - roughly the same years David spent in Africa as a representative of the London Missionary Society - before returning to Britain in plenty of time to join his brother on the Zambezi Expedition. When his work on the Zambezi was completed, Charles spent a brief interval with his family in Massachusetts before spending the last nine years of his life as H.M. Consul, the Bights of Benin and Biafra (Fernando Po). He died there in 1875, the same year David died at Chitambo's.
His life and work spanned three continents; his African service consisted of various duties in an exploring and scientific expedition, and a host of responsibilities as an official in the Consular Service, and in each case he made contributions which are at last deemed worthy of attention. This study concentrates on his work on the Zambezi Expedition, and although an attempt has been made to evaluate his work in West Africa, it must be noted that this final period of his life is worthy of a serious study the length of the present work or longer, if the whole truth of his experience there is to be known.

The following pages will indicate that which is already known to many observers: David Livingstone was a major force in his brother's life, and no biographical study of Charles can avoid a plethora of references to the ideas and the work of the giant of Blantyre. Thus although our protagonist is Charles - to some extent thought to be the "black sheep" of the family, student's of David Livingstone's career hopefully will find much herein to provide food for thought. Keeping in mind the words of the minstrel which provide the keynote for this introductory chapter, let us turn to an examination of the life and work of Charles Livingstone.
To those acquainted with Africa's greatest missionary/explorer, the name of Charles Livingstone often invokes a host of negative feelings. The younger brother of the great Livingstone is usually encountered somewhere in David's shadow, and on those occasions when Charles stepped into his own light, David's biographers treated him to a spate of invective and abuse not often encountered in historical readings.

Careful reading and cautious analysis of the evidence, however, indicates that Charles is worthy of better treatment than he has yet been afforded, and it is the object of this study to present the man and his career in a more realistic light. As it was his work on the Zambezi Expedition which has generated the most controversy, that period of his life is here given paramount importance. Chapters on his youth, his years at university, and his work in West Africa are included to present a more complete picture of the man.

While on the Expedition, Charles served as his brother's general assistant and secretary, and was intoned to encourage the cultivation of cotton, to make careful readings of the earth's natural magnetism, and to take photographs of the lands and peoples of the region. In addition, he did commendable work in zoology, especially with the branch of ornithology. Each of these tasks is treated in detail, and those who have written or have been led to believe that nothing came of any of his duties may be surprised—pleasantly or otherwise—to see that although his work in no field places him among the giants of the nineteenth century, his work in every case was far more admirable than anyone has yet imagined.

This, then, is a new look at Charles Livingstone, a man who did his tasks and did them well, yet suffered the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune for his efforts. It is hoped that this study will serve as a first step toward a general reappraisal of the man's career, and will add to the understanding of the early contacts between Europeans and the peoples of Africa.
CHAPTER I
EARLY YEARS IN SCOTLAND

There were three brothers in merry Scotland,
In merry Scotland there were three. Child, 250

Birthplace and Forbears. Of the four major periods in the
life of Charles Livingstone, the first is the most meagerly
documented. Many inferences about his youth can only be
made by examining what is known about his brother's upbringing, and many of these are dubious.

He was born on the last day of February, 1821, in Blan-
tyre, Lanarkshire, perhaps in the very room is which his
brother was born in 1813. His parents were Neil Livingston¹
and Agnes Hunter, who married in 1810 and resided for a short
time thereafter in Glasgow.

Before the birth of their son John, the couple removed to
Blantyre, living for a time in Fore Row,² and then moving into
the flat in Shuttle Row which had been the home of Agnes Hunter
in her youth, and where, according to tradition, David Living-
stone was born. Agnes' mother had died around 1799, and it is
unclear whether her father, David Hunter (who survived until
1834), resided with the Livingstons. Prior to his marriage,

¹The family spelled the name thusly until 1852 or 1853;
see "Observations on the Spelling of 'Livingstone.'" in G. W.
Clendennen and I. C. Cunningham, David Livingstone: A Catalogue
of Documents, (Edinburgh, 1978), hereafter DLCE. The change in
spelling will be incorporated herein when the appropriate
period is reached.

²R. J. Campbell, Livingstone, (London, 1929), p. 45; here-
after CRJL.
Neil had been apprenticed to David Hunter, a tailor who served the local gentry. According to one of David's earliest biographers, Neil Livingston did not forsake his trade as tailor in favour of selling tea until after he had removed to Hamilton, which according to Janet Livingston was in 1839. If this is so, one wonders if residency in Shuttle Row was available only to those employed by the firm of James Monteith, which had "works" in Blantyre and Glasgow. Neil Livingston's father, also named Neil, had held a position of some responsibility in the mills, but whether or not he lived with his son and daughter-in-law is not clear. It is possible that an older relative lived with the Livingstons even after David was born, and this may explain their continued residency in Shuttle Row.

Be that as it may, Seaver notes that when in their teens, John and David went to live with their grandparents, who lived in a nearby cottage: this could only have been on the paternal side, as their maternal grandmother had died long before they were born. To further complicate the issue, Smiles records that the family moved to the Middle Row, Blantyre, "a few years after David was born." Thus it is possible that Charles was born in Middle Row and not Shuttle Row. Whatever, Charles was the


6 In later years, Janet & Agnes Livingstone recalled clearly that their youthful home had burned to the ground in 1839, but
fourth of five surviving children, with his younger sister Agnes joining the fold a few years after he did.

Although little can be determined about the exact place where Charles was born, it can be said with certainty that he was at least the third person of that name. His father's elder brother Charles was a clerk in Monteith's Glasgow office. Taken one day by the press-gang, he was forced to serve aboard a Man-o'-War, where he became the Captain's private secretary. While serving in the Mediterranean he died, and was buried at sea.

The second Charles Livingston was a younger brother of David's who died one October of scarlet fever, prior to his third birthday, in 1817 or the following year. Whereas David was named after his mother's side of the family, the name Charles was taken from his father's side, and might have gone back several generations, especially when one considers that his great-grandfather fell at Culloden, fighting for "the old line of kings." 7

The family atmosphere in which Charles was raised might well be described as strict but warm, for although discipline was firm and nonsense discouraged, the children were loved and well cared for by their parents. Religion and poverty because neighbors disagreed, their memory was largely discounted. If correct, the Shuttle Row shrine to David Livingstone is not in fact his birthplace, but is a replica built immediately after the fire. H. H. Johnston, Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa, (London, n. d. [1912?]), p. 51, n. This work was written in 1890; (see p. 50): hereafter JHHL.

were the forces which determined the life style within the Livingston home. The family attended the local parish church (Kirk of Scotland), until around 1834, so Charles' earliest religious training was in the Established Church. It was here that all of the Livingston children were baptised. By the age of twelve, David was already reflecting upon his state as a sinner, and thus it seems likely that Charles also had the fear of the wrath of God drummed into him at an early age. Although strict in enforcing religious beliefs within the family, Neil Livingston was not completely autocratic: after he himself began attending the Congregational Church of Hamilton (Independent) in the mid-1830's, he permitted David to continue attending the Presbyterian Kirk of Low Blantyre.

Charles joined the church in Hamilton in 1839 as a communicant, by which time his father was a Deacon and his elder brothers both members. It may be that when David decided to become a missionary, he also influenced his younger brother to seek a vocation within the Church, for the younger had great admiration for the elder. When one considers the circumstances in which Charles Livingston was raised, his decision to become a clergyman is hardly surprising.

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9"David said he liked the Auld Kirk...", LJNB, p. 14. Livingstone's emphasis.
Like the majority of the families living in the Strath Clyde during the early years of the nineteenth century, the Livingstons were continually plagued by poverty. The family dwelling on Shuttle Row consisted of one room roughly fourteen by ten feet, and although it is not certain how many Livingstons lived there at once, it is obvious that by today's standards they were terribly overcrowded. Since the building was adjacent to the mill, it must have been a noisy and dusty place at best. Nevertheless, Shuttle Row conditions were generally more favourable than the usual industrial communities of the day, and Low Blantyre itself was a model community, known for its floral display.¹⁰

Whatever the blend of floral fragrance and industrial pollution in the environment might have been, the poverty which hounded the family was very real. Both of Charles' brothers had begun to work in the mill when still children. David began at the age of ten, and his workday was from six in the morning until eight at night. Whether or not Charles ever worked for Monteith & Co. is unknown, but circumstances indicate that he would have begun working for wages as soon as was possible. In his mid-teens he was employed in the lace warehouse of Henry Drummond, in Hamilton, where he earned a portion of the money he needed to emigrate.¹¹

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¹¹"His deportment in my service has been unusually faithful..." Drummond to Wm. Dawes, 17 March 1840, Archives, OCL00.
Growing Up. Very few incidents indeed have been recorded from the early years of Charles Livingstone. The most well known tells of the day he was fishing with David, who caught a salmon. Since the prize was illegal, David had to get the fish home without being detected. He concealed the catch in the leg of Charles' trousers, where it made a rather unnatural bulge. As the boys were walking through the village, David overheard one woman say: "that laddie has got a sair leg!" 12

Often Charles would accompany John and David as they hiked among the rills and dales around Blantyre, and due to the differences in their ages, Charles would often complain upon arriving home that he had been kept away too long. At such times his mother would suggest he remain home next time, but as soon as the next jaunt was being planned, "Charles was as eager as ever to get." 13 Neil Livingston taught his children to appreciate nature, and as a result they would bring home plants, stones, and other interesting items which they found, and on occasion they made a pet of a sparrow. Like his more famous brother, Charles always had an eye out for the wonders of nature.

Also like David, Charles could at times be a practical joker. In later years he wrote to his wife: "I have been hearing some of my early deeds: one married woman asked if I remembered giving her a bird's egg and then squeezing her folded hand on it ... another very-respectably-married lady asked if I

12LJNE, p. 12.  
13Ibid.
'minded' putting salt in her mouth. She was coming out of a shop with a bowlful of salt and said some [thing] to me which I considered disrespectful so I put a handful of salt in her mouth."

One further story from Charles' younger days has been preserved, this one a reminiscence recorded by a neighbor several years later. "Oh aye, I kent the Livingstane laddies - Dauvid and Chairlie - weel. And there was a queer differ atween them. If they was walkin' along a road and cam' tae a puddle, Chairlie wud walk roon, but Dauvid - he'd stamp stracht through." Perhaps this behavior was due to their age difference, or maybe the memory was tempered by later events. Be that as it may, beyond these few anecdotes, virtually nothing specific is known of Charles' experiences during his younger days.

Education. As might be expected, little can be stated with authority about his education. He came from a family long acquainted with books and letters: in addition to his uncle and namesake, the sailor-scribe, his grandfather Neil Livingston was for many years an accounting clerk with Monteith and Co. On his mother's side, his great-grandfather Gavin Hunter once ran afoul of the authorities by writing a petition on behalf of a poor Shotts woman: at the time, he was one of the few literate souls

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14 CL - HCL, 12 November 1863, 05/6.
15 Seaver, op. cit., p. 19: hereafter SGDL.
in the parish. And it was said that his grandfather David Hunter never begrudged his sons the price of a schoolbook, and Janet recalled how he would let his grandchildren "rummage as much as we liked among his books, of which he [had] a great many."16 And his older brother David when very young failed to favourably impress a farmer whose cattle he was tending, for he was "aye lyin' on his belly readin' a book."17 Like his forebears, Charles appreciated the value of books and education.

The actual circumstances surrounding Charles' early 'formal' education are shrouded in the mists of time, and much must be deduced from his elder brother's experience. Prior to the age of ten, when he entered the mill, David attended a school which met in the ground floor rooms of Shuttle Row. Once his workday extended to eight in the evening, David's schooling was done between the hours of eight and ten, with studying at home often continuing until midnight. Evidently Charles followed this same route.18 David's schoolmaster, Mr. McSkimming, was paid in part by the company and partly by his pupils, and he was "so moderate in his charges that all who wished for education could obtain it."19

Much of David's early education came from books he read

16 LJNB, pp. 3-4.  
17 MLTL, p. 35.  
19 EDMT, p. 3.
"on his own" so to speak, borrowed from any one of the many libraries available. In addition to his grandfather's library, David had access to the school library, the parish library, and the village library. When he was more mature he gained, through his father's connections, access to the libraries of a nearby Methodist church as well as that of the Congregational Church of Hamilton.

It must be noted, of course, that the collections in these libraries were heavily weighted in favour of religion. Furthermore, Neil Livingston actively censored the reading material which was brought into the home. Novels and works on science were not permitted, as he considered the two antithetical. On one occasion David was beaten about the shoulders with a stick for reading a book of travel instead of the tome he had been ordered to read. Furthermore, when David announced his intention to study medicine, his father was visibly upset, until David explained to him the concept of the medical missionary. Science thus cloaked was acceptable to Neil Livingston.

20 LJNE, p. 15.
21 Ibid., p. 16. This scene, the last time David was hit by his father, made an indelible impression on the mind of young Janet, partly because it was unusual, and partly because she was chastised for crying aloud in sympathy for her brother. Later, when she whispered to David that he might not get to the "good place" if he did not read good books, she was amazed that he threw back his head and laughed heartily. David evidently took the incident in stride as his due for disobedience and nothing more; it seems likely that his father applied the rod with discrimination. Incidentally, the book in question was Wm. Wilberforce, A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, Contrasted with Real Christianity. 3rd edition (Glasgow, 1829). First published in London, 1797.
It seems very likely that Charles Livingston's education developed along the patterns which characterized David's,\textsuperscript{22} with one possible exception: in his eulogy to Charles many years later, Sir Bartle Frere mentioned that the younger Livingston had been educated in schools in "Blantyre and Bothwell."\textsuperscript{23} Bothwell lies across the Clyde from Low Blantyre, and it may well be that Charles did attend a school there.

Whatever the exact circumstances concerning his schooling in his formative years, this much is certain: the desire for a more complete liberal education within his means motivated him to leave his family and cross the North Atlantic alone, to attend a college in the United States. When he left Scotland he was a month past his nineteenth birthday, and well into manhood by contemporary Scottish standards. The following chapter will examine his experiences in the New World.

\textsuperscript{22}For example, the earliest surviving signature of Charles Livingston is on the inside cover of an arithmetic textbook which had belonged to his brother David, and perhaps John before him. See James Gray, An Introduction to Arithmetic, 22nd edition (Edinburgh, 1825), SNMDL on display.

\textsuperscript{23}Bartle Frere, Address to the Royal Geographical Society of London, 22 June 1874, Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London, (hereafter PRGSL), vol. xviii (Session 1873-1874), p. 512. This seems to be the only reference to any of the Livingston children having attended school in Bothwell.
I'll not take with me my brither John,  
But I'll gang along, myself all alone.  Child, 25

The Atlantic Crossing. The hardy souls who contemplated crossing the North Atlantic early in 1840 must have been a very determined group indeed, for the voyage was fraught with danger from every quarter. Indeed, most chose to make the attempt only because their fear of the known and its harsh realities in Europe was greater than their fear of the unknown. Charles Livingston was one of the few who was going because he wanted to, and unlike many others, he had a specific destination. Nevertheless, even to him, the voyage could only have been regarded as an ordeal to be contended with as best as was possible.

Although Robert Fulton had piloted a steam-powered craft on the Hudson River over thirty years earlier, the use of steam on the Atlantic had not yet become commonplace.¹ And, in spite of the continual improvements made on sailing ships over the ages, the vessels were still (as they remain to some degree today) largely at the mercy of the elements, especially in the North Atlantic, where winter often lingers into May or even June. Not only did this ocean deserve its ill reputation due to the ferocity of its gales and storms, but icebergs were always a threat to any vessel sailing during this season, and

¹Livingston did not take a steam vessel. "When I crossed it [the Atlantic] to America at about Charlie's age, I was in a sailing ship..." CL to his daughter Mary, 18 January 1873, NMLZ, G5/194. His son Charles was then 18½ years of age.
of course, stricken ships were almost totally incapable of signalling to other vessels for aid. The number of ships which sailed into oblivion, instead of sailing into New York, Boston, or Montreal, were legion; one of the more famous was the "City of Glasgow," which was lost with all hands and over four hundred passengers in March, 1854.

If the dangers posed by natural phenomena were not enough to intimidate the would-be passenger, those posed by his fellow human beings might well have done so. Ship owners packed the emigrants below decks in a manner reminiscent of the methods used in transporting prisoners from Britain and/or slaves from West Africa. Some ships carried over a thousand passengers, who were subject to mistreatment from crew members and fellow travellers alike. Food supplied by the lines was usually putrid at best, and frequently the emigrants had no provisions other than what they carried with them.

Mass seasickness was common, and conditions were ideal for the germination and spread of contagious and fatal diseases, especially typhus and cholera. It has been estimated that one-half of those who left Great Britain for North America in 1847 died of typhus either during or shortly after the crossing.2 The situation was aggravated by the fact that many ships had no physician on board, and the mandatory medical inspections for passengers and crew at both ends of the voyage were usually

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2Terry Coleman, Passage to America, (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1974), pp. 186-187: hereafter GTPA.
perfunctory. Those who dared attempt the Atlantic crossing were taking their lives into their hands.

And were these not enough pitfalls, others - less horrible but no less real- awaited the unwary sojourner. The major ports of embarkation and debarkation were infested with scoundrels anxious to fleece the money and possessions from the passengers by every ruse imaginable. In New York City, for example, tickets were sold for steamers and canal boats bound for Buffalo, for seven dollars: the normal fare for the ride was $2.50. And no matter what the individual had paid to board, it was not unusual for him to have to pay an additional fare to avoid being put ashore at the next port. Those with baggage (most travelers) had to pay exorbitant fees to have them secured, or transported from ship-to-shore-to-ship, and imposters dressed as policemen made easy prey of the innocent and the naive.

Thus when Charles Livingston went walking down the Waterloo Pier in Liverpool in March, 1840, a veritable host of dangers was lurking around the corner. Although he was well aware of their nature, he would not have been preoccupied with them: he was young, ambitious, and about to embark on the greatest adventure of his life thus far, and his mind would have been filled with the sights of the present and the visions of the future.

His destination was the Oberlin Collegiate Institute,

3CTPA, p. 223. Until the completion of the New York Central Railroad, which linked New York City with Buffalo in 1852, the main route inland to the Great Lakes and beyond was the Hudson River - Erie Canal route.
located in Lorain County, Ohio. Oberlin was an experimental college, whose main attraction (for Charles, at least), was a program for providing students with manual labour, the proceeds from which would enable them to pay for their educational and living expenses. In a word, it was the road to education for poor, Christian students. Livingston was also attracted by the theology of the Institute: one of the piliars of the college had toured Great Britain in the late 1830's, and his message had come to the attention of the elders of the Congregational Church of Hamilton. When Livingston expressed an interest in the college, his employer (Henry Drummond), himself an elder in the church, gave full support; and when brother David also gave positive advice, Charles was anxious to proceed.

Exactly when he left home is difficult to determine. According to Drummond, he was to leave for New York on Tuesday, 24 March 1840, in the company of his brother John and family, but Drummond does not indicate if Charles was leaving Glasgow or Liverpool. In his second letter home from North America,
begun in Oberlin on 17 May and completed on 1 June, Livingston mentioned that he landed in New York "on Sabbath 29 ult. at 5 o'clock after 31 days sailing..." This date is obviously an error, as 29 April 1640 fell on a Wednesday. That he landed on a Sunday is not in doubt, as his subsequent activities in New York took place on Monday and Tuesday. If in fact Livingston landed on Sunday, 26 April, his 31-day crossing would indicate that he left Liverpool on 26 March, two days after Drummond expected.

Whatever the date, it seems quite likely that he journeyed alone, and not in the company of John and his wife Sarah (née Mackenzie). In later years, sister Janet recalled that her brothers left Britain together in March, 1840, but in his letter to his parents from Oberlin, Charles says nothing to indicate that his relatives were with him. And according to Schapera, John emigrated to Canada in 1838.

In the event, this was as pleasant and fortunate a crossing as one could imagine. As the normal sailing time was anything

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7LJNB, p. 11.

from 4 to 7 weeks, his ship\(^9\) did very well indeed: the 31 day crossing included 3 days in a dead calm. In spite of cold and foggy weather when crossing the Grand Banks, a group of grampi were spotted, and stormy petrels (Hydrobates pelagicus) were always around the ship.

However, there were some problems in steerage, as the people were mostly "wild Irishmen who kept bullying and fighting always." As a result, Charles requested and was granted permission to sit around the fire in cabin 2, where he enjoyed improved conditions for the remainder of the trip. His potatoes were regularly boiled for him by a friendly Irishwoman (which suggests that he was indeed travelling alone), to whom he sold his bed upon arrival in New York City. Out of a total of 271 passengers on board, only 2 died during the voyage, a remarkably low percentage: he had sailed a few years later, his chances of experiencing such favourable conditions would have been very slim.\(^10\)

On to Oberlin. Livingston saw very little of New York City (population in 1840 approximately 300,000), as he arrived on a Sunday evening and left 48 hours later. His impressions were

\(^9\)Livingston never mentions his ship by name, and neither PROL nor NAUS officials found his name on any passenger list.

\(^{10}\)All of the information on this page, including the quotation, is from CL's letter home described in n. 6 above. All subsequent details concerning his trip to Oberlin and his first week there, unless specifically noted, are from the same source. It is a remarkable document, consisting of only 4 quarto pages (\(135 \times 227 \text{ mm}\)), but by using the tiniest handwriting possible, Charles managed to fill the space with approximately 5000 words.

In all direct quotations from this letter, regularization of punctuation and capitalization has been necessary,
limited: "It is a very pretty place but the houses are built quite different from Glasgow or any of our towns. They are mostly built of brick. The streets appeared very strange to me, one house 3 or 4 storeys high and the next house only 1 in some of the streets. I had not much time to look at the city."

This is his only observation: the remainder of his comments concern his lodging and travel arrangements, and, of course, his expenditures. In these matters he showed himself well prepared for the trip. The amount of money at Livingston's command upon arrival is difficult to determine, but it was not very much, and he handled it wisely. He had left Scotland with at least £5, part of the gift of a Christian friend to his brother David, which David passed on.11 In addition to this, Charles probably saved a small amount from his work in Hamilton, and might have been given something by his employer, who had helped finance David's first trip to London in 1838. Whatever the amount, it could hardly have been more than £6: at this time, steerage cost about £3 10/ in a sailing vessel,12 and after selling his box and bed (for 2/6), Charles had £2 13/ 6d remaining.13

However, he had to pay 1/6 merely to have his chest transported to the tavern where he spent two nights. On the second night, two men came into the tavern (Franklin Hall Tavern and

11DL to [Thomas L. Prentice?], 17 June 1840, SOAS. David had given Charles a part of his quarterly allowance from the London Missionary Society, and upon receiving an unspecified sum from Prentice, David thanked him for helping Charles.

12OYPA, p. 19.

Boarding House) selling tickets to Buffalo for $7. An English acquaintance paid the fee, and urged Charles to do likewise, but having been warned about such practices while still in Scotland, he refrained. On the next day, he purchased a ticket to Albany via steamer for 50¢. Shortly after he boarded the "DeWitt Clinton" at 5 p.m. on Tuesday night, Charles was bound for the interior of North America.

He arrived in Albany at six the next morning, (Wednesday, 29 April), and by eleven he had boarded a canal packet bound for Lake Erie, 363 miles due west via the Erie Canal. To his parents he wrote: "In the canal boats all fare alike. There is no distinction between rich and poor. All have the same privileges."

When he purchased his canal ticket, he offered a sovereign and 25¢, and was informed that an additional 36¢ was required. Upon explaining that he was from Scotland and that the cost of travelling was very high, the remainder was waived.\(^{15}\)

When on board that evening, he noticed a young man examining a map of Ohio, and he was pointing out the locations of

\(^{14}\)At this time, he would have had about £13. Now and for the remainder of his life, Livingston converted from the dollar to Sterling at the ratio of 5:1. For the sake of convenience, this formula will be followed throughout the rest of this work.

\(^{15}\)This might not have been the example of generosity which it appears to be at first sight. If Charles paid a sovereign (a gold pound) plus 25¢, his fare cost about £5.25, far in excess of the approximate fare of £2. Small wonder that the remaining 36¢ was overlooked! The fact that he had come all the way from Scotland hardly made him unusual on the Erie Canal.
various places to his fellow passengers, and upon enquiring, Livingston learned that the man was a student at Oberlin. His name was Sherlock Bristol, and his travelling companion was Emily Ingraham, who was also enrolled at the college. This chance meeting proved a windfall for Livingston. Not only did he at long last begin to get an idea exactly where Oberlin was located, but he now had companions to go with, who were able to provide him with a wealth of information on all subjects related to the college and how to get there, etc. A great deal of the uncertainty and tension of travelling in an unfamiliar land was removed, for he was now among friends. In time, as we shall see, this chance meeting on the canal boat was to have an even greater significance for Charles Livingston. Of it he wrote understandably to his parents: "I was then considerably relieved (sic) as I could [prior to this] get nobody who knew anything about Oberlin." One would surmise that the young scholar-to-be slept very soundly that night.

Next day (Thursday, 30 April) after the boat had moved only 15 miles from Albany, its progress was halted indefinitely: a section of the canal wall had collapsed due to the recent heavy rains. Upon learning that it could not be repaired for approximately eight days, Bristol and Livingston walked four miles westward to the town of Schenectady, to see if a train could take them 70 miles further to Utica, where they could

16 In later years, Bristol recorded a very different version of their meeting, and as it concerns to a limited degree David Livingstone as well, it is discussed in Appendix A.
again board a canal boat and be on their way. They were informed that the train fare was more than the cost of board for eight extra days on the canal boat, so they decided to wait until repairs had been effected.

By this time Charles had only $4 remaining, and he was reluctant to spend it on food, as he needed all the money he could muster to pay his fare from Buffalo to Oberlin. After Livingston had practically fasted for 4 or 5 days, Bristol asked him how his finances were holding out, and learned that Charles was in dire straits.\(^{17}\) As Bristol himself had travelled "on a shoestring" in the past, he sympathized with his predicament, and set about to help him out of it.

Calling a meeting of the passengers, Bristol preached an impromptu sermon, requested Charles leave on an errand to the upper deck, explained the young man's plight to the assembled, and called upon the faithful to be generous in aiding the young Christian's cause. The resulting offering netted $5.25 for Charles, and obviously relieved him of a great burden.

The canal wall was repaired in exactly eight days (a small engineering marvel by today's standards: a public works project

\(^{17}\)Bristol and his companions always boarded with the boat party, and he noticed that whenever the dinner-bell sounded, Livingston left the boat and munched something by himself on the shore. Upon investigation, Bristol found it to be "'ship cracker' bought in Liverpool, not fit for a rat to eat." Sherlock Bristol, The Pioneer Preacher, (New York, 1898), p. 322. Of his biscuit and cheese, Livingston wrote: "They had got very bad, but I was glad I had them."
completed as estimated!), and the party continued their way westward. Where the canal joined the Mohawk River, Livingston observed: "The Mohawk was twice or three times broader than the Clyde."\(^{18}\) Two days later the students' progress was once again retarded, this time due to complications of an entirely different nature: students who travelled on the Sabbath were excluded from Oberlin.\(^{19}\) Thus when on Saturday evening (9 May) the boat reached the town of Canastota, 150 miles west of Albany, the party disembarked, and in so doing forfeited the remainder of their fares to Buffalo.\(^{20}\)

That night Bristol found accommodation for them with a storekeeper and his family (a travelling circus was in town and the inns were filled), and at their table Livingston enjoyed the second substantial meal he'd had since leaving home. As it

\(^{18}\) Although the Hudson is a far greater river than the Mohawk (at the Tappan Zee it is well over 2 miles wide), Charles fails to mention it, possibly because his trip upriver was made under the cover of darkness.

\(^{19}\) Fletcher, op. cit., p. 14; V. L. Bosazza, David Livingstone: Pilot and Navigator, unpublished MS, notes that Charles' four Sundays spent on the high seas must have been excused.

\(^{20}\) Livingston notes that Bristol and Ingraham lost $7 while he himself lost $3.30, which suggests that the fare of $2.50 from New York to Buffalo (p. 13, n. 3 above) is incorrect, which in turn may indicate that Charles was not cheated in Albany after all. Why Bristol etc., paid full fare knowing they would disembark on Saturday night - wall collapse or no - is difficult to explain, unless some captains refunded money in such cases. Charles felt they were cheated, and not victims of their beliefs. Their request for a refund was not so unusual as it would be today: at least two packet lines (the Albany and Michigan Line and the Troy and Michigan Six Day Line) did not provide service on the Sabbath.
happened, the family was Christian (Livingston calls them "Dutch Reformed Lutheran," evidently unaware of the contradiction), and when the young people left to resume their journey on Monday morning, their hosts refused to take payment for two days' lodging. And if this were not generous enough, the sister of the host took Livingston aside and gave him an envelope which contained £2.25. Whatever he may have felt prior to this, Charles now certainly felt that God's eye was on the sparrow. To his parents he wrote very simply and matter-of-factly: "Thus you see how the Lord provided for me."

The remainder of Livingston's trip to Oberlin is related in much less detail. After passing 12 miles south of the Niagara Falls, the canal boat reached Lake Erie, from which point a steamer took them to Buffalo. From this bustling lake-port another steamer took them southwestwards down the lake to Cleveland, where they arrived on the afternoon of Saturday, 16 May.²¹ Steerage passage on the latter cost £2.50; the price of the former steamer was probably included in the canal ticket.

The final stage of Livingston's journey consisted of a carriage ride for the final 31 miles to Oberlin, over the worst roads Charles had ever seen. Arriving in Oberlin at 10 p.m. that night, Livingston paid the driver £2 and took up lodging.

²¹ Over 300 miles long and 100 wide, Erie is infamous among the Great Lakes for the suddenness and the ferocity of its storms. The trip from Buffalo to Cleveland was hazardous: on 18 August 1841 a fire in a steamer on this route resulted in the loss of 170 lives. R. S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College from its Foundation through the Civil War, (Oberlin, 1943), p. 341.
The Oberlin Years: Early Days. When Livingston awakened on that Monday morning, his mind must have been filled with many things. He had left his home and his family well aware that his future survival and academic success would depend largely upon his own efforts, and by this time he must have gained a good deal of self-confidence. As far as he knew, no one at Oberlin was aware of his coming, and although he had an idea

22 In his letter to Tidman recommending Charles to the LMS, David said his brother travelled "either 3 or 700 miles" from NYC to Oberlin. SLMC, p. 115. BWGL has the distance as 700 miles (p. 89), but Schapera, SLMC, p. 115, n. 2 says: "It is actually about 550 miles." From New York, Charles went 150 to Albany, 363 on to Lake Erie, 30 on to Buffalo, 180 on to Cleveland, and a final 31 to Oberlin, approximately 754 miles.

23 Although Dawes mailed Drummond's letter to Burnell from London on 19 March, Charles could not have known that, and due to the speed of his crossing, it is an open question whether the letter preceded him to Oberlin.
that his fellow Christians would not turn him away upon arrival, there must have been times during his exodus when a flicker of doubt flashed across his mind. His chance meeting with Bristol erased a great deal of uncertainty from his mind, for he was an "upper-classman" at Oberlin (and hence well known in the community) and could claim, upon arrival there, some close relationship with Charles, as they had travelled together for over two weeks. When he presented Livingston to Burnell, Charles' immediate future was secured.

That very day, Livingston began his studies in Oberlin's Preparatory Department, and on the next, he began earning money for his keep. The preliminary financial report he sent his family was very encouraging indeed.

Burnell gave him a certificate to present to the Principal of the Preparatory Department, saying that Charles' tuition would be paid. "I suppose this will not cost me anything," he wrote. Arrangements were made for him to board in Burnell's home for $1 per week, and his laundry charges were to be three cents per item. Bristol had already told Livingston that he would always be available to loan his money if needed; and upon

24 As Livingston was not yet ready for college-level work, it was necessary that he spend a year in this department, to prepare him for the heavier studies that would follow: Wm. Bigglestone, Archivist, Oberlin College, to G. W. Clendennen, 30 December 1975. Incidentally, for the academic years 1840-41 to 1844-45, Oberlin averaged 528 students per year: The Oberlin Evangelist (published from 1 November 1838 to 7 December 1862), vol. vii, no. 19 (10 September 1843), p. 150. Charles arrived at the middle of the second term of the 1839-40 academic year. Bigglestone to Clendennen, 29 January 1976.
meeting fellow Scot Alexander McKellar, Charles was persuaded to accept a dollar with the advice to see McKellar if he ever needed money. On the next day, Livingston began working in the college printing office, which fortnightly published the _Evangelist_, as well as small books and tracts from time to time. Shortly thereafter the bookstore manager told Charles that he expected to add bookbinding to his operation later that year, and if Charles were able to secure this position for himself, he would have a steady income during the winter months.

During the following week, Livingston was able to earn extra money by wielding a shovel on the public road between Oberlin and Pittsfield. And as he was to be paid between 7 and 8 cents per hour for his work at the college, Charles' financial problems suddenly evaporated. Indeed, he wrote home: "As you see, I will earn more than I need." He went on, reassuring his family: "This is quite an uncommon place; all are so loving, so kind, so much brotherly love. All with whom I am acquainted take a deep interest in my welfare."

Once established into the routine of Oberlin life, Charles found that his day was very full indeed. He arose at 4 a.m.,

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25 Pittsfield is a village located about four miles south of Oberlin. Every male over 21 years of age at Oberlin had to work 18 hours per year on this road, or pay someone to do the service for him. Livingston worked for Levi Burnell, and after the miserable ride he endured from Cleveland, he no doubt gained some satisfaction from his task.

26 He noted that his sister Janet would laugh at this, when she recalled the difficulty she had in getting him out of bed in time to be at the warehouse at eight.
and wrote that by five "you may hear the voice of prayer in every room." Chapel convened at 6, and after prayer and a biblical reading, the breakfast bell sounded, usually at about 6:30. His classes began at 7 with arithmetic, followed by geography at 8 and English grammar at 11 a.m.\textsuperscript{27} The midday meal began at 12:10.

Between 2 and 6 (when vespers commenced) students went about the work they required in order to support themselves. During the summer months, many of them toiled at agriculture, either raising vegetables on small plots of land, or working on nearby farms and orchards. A few, such as Livingston himself, were able to find work at the college, and feminine students did very well by taking in sewing and doing similar domestic chores which the ladies of that day were expected to master before they reached their teens.\textsuperscript{28} Supper began at 6:30 p.m., after which Livingston and his roommate prayed together.\textsuperscript{29} From then until they turned in for the day, which was usually at 9 or 10, each attended to his own studies. With a schedule

\textsuperscript{27}He also had a class in rhetoric, but as he did not give the hour of meeting, it can only be surmised that it met at 9 or 10 a.m. For a list of the probable courses he attended when at Oberlin, consult Appendix B.

\textsuperscript{28}From November to February (winter vacation) things were harder. Work on the farms declined in regularity and volume, and many of the male students had to venture forth into the surrounding countryside, seeking posts as itinerant teachers or preachers, often going far before finding a situation.

\textsuperscript{29}The fact that his roommate was Welcome Bonham of Cheshire, Connecticut (from whence Bristol hailing), suggests that Bristol was instrumental in helping Charles find a room. He must have boarded with the Burnell's for a very short time.
like this for 5 and most likely 6 days, the Sabbath as a day of rest and scriptural study was a welcome necessity.

Although the food at Oberlin was simple, there was plenty of it. Breakfast consisted of wheat or corn bread and milk, often accompanied by applesauce sweetened with maple sugar. The noon meal was the largest of the day, made up of mashed potatoes, eggs, apples, milk and cheese. Supper was simply bread and milk. It came as a surprise to Livingston that although Burnell was vegetarian and had eaten no meat for over two years, he was still in excellent health.

While the fare may seem Spartan to some, it is likely that it was at least as nourishing as that he had enjoyed in Scotland, and was probably more plentiful. Indeed, what Livingston had seen of the United States convinced him that it was a land of milk and honey, so much so that within two weeks of his arrival he was already encouraging his parents and sisters to emigrate to Ohio.30

While a part of Charles' enthusiasm was obviously due to the generosity and benevolent concern he had experienced among

30 Time may have dampened his enthusiasm somewhat, and the family's final decision to remain in Europe was influenced perhaps by a comment Charles made. Writing to Robert Moffat, Sr. on 8 July 1850, DL commented: "Parents & sisters had fully made up their minds to emigrate to the United States in May last," SLPF ii, p. 81; but Ibid., p. 114 has David writing to his parents on 4 December 1850: "Am sorry to hear you have been detain
in Scotland by Charles." Of course, they may have been detained because they sent Charles money they had saved for their fares. On the other hand, by this time Charles was long out of Oberlin, and conditions which seemed so promising to him in 1840 had undoubtedly changed, and, of course, the same would have been true in Hamilton.
American Christians, and to the first starry-eyed impressions that accompanied everything in the new land, a great deal of his encouragement was based upon the economic realities of life in Blantyre as contrasted with the economic potentialities of life in Oberlin. According to Levi Burnell, Charles' parents could have purchased a farm one mile from the college, for 8 dollars per acre with four years to pay for it, and could find a comfortable home on or near the land for $200. Charles thought that a 20 acre farm would suffice for the family; thus house and farm would cost about $72. He had visions of his father farming and dealing in tea, his mother milking cows, and his sisters attending the college and earning money sewing. No doubt the elder Livingston's were at first sceptical of Charles' report, and their inertia may have been increased by the fact that they had recently completed a move from Blantyre to Hamilton. For the remainder of the decade the family considered emigrating, and David even sent considerable sums from Africa to encourage the move, but it never came to pass.

As has been indicated above, Livingston's earliest days at Oberlin were busy, frugal, and secure, and while the particulars of his activity would have changed during his remaining years at Oberlin, his basic way of life would not have changed very much. It was early to bed and early to rise, with work loads morning, noon and night, and a restful but regimented Sabbath. And while almost everyone showed a willingness to help him get off to a good start, (probably because he had come so far and arrived with
so little), his ultimate success and even survival would depend upon his own character and abilities. He had walked into a situation where he could earn more than his immediate requirements necessitated, he had no immediate worries about food and lodging, and he was given the opportunity to receive an education in addition to any number of practical skills which might serve him well in the future. In this kind of society, Charles' mettle would be put to the test: if he showed himself incompetent, dilatory, nonchalant or ungrateful, the helping hands would quickly vanish. In a word, Livingston had to keep his nose to the grindstone. It is with these thoughts in mind that we turn to an examination of Charles' subsequent career at Oberlin.

The First Degree. It is unfortunate that Charles' later days at Oberlin are not as well documented as his first two weeks. This is partly due to the fact that the letters he wrote to his parents and his brothers seem not to survive. Nevertheless, from bits and pieces found here and there, especially in letters written by his famous brother, it is possible to get some idea of the young man's progress.

There is no doubt that Charles made a good account of himself during his year in the Preparatory Department, for in the following year he was admitted into the Collegiate Department. This section of the Institute offered the AB degree to students who had successfully completed four years' of study in the department. Students were expected to prepare themselves in a variety of fields, including the Classics, history, mathematics,
literature, and the Bible - courses similar in many ways to those Charles had encountered during his year in the Preparatory Department. Exactly how well Charles did in specific areas cannot be determined, as grades were not recorded in those days. And in spite of the saturation with religion and soul-saving, there came a time when Charles reconsidered his future in the church.

In 1843, David wrote to a friend and fellow missionary:

My brother is still at Oberlin and pursues his studies briskly. He wishes to be a missionary but lately he declined considerably in spirituality of purpose by reading some of our poets such as Shakespeare and indulging the idea of giving up studies for the ministry for the sake of the pursuit of those of medicine. He has, however, seen his error and commenced with renewed vigour to press on in preparation for the work of Christ and likewise attend more carefully to the state of his mind in reference to growth in grace.31

Shortly after this was written, a major development occurred in Charles' life, which changed both his immediate prospects and the course and nature of his later life. During his junior year at Oberlin (Aug. 1843 - Aug. 1844), Charles was required to address the congregation in the college chapel on a number of occasions. Although it was normal for students to read their speeches verbatim from their notes, Charles requested and received permission to deliver his from memory. In the

31 DL to David Gilkinson Watt, 27 September 1843, SOAS. Watt (1817 - 1897) had been a student with Livingston in London, and at this time represented the LMS in Benares, India. He subsequently took a pastorate in Northwich, Cheshire.
process of preparing accordingly, Charles contracted pleurisy while rehearsing on the banks of a river. This was catastrophic for Livingston, for not only were his lungs dealt an injury from which they never recovered, but as he could no longer engage in heavy manual labour, his main source of income was destroyed. He was never again to have the excellent health he had previously enjoyed, and much of the remainder of his life was spent in an effort to provide self and family with an adequate income. And no doubt this affliction also increased his interest in finding a position in a warmer climate.

Although he was able to remain at Oberlin and continue his studies, Charles' living conditions deteriorated considerably. Unable to command an income, he left his comfortable lodgings in the village (against the protests of his landlady) because he could not continue to pay his rent and did not want to go deeply into debt. He moved back into a room on the campus, where, from now on, he prepared his own food. His diet mainly consisted of potatoes and salt butter. As he could no longer afford to buy textbooks, he had to borrow them from his friends, reading the books while they slept.

Unable to do heavy labour in the college and around the village, he now had to join the ranks of those who left Oberlin.

\[32\] DL to Tidman, 27 December 1847 (cited p. 17 above), SLMC p. 115. Beaver Creek rises on the western outskirts of Oberlin and flows northwards to Lake Erie, while the West Branch of the Black River rises south of the village and flows through Pittsfield, then turns eastward before turning again and flowing into the great lake. CL must have caught the disease on one of these rivers.
to seek temporary positions in the hinterland. In a land where a man's status frequently depended upon his ability to heft axe, plow, rifle or all three, Charles must have felt the loss of his health keenly. Nevertheless, he successfully completed his studies in the Collegiate Department, and was graduated from Oberlin on 27 August 1845, being awarded the AB degree for his efforts of almost 5½ years. Early in that month, he received material from his brother John, in Canada, from which he had a suit of clothes made for the occasion. He wore it to the Commencement Exercises, where he delivered an oration entitled "Christian Civilization," (the text of which, unfortunately, seems not to have survived). In a report written over half a century later, a close friend suggests that he graduated with honour, which, all things considered, is hardly unlikely.

Theological Studies. Having received a reasonably broad liberal arts education, it was now for Charles to prepare himself for a vocation. As the church had always been at the center of his life, it was almost a forgone conclusion that he would enter

33 Neil Livingston to Henry Drummond, 17 October 1845, SOAS.
34 Isaac C. White, Rev. Charles Livingston: Biographical Sketch, unpublished (Plympton, Massachusetts: 1898), p. 3. See Appendix F. Grades were not recorded, and prizes were not awarded at graduation; perhaps only exceptional students were invited to present speeches at the ceremony. Of the 16 males and 6 females in Livingston's class, only 12 spoke: of these, two were from overseas. The emigrant in addition to Charles was a black student from Jamaica. Oberlin Evangelist, op. cit., (p. 24 above). It is significant that the Jamaican (William Whitehorn) was awarded his degree 15 years before the American Civil War.
Oberlin's Theological Department. And although he had long planned to become a missionary, he must have seriously wondered about his ability to cope with the exceptional physical demands of this work. He was gradually learning of the difficulties involved, in letters from his brother in Africa, as well as from those of missionary experience who occasionally came to speak at Oberlin.35

Following his first year as a theological student, he went to visit brother John and his family in Upper Canada (Ontario), walking most of the way. En route he visited the Niagara Falls. Writing to a friend in early 1846, Livingstone mentioned that he had to close his school (he was tutoring at the time) a month ahead of schedule as his lungs had failed him, and that he was leaving for John's farm that very afternoon. He also said that he did not intend to return to Oberlin at the end of summer, as he was thinking of transferring to Auburn Theological Seminary (in Alabama). Livingstone's reasons for the move were both physical and financial: the climate was warmer, and at Auburn he could get financial aid and employment as a colporteur. Nevertheless, this letter was accompanied by a ten dollar note to reduce his debt to Oberlin.36

35 Oberlin was connected with missions in Red Lake, Minnesota, and Honolulu, Oahu, and missionaries returned from all points on the map visited the college regularly.

36 CL to Hamilton Hill, 20 April 1846, Archives, Box 8, 7/1/5, GCLOQ. Written from Rochester (New York or Michigan). Hill was Oberlin's Treasurer.
At any rate, when on John's farm Charles tried his hand at heavy labour, with depressing results. Upon learning of this, David Livingston chastized his younger brother: "You worked a day or two on John's farm & got knocked up for several days after. Did you wonder at it?" He goes on to comment that Charles might have eased into physical labour more gently.37

In spite of his thoughts on leaving Oberlin, Charles did return there in the autumn: evidently his move to Auburn did not materialize. Furthermore, this 1846-47 academic year was the senior (final) year at Oberlin for the woman who was to become Charles' wife, and this may well have influenced his decision to return.

During his second year at "seminary," Charles began taking active steps toward becoming affiliated with a missionary society in order to obtain a posting overseas. He was not interested in becoming connected with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, as this group was supported by plantation owners from the Deep South. Instead, he wrote his brother, requesting to be recommended as a candidate to the Directors of the London Missionary Society.38

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37 DL to CL, 16 March 1847, SLFL 1, p. 191. In this letter David also thanks Charles for sending him books. Charles had not forgot David's generosity to him, and in fact spent a great deal of money sending books to David between 1846 and 1855.

38 CL to DL, 17 December 1846, SOAS. Written from Lafayette (Ohio or Indiana?).
Charles was mainly interested in going to China, and in recommending him, David wrote: "when I found...that he had resolved to dedicate his life to the service of Christ among the heathen, I felt desirous that he should think of China..." Indeed, it was David, who once had seriously considered going thither himself, who gave Charles the idea of going to China. As early as 1642 David had written: "yet however Mr. Moffat may speak, I am fully convinced to send more missionaries here, while the wants of India, China &c are so great, is nothing less than misplaced benevolence. Tell Charles so. He must not come to Africa." Again to his father David wrote: "If I knew his [Charles'] sentiments I might recommend him to our Directors for China, where I long wished to go." and, "Does he speak of China? Would he go there? Ask him."

Whether or not Charles received these messages is not known, but is most probable, and no doubt he received others besides. After commenting about Charles' working too hard on John's farm (page 34 above), David again suggested that his brother consider going to China: "In China there is not much bodily or rather manual labour, & so in India." A few pages


40 DL to his parents, 26 September 1842, _SLFL_ i, p. 66.

Robert Moffat (1795-1883) was the senior London Missionary Society agent at Kuruman, and at this time he was touring Great Britain.

Study thoroughly, my dear brother. If you become a missionary you will have little time then. I wish I had a thorough education. If your constitution is not ruined you would be better in connection with our Society than school keeping, because you would have both summer and winter for study. If you can afford it, go to some eminent physician and request his opinion on your health, also whether you may think of missionary labour. Our Society has been trying to get agents for China, & after trial of several have come to the resolution of educating sixteen expressly for that Mission. The funds are at present depressed, but will come round again."42

Upon receiving Charles' request for support, David wrote to Tidman, telling of his brother's experiences, and requesting that the London Missionary Society consider him as a candidate.43 Tidman replied to David just under a year later, advancing three reasons why it would be almost impossible for the LMS to accept Charles Livingston: the Society could not send out more missionaries for the present as it was very low on funds; a personal interview was required in all cases, and the Society could not afford to pay Charles' fare from the United States to London; and, the Society had an inflexible rule that missionaries going to the East had to be unmarried. When Charles received a similar letter from Tidman, his thoughts of going to China came to an end, and he had to make plans to find another line of work.44

42SLFL i, p. 191, 194. David posted this prior to receiving CL's letter of 17 December 1846 requesting such an introduction.

43Most of this letter's contents have already been discussed above. SLMC, pp. 111 - 117.

44Tidman to DL, 23 December 1848, SLMC, pp. 124 - 126. SOAS has no copy of the letter Tidman sent to Charles.
In his letter to David from Lafayette in December 1846 (p. 34 above), Charles announced his engagement to Harriette C. Ingraham. Of his bride-to-be, he wrote:

She is of a most excellent family, has a brother a graduate of Brown University [Providence, Rhode Island], is sister-in-law to the Rev. S. Bristol. Miss Ingraham is a member of the senior college class, and by next August will have completed a regular college education. She has charge of a young ladies' academy at present (vacation). Is twenty one years of age... She has already acquired some knowledge of the four languages Hebrew, Latin, Greek and French. Knows how to do household work, a very indispensable item you know. But above all, I think she is imbued with a spirit of deep piety - has a strong desire to do good, wishes to go as a miss [ionary].

Following Harriette's graduation (assuming Livingston remained in Oberlin for the event), Charles took his final leave from Oberlin. His second year in the Theological Department was a difficult one, and of it his father wrote to his old friend: "We had another letter from Charles lately, his health is still indifferent. He is trying to bring up last years' studies along with those of the present year, and in this I think he is quite wrong. I fear it will finish him."^46

^45 SLFL i, p. 224, n. 46 dates this letter as October, 1846, but in SLMC, p. 116, n. 3, it is dated Dec. 17th 1848, even though in the text above David gives its date as "Decr. 1846." And, in note 5 on the following page, Schapera acknowledges that his date in SLFL is incorrect. Born in 1825, Harriette hailed from South Attleboro, Massachusetts. As Charles indicates, Emily and Sherlock had married since he met them on the canal boat.

^46 Neil Livingston to Henry Drummond, 17 June 1847, SOAS. As the Oberlin catalogues for both 1846-47 and 1847-48 list OL as being in the Middle Class of the Theological Dept., it seems that he was not successful in this attempt. The latter catalogue lists him as Assistant Teacher in the Preparatory Dept.
When Harriette went home after graduation to seek gameful employment, Livingston went to New York to continue his theological studies.

Union Theological Seminary. In the autumn of 1847, Charles entered Union Theological Seminary in New York City, where he was enrolled as a member of the middle class. The doubt completed the work left undone in Oberlin, and spent the following academic year as a full-fledged member of the Senior class. This was a very successful year, and at its completion, Charles received a diploma for his efforts.

In the meantime, it seems that Charles and Harriette encountered a few problems concerning their future together. In response to a letter from Charles dated 30 September 1848, David wrote to his brother: "As to breaking your engagement, you break brotherhood with me on the day you do." He goes on to give Charles advice on how to deal with Harriette's parents, and stresses the difficulty of missionary work ("Uphill cross the

47 Like Oberlin, Union was newly-founded: 13 men attended the first lecture late in 1836; and like the LMS, it was non-denominational. G.L. Prentiss, The Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, etc, (New York, 1889), p. 24.

48 Union Theological Seminary Catalogue, 1849.

49 Alumni Catalogue, Union Theological Seminary, section entitled "Class of 1849," p. 54. In its early days, Union did not award degrees, but merely presented diplomas: Paul A. Byrnes, Archivist, to G. W. Clendennen, 10 November 1976. Other than the fact that during his first year Charles resided at 67 W. 13th Street, and in the seminary buildings during his second, virtually nothing is known of the time Charles spent at Union. He must have given sermons somewhere in the city, but records are scarce indeed, and those existing contain very little.
grain work this is, Charles."), so that the reader gets some idea of the problems Charles was facing.\textsuperscript{50} Evidently, her parents were opposed to the idea of her going to China as a missionary's wife, believing that her life would be in danger, and knowing that, in any event, they would probably never see her again. Charles was apparently so determined to go to China that he thought of severing his engagement if it interfered with his call to serve God in the way he thought best. Rather than jilt his sweetheart, David suggested he try more persuasion with Harriette's parents. Tidman probably wrote Charles late in 1848 or early in 1849, advising him that there was scant possibility that the L.M.S. could send him to China, and it seems likely that things between the young couple were smoothed out long before David's letter arrived.

\textbf{Into the Pulpit.} Very little is known of the first position Charles found after leaving Union. On 27 August 1850, David wrote: "My brother Charles is settled as pastor of a church in Lakeville, Livingstone County, New York. He was educated at Oberlin and Andover. Indeed, he is a naturalized citizen of the United States."\textsuperscript{51} Lakeville is a small community in the Finger

\textsuperscript{50} May 1849, SLFL \textit{ii}, pp. 46-57. In his list of references on p. 298, Schapera cites a collection of letters from C. Livingstone to David (without listing dates or giving the num-

\textsuperscript{51} DL to William Thompson, SLMC, p. 164. No other document indicates that Charles ever studied at Andover. Lakeville is in Livingstone County.
Lakes region of New York, and it may be that Charles' finding a
post there had some connection with his previous experience in
Rochester, or it may have come through some contact at Union.
At any rate, he was not there very long, for seven months later
David wrote: "My brother Charles has left Lakeville. 3 sermons
on Sunday and poor health was too much for him." 52

There is also some question about Charles' citizenship.
His grand-nephew has written that Charles became a U.S. citizen
in Boston on 21 March 1856,53 yet David's letters in the early
1850's are filled with references to Charles as "Yankee." That
he did take out American citizenship is beyond doubt, because
he later regretted it (on one occasion), fearing he would be
conscripted into the Union Army to fight in the American Civil
War.54

After leaving Lakeville, Charles obtained a temporary
situation in Williston, Vermont, "to supply during a six months'
absence of the minister to the West; feels much better for the
change."55 This change had to render at least some improve-

52 DL to Robert Moffat, Sr., 26 April 1851, SLFL ii, p. 129.

53 Henry S. Livingstone (John's grandson) to the NARS, 10
March 1971. NAR Information File, 01/1/53/71. As this letter
contains a number of errors, 1856 may well be a typographical
error for "1850."

54 CL - HCL, 12 November 1863, 05/6.

55 DL to Robert Moffat, Sr., 26 April 1851, SLFL ii, p. 129.
The Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary (see p.
38 above) indicates that Charles was at Williston from 1849 to
1851, and although the months are not given, he was certainly
there by the end of 1849. Williston is a village on the Win-
cooski River, seven miles southeast of Burlington.
ment to Charles' physical state: situated on the southern side of the Great Lakes, in relatively open country, Oberlin and Lakeville were both subjected to severe continental winds from central Canada, which freeze everything in their paths and deposit enormous amounts of snow south of the Lakes every winter. And, of course, both places have much hotter summers than those Livingston became accustomed to in Scotland. Although Williston is further north, and has its share of severe winters, it is in fact somewhat protected by forested mountains on all sides. The Adirondack range of northern New York separates Williston effectively from Lake Ontario, thus forming an effective barrier to the harsh winds from the northwest. A further advantage of Vermont was its relative nearness to Harriette's home.

From Williston, Charles again wrote to Hamilton Hill, beginning his letter: "You have doubtless come to the conclusion long ere this that I had forgotten the debt I owe to the Treasurer of O. College."56 Livingston goes on to explain that he had not the money prior to this time to pay it, and estimating the debt to be in excess of thirty dollars, Charles enclosed forty, of which nine were to pay off a debt to a private citizen in Oberlin.

Less than three weeks later, Charles again wrote to Hill,

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56 Charles Livingston to Hamilton Hill, 12 December 1850, Archives, Box 10, 7/1/5, OCLIO
in reply to the latter's query if Charles wished to receive a
diploma, and indicating that his debt amounted to $29.41.
Livingston replied that he had received his diploma five years
earlier at graduation, and that it was his belief that the dip-
loma fee was included in the $29.41 mentioned by Hill, but he
enclosed an additional $5 just in case it was not. He adds:
"My own health is good. This climate suits me better than the
west. The mountains remind one of Scotland. We have about 3
ft. of snow - weather very cold." Then: "I am still in a state
of 'single blessedness'...thought it better to pay my debt be-
fore I got a wife." While in the process of paying old debts,
Charles didn't forget his elder brother: "I am sending off
about $40.00 worth of American books to S. Africa to my bro-
ther. It gives me great pleasure to send them." And his work
at the church was progressing favourably: "Our prayer meetings
are much better attended than when I came here."57

At this point, things were going well with Charles once
again. Able to earn a living, he first set out to free him-
self of the various creditors he had accumulated during his
quest for education, thus establishing a solid financial plat-
form from which to build a secure and successful marriage. Not
only was he honest and hard-working, but his judgement was
sound, and his work in the church was bearing fruit. Further-
more, his health was reacting favourably to the climate of

57 Livingston to Hill, 1 January 1851, Archives, Box 10,
7/1/5, QCLGO.
northwestern New England. Unfortunately, his position in Williston was only temporary, and with the return of the church's wayfaring pastor, Livingston was forced to move on.\textsuperscript{58} His next position was to be the longest he held in North America.

**Massachusetts and Marriage.** On 13 September 1851, the Congregational Church in Plympton, Massachusetts "voted unanimously to give Rev. Charles Livingston a Call to settle with us as our minister." Five days later, the first Parish of Plympton "voted unanimously to give Rev. Charles Livingston Six Hundred and fifty dollars a year, to be paid semi-annually allowing him three Sabbaths a year as a vacation to convert to himself...," and that his "Salary shall commence the first Sabbath after his Ordination."\textsuperscript{59} As his ordination took place on 15 October,\textsuperscript{60} Charles' ministry began almost at once. With his career and his financial position seemingly secure, Charles felt he could now provide properly for Harriette. Their five and one-half year engagement, which must have endured some very trying

\textsuperscript{58}Exactly when Charles left Williston is not clear, but it was sometime in the first half of 1851.

\textsuperscript{59}A true copy of minutes, Congregational Church in Plympton, and minutes, first Parish in Plympton." Attest, Wm H. Soule, Parish Clerk, and Clerk of the Church. The Soule Collection, SNMDL. Plympton is a tiny village on Cape Cod, only 7 miles west of Plymouth, where the Pilgrims (Separatists) landed in 1620. The salary stated above is at variance with SGDL, p. 304, n., where Charles supposedly received £750 (§3750) when he was in Lakeville, New York.

\textsuperscript{60}See Appendix F.
circumstances, terminated with their marriage in Plympton on 29 January 1852, with Sherlock Bristol officiating.  

As the parsonage was being constructed at this time, the newlyweds were invited to occupy the upper chambers of the home of William Soule and his family. While guests in this home, Charles tutored the Soule's teenage son, and as Harriette was herself a schoolteacher, she might have done so as well. In this house, on 15 March 1853, the couple's first child was born. As the baby was a daughter, they named her Mary Agnes, perhaps after their own mothers. By the time their second child, Charles Henry, was born on 6 July 1854, the Livingstones were living in the church parsonage.

Beyond this sketchy information, little can be said about the four or five years Charles spent in Plympton. No clue to his reasons for leaving are evident, but papers in the Soule Collection indicate that the Livingstones and the Souleas were on good terms at least as late as 1864.

Whatever may have been the case, Charles next assumed the position of Acting Minister in a church in Mattapoisett, Massachusetts. It seems he could have served in this latter position

61 NARS, C1/1/53/71. See n. 53, p. 40 above.

62 As Charles was the seventh minister of this church since its founding in 1698, the church must have been in the process of constructing a new parsonage. It may be of further interest to some that one George Soule signed the Mayflower Compact, and a grandson of this William Soule was given the name George.

63 See n. 1, p. 1 above. It seems likely that Charles did not change the spelling immediately, but the existing evidence is not conclusive.
for no more than eighteen months, for in April, 1857, Living-  
ston left Mattapoisett on three months' leave of absence, from  
which he never returned to his pulpit on a permanent basis. It  
was here that he learned of his brother's heralded arrival in  
London in December, 1856, and it was here that his and  
Harriette's last child, a daughter Hattie (Harriette?) was born  
on 21 February 1857. With his departure from Mattapoisett,  
Livingstone's active ministry, and with it his period of per¬  
manent residence in North America, came to an end.

Accomplishments in America. As the above information clearly  
indicates, Charles Livingstone achieved his full maturity in the  
United States. In addition to the abstract and philosophical  
knowledge he gained at Oberlin, he personally experienced the  
virtue of hard work sustained over a long period of time, and  
enjoyed the particular kind of satisfaction only known to those  
who have to struggle against great odds in order to achieve  
their goal.

In spite of a sudden affliction which nearly cost him his  
life, Charles was able to earn his college degree, and then at  
considerable hardship went on to complete his course in semin¬  
ary. Never having had money to burn, he exhibited considerable  
fiscal responsibility and even generosity in the years after

64 Among the papers in the Soule Collection, one finds a  
copy of The British Daily Mail (Glasgow, 18 December 1856),  
addressed to Charles at "Mattapoisette, Mass," in an uniden¬  
tified hand, probably that of one of his sisters. Two long  
columns on page one tell of David Livingstone's arrival and  
reception in London.
his departure from Oberlin, and when due to circumstances beyond his control he was forced to abandon his long-cherished vocational dream, he made an effort to succeed in one of the very few related fields, one in which he had really never shown very much interest. Like his brother, he had long entertained thoughts of carrying the gospel to new territory, but his betrothal and subsequent marriage placed the usual limitations upon his freedom of movement.

He must have been a very pleasant and engaging young man, for wherever he went, strangers were kind to him. Until further evidence on his stay in Plympton comes to light, (in which post Livingstone might well have remained for the rest of his life had he chosen), it seems fair to say that his main drawback was his weakened physical condition, the result of his fateful attack of pleurisy during his junior year at Oberlin.

Before examining the subsequent course of Charles Livingstone's career, it remains to consider his relations with his famous brother, who during the period Charles was in North America had himself gone from being a missionary candidate to an ordained minister, and on to become the most dauntless missionary-explorer Africa and the world has ever seen.

65 During his later years on the Zambezi and in West Africa, Charles Livingstone occasionally exhibited a temper which at times got the better of him. While there is as yet no shred of evidence suggesting this were the case when he was in the United States, it was probably present, and may have been behind his decision to leave Oberlin, Plympton, or both.
It should be noted at the outset that the eight years' difference in the ages of the two probably increased the amount of respect each had for the other: had they been of an age, they might have been plagued by a kind of divisive competition. There can be no doubt that David admired the courage his younger brother exhibited in his determination to receive an education which would enable him to follow David's footsteps in the service of God and the church. Somewhat in this context, it should be remembered that Charles had crossed the Atlantic Ocean and travelled a considerable distance inland at a time when David had never been farther from home than London.

And it was certainly no coincidence that Charles wanted to go as a missionary to China, and thus vicariously bring his elder brother's frustrated dream to fruition. Throughout his years in the United States, Charles continually sought David's advice on matters of all kinds. Both were pleased when Charles' theological training brought him to where they could seriously discuss matters which were of vital import to them. To his brother on 6 February 1853, David wrote:

The Bibliotheca Sacra and New Englander & some other theological works have given me a high idea of Yankee attainments in that science. They seem ahead of the British in several departments, and I am proud to think that I have a brother capable of standing among such giants as a companion in arms... 66

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66 SLFL ii. p. 207. David was not exaggerating, for Charles had sent to him a number of works written by Oberlin and Union professors and faculty members.
On an earlier occasion, David had considered allowing his third son to be named after Charles: "We had another son born to us on the Banks of the Zouga, and his mother insists on calling him Charles. If it had been left to me, I should have called him Zouga; so you need not thank me very fiercely for the honour thrust upon you."67 A further token of his esteem for Charles can be found in a later letter: "I need not tell you to be kind to my children if I never return. I give you Agnes if I am cut off. The Directors [of the London Missionary Society] will take care of Mary and the other children..."68 The tenor of the latter compliment is more marked when one realizes that Agnes was always David's favorite child.

There is no doubt that Charles felt similarly about David. David himself told him: "You think much more highly of me than I deserve." 69 And we have seen that once it was within his means, Charles regularly sent to David parcels which David valued far beyond their cost, and the great traveller passed many a mile in an ox-drawn wagon relieving the monotony of the endless landscape by reading from a book Charles sent him.

Although Charles' final years in New England are uncertain, it seems very likely that when he boarded the "City of New York"

67DL to CL, 8 October 1851, in "Lighting the Dark Continent: Newly Discovered Letters of David Livingstone," The Atlantic Monthly, vol. 130, no. 1 (July, 1922), pp. 5-6. The location of the manuscript is unknown. Shortly after writing this, the baby was renamed "William Oswald," but David always called him "Zouga" anyway.

68ibid., p. 9.

69Ibid.
on Saturday, 11 April 1857, bound for Glasgow, his main reason for returning to Great Britain (in addition to seeing his mother and sisters once again), was to consider what his elder brother had to say about his missionary travels and researches in South Africa.
I have a brither o mine ain,
He's newly come from sea; Child, 62

On to London. The "City of New York" reached Greenock at noon on Sunday, 26 April 1857, after a passage of 14 days, 19 hours. As one of the blades on the ship's screw had been broken off while she was at her berth on Manhattan, the crossing time was considered very good indeed.¹ For Charles, it was luxurious when compared with his first crossing, made 17 years earlier. He paid full cabin fare of £75 (f15), and was very comfortable except for one day (15 April), when he was seasick. During the voyage he preached to the steerage passengers, and was chosen by his fellow cabin passengers to draw up a paper expressing his thanks on behalf of them all to the captain.² On the day after reaching Greenock, the ship went on to Glasgow, and that evening Charles was reunited in Hamilton with his mother and sisters. Three days later he journeyed to London to meet his brother David.³

¹The Glasgow Herald, 29 April 1857, p. 7, c. 1.
²CL - HCL, 18 - 25 April 1857, G5/21.
³Which brother suggested they get together is not certain, but plans were being made prior to their reunion. To John Murray, David wrote on 10 April [1857]; "He has lost his health and wishes in consequence to go out with me to Africa." Archives, JMPL. Upon arrival in Hamilton, Charles wrote his wife: "David has applied for me. If I get the situation I shall have a pension for life after I leave Africa..." CL-HCL, 27 April 1857, G5/20. Charles' entry in DNB, his obituary by Frere (see p. 10 above), and COMG, pp. 25-26 all present the view that David summoned Charles to join him.
In December, 1856, David Livingstone returned to London after an absence of sixteen years. For the first half of that time he was an agent of the London Missionary Society, stationed north of the Orange River. He began his work at Kuruman, and gradually worked his way northward until he reached the region of the Tropic of Capricorn. Here, at Kolobeng, he founded what was to be his last mission station. From this base he continued to indulge his penchant for seeking out new regions into which the gospel could be spread: after making excursions eastward into the Transvaal in 1846 and 1848, he again turned northward in 1849, acting as interpreter and local authority to the four-man European party which confirmed the existence of Lake Ngami.

To Livingstone, reaching the lake was of secondary importance compared with the discovery which followed: the River Tamunakle flowed into the lake from the north, indicating that a well-watered country lay in that direction. He returned to the region in 1850, and the following year, in company with his friend and fellow explorer William Cotton Oswell, pushed on north to the Chobe River, where Linyanti, leading town of the Kalolo people, was located. From here the two men went on to the Zambezi River, which they found to be over a mile wide and flowing through a region widely supposed to be desert.

From this point, the two men rode southward all the way to Cape Town, where in May, 1852, Livingstone put his family on a vessel bound for Great Britain, and promptly retraced his steps
to the center of the continent. His most heralded feat of African exploration followed: Livingstone traced the course of the Zambezi northward to a point near its source, then turned northwest and again west, across the Portuguese colony of Angola, arriving at the sea at São Paulo do Luanda. He was accompanied by many of the Kalolo and their subject peoples, for whom he was hoping to blaze a route to the sea through which trade and Christianity could be introduced into the central Zambezi valley.

Satisfied that this route was impractical, Livingstone led them back the way they came, rested a while in the capital (now located at Sesheke, on the Zambezi), and led another party down that great river to the Portuguese colony of Moçambique. En route he became the first European in modern times to visit the great falls of the Zambezi, which he named for Queen Victoria. 4

This trip from Cape Town to the Indian Ocean via Angola occupied Livingstone for almost four years, and the exploits of this itinerant missionary and his band of African followers captured the imagination of the British public. Although he was thusly assured of the fame and temporary novelty naturally due any explorer, Livingstone had something to offer which set him apart from most of the rest: the accuracy of his astronomical observations were such as to excite the admiration of

4Consciously or otherwise, Livingstone the Scot was hereby proclaiming his loyalty to the British sovereign, a gesture which could not fail to be appreciated by the official and the social (usually one in the same) London of the day.
geographers in Britain, the Continent, Cape Town and New York as well. They enabled mapmakers to add a considerable amount of information to that previously known about southern Africa, and when Livingstone arrived in London, he was heartily welcomed by persons from all walks of life.

By the time his brother reached him four months later, David had decided to leave the missionary society and accept government sponsorship for a return trip to Africa. When at Quelimane early in 1856, David received a letter from Arthur Tidman, advising him that henceforth the Society could not spend money on wanderings "connected only remotely with the spread of the gospel." This was perhaps the most unfortunate letter Tidman ever wrote, and Livingstone was enraged, for it cut to the quick his entire philosophy of missionary enterprise. He had come to think of himself as a sower of Christian seed in wild, untamed places, to which traders and more conventional missionaries would follow and harvest a dual crop. As a result of this letter, Livingstone was planning to leave the Society even before he reached England. To the leading Society agent in Cape Town, he wrote: "the proposition, to leave the untried remote and difficult fields of labour as they have been ever since our Saviour died for the poor sinners who inhabit them, involves my certain severance from the L. M. S. . . ." and he went on to add that although he was considerably poorer than

5 Tidman to D. Livingstone, 24 August 1855, SLMC, p. 277.
when he landed at Cape Town in 1841, "I shall leave you without
abuse of any sort." His reception in London, especially that
by the Royal Geographical Society and its President, Sir Rod-
erick Murchison, only strengthened this resolve.

On 27 January, 1857, Livingstone wrote a letter to Murch-
ison which was meant for the eye of the Earl of Clarendon,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which he "disen-
tangled himself from his commitment to the Missionary Society
on the grounds of its limited resources to promote his ideas of
'the special development of the commercial resources of the
country drained by the river Zambesi.' He then offered himself
to the government..." If the missionary society was still in
doubt, Livingstone was not: to the Secretary of the Royal Geo-
graphical Society he confided that although the L.M.S. had made
his salary for 1857 available to him, he had no intentions of
accepting it. Tidman, due to an unfortunate choice of words
badly timed, had lost the greatest man ever connected with his
Society, and with him went his most successful fund-raiser.

It should not be assumed that in leaving the missionary

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6 DL to Wm. Thompson, 17 September 1856 (from Mauritius),
SLMC, pp. 322-3. It may be that David was not yet ready to burn
his bridges, for in two letters to Tidman from the Indian Ocean,
he failed to speak so frankly.

7 Northcott, Cecil. David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline
and Fall. (London, 1973), p. 56. This was not, however, his
first overture to Clarendon: see p. 71 below.

8 Livingstone to Norton Shaw, 3 March 1857, RGSL, DL
2/15/3. Only a typescript of a fragment of his letter of
resignation from the L.M.S. seems to survive, in SOAS, Africa,
Box 10, folder 5. It was sent to the L.M.S. from the SNMDL.
society in order to work for the government, Livingstone was sacrificing the goals of the church for those of the state. Quite the contrary, he expected that the resources of the government could be used to further the cause of both church and state in central Africa. As early as 1843 he had begun to feel that the traditional missionary effort by itself was not enough to aid the African to assume his rightful place among the world's peoples, but that the introduction of commerce and Christianity together would bring about the dawn of a great day in Africa.

Nevertheless, when the two brothers met in 1857, David was still in a quandary concerning his relationship with the L.M.S. He was certainly worried about what churchmen would say when it became known that he was planning to accept a government appointment, and he was willing to remain nominally connected with the Society. Evidently, the Directors were interested in more than Livingstone's name. Prior to Charles' arrival, Clarendon had advised David that his sphere of operations would be enlarged by an "official connection," and Charles promptly advised his brother to take up the statesman's offer, as it would enable him to do that which he intended doing anyway, and would provide him with means to support his family adequately.  

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9CL - HCL, 5 May [1857], G5/22. In almost four years since she and her children had arrived in Britain, Mary L. had lived from hand to mouth while being pushed from pillar to post among relatives and friends. Always short of money (she used alcohol), David said her mind had been affected ever since a paralysing stroke followed the death of her fourth child: CL - HCL, 14 January 1858, G5/47.
Although David had probably made up his mind before Charles arrived, he doubtless would have been gratified to receive such reinforcement.

While David was thinking less and less about the problems with the L.M.S., Charles was thinking more and more about the possibility of his going to Africa. In his very first letter to his wife from London, he wrote: "D wants me to go out with him, if he can arrange matters so that I can have Govt pay and also pay from the Chamber of Commerce in Manchester. It is best he says to have as many strings to my bow as possible."¹⁰

As he was due to return to Massachusetts in early July, Charles had a great deal to consider in a short time. Among the many things which could intervene between Charles and his brother's wish to have him with him in Africa were his future career as a minister, his state of health, and the circumstances concerning his wife and family. As Charles was both sensible and cautious, he was not about to drop everything and rush off to the ends of the earth on a rash venture. With this in mind, it is necessary to examine the factors which influenced Charles' final decision concerning Africa.

Factors Influencing the Decision. During the seven-and-a-half years that Charles Livingstone was employed as a minister, he served at least four congregations, and had ample time to become acquainted with the career opportunities which his chosen

¹⁰CL - HCL, 5 May [1857], G5/22.
profession had to offer. It is evident from many of the letters which he wrote to Harriette in 1857 that he had become disenchanted with the ministry. After he had been in Britain slightly over a month, he contemplated "the fickleness of churches. A minister is turned off for any or for no reason and not seldom because he is faithful and then if he has no resources, why what is to become of his little ones who look to him for their bread and the education which is to fit them to do their part in life?"\textsuperscript{11}

When in London he preached frequently, but while he was pleased to make a contribution now and then, he usually paid the price of some personal discomfort. "I preached for Mr. Binney last Sat. eve - had about 800 or 1000 - could not sleep after it."\textsuperscript{12} As he was not enthusiastic about his preaching, it is hardly surprising that Charles had an eye open for a way out of it. When the opportunity presented itself, he justified his action on the grounds that his health could not stand the strain of preaching.

The idea that poor health was as good a reason as any for leaving the ministry - no doubt a realistic appraisal - was supported by David himself. David "thinks that the state of my health is a sufficient reason for wishing to retire from

\textsuperscript{11}CL - HCL, 30 May 1857, G5/27. This makes one wonder again about Charles' reasons for leaving Plympton.

\textsuperscript{12}CL - HCL, 15 May 1857, G5/24.
the ministry."\(^{13}\) In subsequent letters, Charles wrote: "My health will not stand preaching." and, "I can't stand preaching, that is clear..."\(^{14}\) By the latter date, Charles had begun to assume that he would not be returning to his congregation in Mattapoisett. To his wife he delegated the unpleasant task of breaking the news gently to the church fathers: "Perhaps it may be well to say to the people that I cannot come back as soon as I supposed when I left. My health is very little better, I am not strong yet and to return even and I return to meet the hot weather of July and August would prostrate me at once." Toward the end of this same letter he advises Harriette more directly: "You might tell the people that if my health is no better I shall probably go out to Africa with my brother."\(^{15}\) It seems likely that his wife was not about to take this without some disagreement, for in another letter, after chastising her for scolding him in her last (she probably questioned his decision to leave his calling), he uses even stronger language, exclaiming that if he continues preaching, it might well cause his "end in a madhouse."\(^{16}\) This was perhaps something more than a mere outburst of temper, for long after Charles had

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\(^{13}\) CL – HCL, 7 May 1857, G5/23.


\(^{15}\) Ibid., the latter. Subsequent letters reveal that he was very reluctant to leave his congregation under such circumstances, but the opportunity to provide for his family, as well as deal the slave trade a hefty blow at its source, was a chance he could not forego.

\(^{16}\) CL – HCL, 22 June 1857, G5/30.
made up his mind and the issue was closed as far as he and Harriette were concerned, he wrote: "I think that I have had a narrow escape from a permanently broken down constitution if not from insanity. A few months more at the rate in which I was going before I quit would have finished the matter." ¹⁷

While it is clear that Charles was convinced that his physical reaction to the act of preaching and to the New England climate as well was such that it threatened both health and sanity, it is not so clear from exactly how many afflictions Charles suffered. Certainly his lungs continued to bother him, and it has been noted that following a sermon in London he suffered from insomnia. In fact, the latter problem manifested itself every time he preached in London. A hint that there were other physical problems as well appears in a letter to which reference has already been made: Charles believed that, all things considered, it would be unwise for him "to return to Mattapoisett, preach a while and breakdown and then have you to nurse an irritable patient as this nervous difficulty does make one very peevish and irascible." ¹⁸

Thus he suffered from nervousness, which doubtless contributed to his insomnia, and would tend to make him bad tempered at times. Indeed, he was sufficiently concerned about his temper to mention it again to Harriette over two weeks later: "I... fear that to return to the work of the ministry

¹⁷CL – HCL, 4 September 1857, 05/37.
¹⁸CL – HCL, 30 May 1857, 05/27.
might make it [his temper] worse, and certainly it would not be agreeable to have wife and children all with me safe in a better world because I was so cross and snappish in this."\textsuperscript{19}

And if all this were not enough, Charles may have suffered from a circulatory problem: "The past two nights I have [had] the old difficulty - could not sleep, had to jump up and rub my limbs."\textsuperscript{20} While unending speculation on the origins and causes of these several afflictions may prove interesting, it might also prove futile, since further evidence is not available. What is evident is that Charles was so plagued by the pulpit and personal physical discomfort, he was ripe for a change in any direction.

It may well be that Charles never seriously/whether Africa would improve his health or not. No doubt he felt at times that his health probably couldn't get worse, and anyway, whenever David spoke of Africa, he spoke in the most glowing terms. Furthermore, Charles knew that no matter where he went in Africa, his brother the doctor would be nearby. Only two weeks after meeting David, Charles wrote to Harriette: "I regard this present chance as one which may prevent a complete ruin of my health."\textsuperscript{21} Not long thereafter he wrote more positively: "D proposes to locate on the healthy ridge and get the Makololo there. It is their country. There is another

\textsuperscript{19} CL - HCL, 17 June 1857, 05/29.  
\textsuperscript{20} CL - HCL, undated [May - June 1857], 05/31.  
\textsuperscript{21} CL - HCL, 15 May 1857, 05/24.
lake to be discovered north of that also in a healthy region." Later in this same letter, he gets to the point in no uncertain terms: "The climate of the region we go to in Africa will not be near so trying to health as that of the states with the great extremes of heat and cold."\(^{22}\) And it was around this time that he also wrote: "So you see that if I go with him it is not to an unhealthy fever region but to the most healthy in the world."\(^{23}\) Thus Charles not only felt that a return to North America would have a continuing negative effect upon his health, but that a trip to Africa would provide a great deal of relief from the illnesses which plagued him.

The final mental obstacle between Charles and Africa to be considered at this time was the situation with regards to his family. This force Charles removed with ease. Writing to Harriette as early as 7 May, he said: "Plenty of gents would like to go out with D, but he is anxious to have me go as he wants one in whom he has confidence... I shall only go, however, provided I can get enough for you my dear and the little darlings."\(^{24}\) Eight days later he wrote: "I think that in the event of getting employed by Govt I shall accept.... I shall probably have the opportunity of being able not only to provide liberally

\(^{22}\) CL – HCL, 30 May 1857, G5/27.

\(^{23}\) CL – HCL, undated [May - June 1857], G5/32.

\(^{24}\) CL – HCL, 7 May 1857, G5/23.
for my own family but mother and sisters as well." 25 Charles returned to this theme a month later: "My mind is made up so far that I shall go if I can get enough salary from Govt or Chamber of Commerce [Manchester] or D to support my family handsomely even independently of what I can earn by trade while I am abroad." 26 So instead of depriving his family by leaving them and going to Africa for an unspecified period of time, Charles was going there in order to make their lives more comfortable.

During the period when Charles was contending with these ideas and their ramifications, he and his brother were also wondering how they could convince some body, most likely a branch of the government, that Charles was qualified to fill a position of responsibility in Africa. How they went about this is, from Charles' viewpoint, the most important development during his year of decision.

25 CL - HCL, 15 May 1857, G5/24. While David's sisters were constantly experiencing financial difficulties, from which they blandly expected David or his influential friends to extricate them, at this time their situation was particularly acute. In a letter to a friend, David related how hard Agnes and Janet had worked during his father's final illness (he died in Feb. 1856), starving themselves and becoming ill while trying to retain control of their cottage. David and Charles naturally wanted to relieve their financial pressure. DL to J. Bevan Braithwaite, 27 April 1857, NLS MS.Div.6509.

26 CL - HCL, 17 June 1857, G5/29. Charles' contention that he was going to Africa to improve his family's security was no mere convenient rationalization designed to assuage his conscience or cloak other motives: his letters for the rest of his life are replete with similar references, and thus his sincerity in this matter is above question.
King Cotton. It has been shown that prior to Charles' return to Britain, he had received an adequate general education, and had undergone intensive training and study to prepare him for the work of the ministry. As this was hardly enough to qualify him to fill an official government post, David set about stringing his brother's bow. The first tune played was to be "King Cotton." Little time was wasted; Charles wrote home toward the end of May: "we must go to Manchester to get some ideas about cotton growing..." and the machinery used in preparing the raw cotton for the mill.\(^27\)

In the course of his travels from Cape Town to Quelimane, David had noted dozens of plants and minerals which he believed could be turned into profit, and he was quick to advise the Governors-General of both Portuguese colonies, and even King Pedro V himself, how he envisioned this could be done. He continued this form of proselytization when in Britain whenever he had an audience, which was frequently.

The chief crop of his dreams was cotton, which he had seen growing uncultivated almost everywhere in the Zambezi Valley. Nor was he slow to see the potential strategic importance of the fibre: events in both North America and the Asian sub-continent were becoming more ominous weekly, and if the supply of raw cotton imported for British mills were threatened, an alternative field of production would be a boon to all concerned. It probably didn't require a great deal of prompting for the

\(^{27}\text{CL - HCL, 30 May 1857, G5/27.}\)
brothers to realize that here was Charles' official reason for going to Africa.

In the meantime, however, David had other things on his mind, foremost of which was the writing of a book of his adventures, with which Charles helped him considerably. But by mid-July, Charles could write to his wife:

We have written Mr. Ely of Manchester to see if he knows of any work on the cultivation of the cotton plant, etc. wh would give directions, etc. I want to read such a book as it would make quite a difference to be able to answer the question 'Does he understand raising cotton?' in the affirmative."

In subsequent letters he kept Harriette informed, mentioning that he had ordered 2 or 3 books on cotton from Manchester, and more importantly: "I am invited by Thomas Clegg Esq. to visit Manchester and stay with him a little in order to get acquainted with the practical working of the machines for cleaning and packing cotton." Thus Charles' preparation was about to begin in earnest. As soon as David's book was completed, Charles wrote again: "We go to Manchester tomorrow to spend a week there."  

While there is only scanty evidence indicating what Charles did during his week there, it seems reasonable to assume that things went as planned, and that Clegg and his

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28CL - HCL, 15 July [1857], G5/33.  
29CL - HCL, 26 July 1857, G5/34.  
30CL - HCL, 4 September 1857, G5/37.
associates guided Charles through a general impression of the processes and problems of the cotton industry, and taught him the ability to distinguish between superior and inferior species of the plant. Certainly this experience and the information received from books would have enabled him to converse intelligently on many phases of his subject. If he were to face a session of questioning by government representatives, Charles undoubtedly would have made a good account of himself.

It has been seen that as early as 17 June, Charles spoke of earning money by trade (p. 62 above). Further along in that same letter, he commented somewhat dreamily: "I expect that in 2 or 3 years that noble river [the Zambezi] will be ploughed by monthly steamers bringing down valuable cargoes - hope to have some little share in [the] profits." 31 Five days later he was writing that his sisters' financial situation was such that they needed financial help, and thus: "both D and I must make some money. I think you carry [the] joke too far when you speak of 'looking upon money and fine things as trash,' because it is not true. You always like some of both..." 32 Evidently,

31 CL – HCL, 17 June 1857, 05/29. Others were interested in David's bandwagon; Charles wrote: "My old friend Henry Drummond called today - he would like to get David to load a ship for him with ivory and oil etc. etc." CL – HCL, 14 September 1858, 05/38.

32 CL – HCL, 22 June 1857, 05/30. Charles was dazzled by the opulence of London: the homes and gardens, and the beauty, mode of dress, and manners of the ladies entranced him. His letters to Harriette (15 July 1857, 05/33; May-June 1857, 05/31, etc.) make it clear that he now realized how enjoyable life could be if one had much money: he had sipped at the golden cup of champagne and had obviously enjoyed it.
Harriette had registered her disapproval at his apparently increasing tendency to concern himself with things temporal as opposed to things spiritual, which he, like his brother, would have considered "the most unkindest cut of all."

And yet his letters continued to talk of trading schemes. One mentions the potential of the coal seams along the Zambezi (which no doubt interested James Young immensely), tells of the buaze grown there which is, according to a company in Leeds, worth $2-300 per ton in England, and mentions the case of "A coloured man of Mauritius [who] cleared $20,000 last year by a single crop of sugar even on the poor soil of that island, with the improved machinery for it."\(^3\) As time went on, Charles' dreams became grander, and on 30 September he wrote: "Won't you come on next year and see how you like it after I get a house for you and a steamer and ply the Zambesi?"\(^4\)

Up to this point, most of Charles' dreams of himself as trader concerned the money he could make on the river in concert with his brother, and it seems from his letters to Harriette that it was only with some reluctance that she came to accept his idea of leaving the ministry and his family to turn trader - only his repeated assurances that the country was healthy and that his brother knew best mollified her. Nevertheless, his letter of 24 October must have struck her like a thunderclap:

\(^{33}\) CL - HCL, 20 August 1857, 05/36.

\(^{34}\) CL - HCL, 30 September 1857, 05/39.
Angola. By the way, there is a possibility that I may go to Angola instead of the East side. Angola is by far the best country and cotton is raised very extensively now. A Portuguese gent there said to D 'If I had a few hundred dollars I would cause a revolution in the market. I would purchase all the cotton the people raise this year - next year they would raise more and the third year I should be a rich man.' D put this down in his journal before he knew how much cotton was wanted in Eng. It is the finest country of any he saw and healthy. Then it is nearer Eng and Mr. Roger Bar-stow's ships call at Loanda - its sea port - get palm oil, etc. so you could easily come and call on me. We have not yet decided on any step.35

Once Charles had prepared himself to raise cotton on the Zambezi, it dawned upon the brothers that he could turn this knowledge to greater profit in Angola, which in addition to being a healthy country (according to David), was much more developed than was Mozambique. Two weeks after writing the above, Charles had another surprise for his wife. He explained how Mr. Lindsay, M.P., had recently received from Portugal permission to run a line of steamers to Loanda. As he was seeking an agent, David recommended Charles to him. His salary would be £700-800 annually, plus 2½% of the profits from the cargo, and on the side Charles would be free to engage in any trading ventures he wished. Furthermore, "We hope that in addition to this agency that I may get the Consulship at Loanda..." as the present consul was sent home by Mr. Gabriel

35CL - HCL, 24 October 1857, 65/42. The Portuguese gent was Sr. António do Canto e Castro, Commandant of the District of Golungo Alto (SLA, p. 192), and this is probably the origin of David Livingstone’s plan to use cotton and ivory trade to replace the slave trade in eastern Africa. Barstow was apparently a merchant or shipowner of Boston, Massachusetts.
for drunkenness.\(^3^6\) Certainly Charles was willing to consider anything which would bring real money into his hands for the first time in his life, but there was another side of him, of which we should not lose sight: "In Ambaca, one of the districts, all the natives can read and write. I mean to get some bibles among them and do some good."\(^3^7\) Again in the style of his brother, Charles felt he could coordinate his activities so as to remain a preacher/missionary while attending to other duties.

Concerning this situation in Angola, Charles had more to say in subsequent letters. He refers to Lindsay's as "The company for whom I expect to act as agent..." but goes on to say that David has begun to have his doubts about this particular firm. Charles then added that he would like to go with his brother to the east coast for many reasons, and concluded the subject saying: "It is possible I shall go to Loanda."\(^3^8\) Clearly, Charles didn't know if he was coming or going.

He was no better off a month later. On Christmas eve, from his mother's home in Hamilton, he wrote Harriette that Mr.

\(^{3^6}\) CL - HCL, 5 November [1857], 05/43. William S. Lindsay (1816 - 1877) was at this time a shipowner representing Tynemouth and North Shields. George Brand (d. June, 1860) was retiring as Vice-Consul at Luanda, which post he had held since December, 1844. The office of Consul had been vacant for at least 14 years, but in late 1857 Watson Vredenburg was appointed to this post.

\(^{3^7}\) CL - HCL, 5 November 1857, 05/43.

\(^{3^8}\) CL - HCL, 25 November 1857, 05/44.
Lindsay was not to be trusted unless everything were written down on paper. Yet on the next day, after David's arrival the night before, he wrote that David "thinks I may do well in Loanda not merely in the agency but in buying up all the cotton of the country and in other things." After thus indicating that he may go to Luanda after all, he writes: "On the East Coast there is not so good a prospect of steady returns or good trade for a few years as on the West. I shall be nearer to you by a good deal too and hope to make more money and quicker than on the east." 39

This is the last comment that Charles made concerning W. S. Lindsay - for some unknown reason, he passed up the opportunity. Probably David continued to doubt Lindsay's honesty, and anyway, it was around Christmas time that David was called upon to make final decisions concerning the personnel he was to take with him to Africa.

Nevertheless, Charles was not through flirting with Angola. Toward mid-January he mentioned another job opportunity I had a very tempting offer to go to the west to superintend a Malachite mine. The company offered me seven hundred and fifty pounds a year ($3750) with a free passage out, a house when I got there, bedding etc. and rations or $20 a month and a passage back, in all about $4000 a year, to sail last Tuesday. I went so far as to have the articles of agreement drawn up, made alterations to suit myself. 40

39CL - HCL, 24 - 25 December 1857, 05/46.
40CL - HCL, 14 January 1858, 05/47.
But this opportunity, which seems so good on paper, was also turned down. Charles went on to say that neither he nor David knew what to do, but that David felt that Charles should accompany him up the Zambezi. Furthermore, David’s closest friends advised Charles that Angola was very unhealthy, and Charles concludes this vital letter by announcing to Harriette that he was to accompany his brother on the government-sponsored expedition to central Africa. The period of indecision ended.

The Zambezi Expedition. Exactly when this expedition had its origin is a matter of conjecture, but its formation was certainly one of a logical sequence of events following the first European visit to Lake Ngami in 1849. On returning southward from visiting the Zambezi two years later, Livingstone wrote to Tidman before he even reached his home in Kolobeng:

41 A part of the charred remains of an undated [2 February 1858] letter from David to Whitwell Elwin apparently reads as follows: "He felt that large salary (£750 per an with £4 per month ration to much influence in his c when he spoke of doing it was ne for the larger salary." (CLWJ, A 348/A5, partially destroyed by fire in 1931). Evidently Charles felt that the salary was so high that he would not feel free to spend time on the side spreading the gospel.

To Edmund Gabriel (d. 1862), H.M. Slave Trade Arbitrator in Luanda, in an undated fragment [7 October 1858], David wrote: "my brother...was offered £800 a year if he would take the situation Monteiro got." (BLJS, Book no. 6754).

In January, 1858, Monteiro was hired by the Western African Malachite Copper Mines Company. He led a party of 12 men under a Cornish mining captain to investigate ancient malachite mines in the Bembe Valley, 120 miles northeast of Luanda. 7 men took fever the day they arrived in Bembe; 8 died within 9 months, the company folded, and in 1860 Monteiro was back in London. Joachim John Monteiro, Angola and the River Congo, 2 vols. (London, 1875) pp. 160-1. Obviously, Charles did well in avoiding Angola.
Since it is found profitable for those engaged in the coast trade to pass along picking up ivory, beeswax, &c &c, would it not be much more advantageous to come up the Zambesi, and receive those articles from the producers themselves? I venture to put this forth, though entirely ignorant of the commerce on the coast. But I feel assured, if our merchants could establish a legitimate commerce on the Zambesi, they would soon drive the slave dealer from the market...42

Livingstone continued on with this long paragraph, suggesting that he should return to find "a spot of known healthiness" to which commercial men might be invited.

Four and a half years later, after he had seen a great deal more of the country with his own eyes, Livingstone decided to bring the matter directly to the attention of the government. On 19 March 1856, from Tete, he wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, telling him of his travels across the continent, his estimation of the wealth of the land, and stressing the existence of a ridge north of the Zambezi where Europeans could live in good health.43

Once he was in London, Livingstone's influential friends, especially Murchison, saw that he had access to various officials in high places. After the letter to Murchison mentioned above (p. 54) was passed on to Clarendon, Livingstone wrote the For-

42 DL to Arthur Tidman, 17 October 1851, Banks of the Zouga, SLMC, pp. 184 - 185. David wrote similarly but in greater detail to his family at this same time: SLFL ii, pp. 147-149. No doubt this was in Tidman's mind when he wrote about "plans only remotely connected with the spread of the gospel."

43 Parliamentary Papers, Session 2, 1857, vol. xliv: "Accounts and Papers " (20), The Slave Trade, (212), Class A, "Correspondence with the British Commissioners, etc.,” Loanda, pp. 62-6.
eign Secretary once again. In this letter he repeated much of what he had said earlier, and went on to say that the Portuguese authority in Moçambique was a far cry from what it was claimed to be, implying that there were sufficient grounds for a British counter-claim. He followed this with what was to be his greatest miscalculation with regards to the Zambezi Expedition: "I think I am right in conjecturing that the Portuguese would lend a willing hand in developing the resources of a large fertile country from which they at present derive no benefit whatever. Were they induced to engage heartily in the work of promoting lawful commerce they would materially advance the interests of both Portugal and England." However, he went on, he wanted the beginning venture to be very small-scale, wishing to take only a few ploughs, cotton gins, nut presses, cane rollers, and gifts for "the king Sekeletu, who is so warmly attached to the English." 44

Six days later, Livingstone met with Clarendon and was given the opportunity to expound further upon his views. That Clarendon agreed with much that Livingstone had to say is indicated by a note Livingstone sent to Norton Shaw of the R.G.S. on the following day, in which he mentions that the Foreign Secretary approves of his getting a copper-plated boat of the

4419 March 1857, BLOCx, Clarendon deposit, c. 30. The statement that the Portuguese "derive no benefit whatever" reveals more about Livingstone than it does about the Portuguese: with over 350 years of experience in the region, the Portuguese must have been getting some benefit out of their colony, whether or not it was obvious to a passing traveller. The full implications of this were never evident until Livingstone's die was irretrievably cast.
type which Burton took out to Africa.  

Evidently, Livingstone would indeed return to Africa as a servant of H.M. Government: it was just a matter of time.

When plans began to move too quickly, Livingstone had to take action to slow matters down somewhat. Writing to Murchison on 15 April, he expressed his approval of a plan to provide him with a consulship to the Kalolo and other tribes of internal Africa, but requested that the date of the appointment be delayed until the time of his departure drew near, in order to reduce the amount of adverse publicity which he expected such an announcement would bring from those in the Mission House.

There the matter seems to have rested until the following autumn. With his book completed, Livingstone was only restrained from leaving Britain by the climate in the region of the Zambezi delta. Here Europeans were less likely to contract malaria in the months from April to July than during the remainder of the year, and David felt that February was the ideal month to leave Britain. Thus after his writing was finished, David had six months in which to prepare for his departure, and also to travel around the country visiting family and friends,

45 DL to Norton Shaw, 26 March 1857, RGS, DL 2/15/15.

46 DL to Thomas Maclear, 13 May 1857, NARS LI 1/1/1, pp. 665-673, written a month later, indicates however, that Livingstone would not accept a government appointment if it were going to curtail his missionary operations. Extract above, DL to Murchison, 15 April 1857 found in NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 658-664.
and making speeches seeking support for his venture.

His first trip out of London was to Dublin to attend the annual meeting of the British Association. While he was there, General Edward Sabine injected a new idea, as far as the government was concerned, into Livingstone's thinking on the Expedition. He asked Livingstone if he had any objection to taking a government steamer up the river. David replied that his only objection was that it could not be done without Portuguese approval. 47

The following week, the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester also came out in favour of such a plan, and suddenly an idea advanced by Prince Albert earlier in the year - that a special emissary go to Lisbon to confer with Portuguese authorities on the entire project - took on a renewed importance. What prior to this had probably been envisaged as a small expedition of three or four men, with any number of African bearers, now took on an entirely new dimension.

After spending most of September in Scotland, Livingstone visited the Chambers of Commerce in Leeds, Halifax, Liverpool and Birmingham in order to drum up support for his expedition, and to arrange markets for whatever products might be collected.

47 Although he and his brother had talked of steamers plying the Zambezi, David made it clear that he wanted a small operation. (He may have exaggerated in order to help Charles make up his mind.). According to JTLi (pp. 189-90), Livingstone hinted in his speeches that a steamer was desirable, and Sabine merely took the bait. While this can be argued both ways, it is worth noting that Livingstone was not a man given to dropping hints. Tim Jeal, Livingstone, (London, 19737, hereafter JTLi.
His words spoken at Manchester concerning the economic importance of Africa had produced at least one sceptic. This person noted that Livingstone saw cotton growing wild wherever he went, but "did he see it good and cheap enough to be conveyed from the interior of Africa, without roads or means of transport, to the workshops of Manchester?" In a similar manner, it was noted that Livingstone saw indigo "of the kind called silver indigo" growing in abundance, but to assume that this particular unidentified species of indigo could in fact be cultivated and that it would then produce adequate dye was an entirely different matter. Finally, the unidentified writer asked a very telling question: even if the glorious predictions of wealth from Africa could be realized, how could it be accomplished without the use of slave labour? The commentator continues: "The only commodities which a country with so rude and anarchical a population as that of Africa is capable of producing for exportation are simply such as nature yields almost spontaneously, and with small help from the industry and ingenuity of man," such as bees-wax and ivory, neither of which were very vital to the British economy.48 While few people indeed were

48 "David Livingstone's Africa," Edinburgh Scotsman, 29 September 1857, p. 4, c. 1. The arguments and especially the phraseology used by this writer suggest very strongly that it was written by John Crawfurd, Council Member of the R.G.S. (See his questioning of Livingstone, PRGSL, vol. i, Session 1856-7, pp. 317-8). While Livingstone knew that much time and effort were necessary before his predictions could be realized, the writer of this article was addressing himself to the not-so-distant future, realizing well that most of Manchester's investors would not be around to reap the profits about which Livingstone was constantly talking.
inclined to disagree with Livingstone so directly, it seems that the merchants were listening, for it appears that none of the Chambers of Commerce nor the Cotton Supply Association actually paid either of the Livingstones for representing their commercial interests in central Africa.

On 24 October a meeting of the Zambesi Committee was held in the Royal Society to consider the pros and cons of sending a steamer (and hence an enlarged expedition) up the Zambezi. Present were Livingstone, Murchison, Sabine, Macgregor Laird, Henry Rawlinson, a Rev. Dr. Robinson, with Dr. Humphrey Lloyd in the chair. As a result of this meeting, Livingstone concluded that his expedition was indeed to be larger than he foreseen, and two days later he wrote to Dr. Joseph Dalton Hooker of the Royal Botanical Gardens, requesting his aid in the recruitment of personnel.

At about the same time, Clarendon suggested Livingstone contact Captain John Washington, Hydrographer to the Admiralty, who was to be in charge of the organization and logistics of the expedition. Livingstone also asked Washington to join him in the search for qualified personnel, especially with regards to a suitable naval officer to serve as second-in-command. Such

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49 Unfortunately, no detailed record of what transpired at this meeting seems to have been kept, but a short report is found in volume CMB 6 in the RSL. Nothing on this gathering appears in Minutes of Council of the Royal Society from December 10th, 1846 to November 30th, 1855, and they only met once.

50 26 October 1857, RBGK, "English Letters, 1865-1900, LILYs, vol. 92," ff. 130-131. Hooker was Kew's Assistant Director.
a person would be able to navigate the steamer, and make a survey of the delta and river as well. Macgregor Laird, himself an explorer of the Niger turned shipbuilder, was alerted to the various types of ocean and river crafts that the expedition might require, and, of course, Murchison would seek suitable personnel, especially a geologist.

While these men were going about their work behind the scenes, Livingstone was planning to visit Lisbon, and was expecting to go in early November. When a wave of yellow fever hit the city, Livingstone altered his plan so that he would leave for Lisbon on the 27th of that month. On that morning, his bags were packed and he was ready to leave when a message from the Portuguese embassy arrived, recommending he again postpone his visit, as the epidemic had not subsided as was anticipated. This was a disappointment to Livingstone, as he had hoped while in Lisbon to secure for himself recognition as H.M. Consul to Quelimane, Sena and Tete, and for all nations the right of free navigation on the Zambezi. Although momentarily frustrated, he still planned to visit the Portuguese capital before returning to Africa.

With some unexpected free time on his hands in November, Livingstone prepared for Clarendon a memorandum explaining his specific plan of operation, in the light of recent developments. Basically, he reiterated the points he had been bringing to Clarendon's attention for the past 20 months, and added considerations which had been caused by the inclusion of the steamer,
such as the necessity of a complete survey of the delta, river and rapids above Tete (which up to this time he was apparently planning to bypass on land). The presence of the steamer he saw as giving even greater importance to the cultivation of cotton, as it would enable the transportation of greater quantities of the fibre. After including his usual statement on the introduction of Christianity and the suppression of the slave trade, he added that he could envisage "nothing but [the] prosperity of all parties concerned."\footnote{December 1857, FO 63/842, ff. 1 - 8.}

From this point onward, events began to move more quickly. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in a brief speech in Commons on 11 December announced that the Government expected to borrow £5000 from the civil contingencies fund to finance the forthcoming expedition of Dr. Livingstone.\footnote{Hansard's Parliamentary Debates: Third Series, Commencing with the Accession of William IV, vol. cxlvi (1857-58), pp. 558-559. The Chancellor at this time was Sir George Cornwall Lewis.} At a reception given at 10 Downing Street on the next day, Palmerston advised Livingstone that the Government had "managed your affair very nicely," and added that perhaps Clarendon could arrange matters with the Portuguese so as to relieve from Livingstone the necessity of going to Lisbon himself.\footnote{SGDL, p. 301.} Clarendon confirmed this when entertaining Livingstone at dinner on the 17th, and though Livingstone did not completely give up the idea of such
a visit, he put it to the back of his mind and occupied the next three weeks making final plans for his return to Africa.

At the request of the Earl of Clarendon, John Washington on 18 December drew up his plan for the Zambezi Expedition, in the light of his conversations with Livingstone and the latter's letters to both Clarendon and Washington. Washington emphatically recommended that the number of Europeans on the expedition should not exceed six, to include: a Master or Second Master, R.N., plus a physician/botanist, a geologist, an artist/storekeeper/trader, and an engineer, in addition to the Commander. He went on to propose three alternative plans by which the expedition's personnel and gear could be transported from Britain to the Zambezi, costing £7000, £2000, and £1000 respectively. So advised, Clarendon chose the least expensive of the three options. A copy of Washington's plan (which was obviously based on guidelines laid down by Livingstone himself) was sent to Livingstone for his consideration, and on 7 January 1858 he sent his amended version to Clarendon.

Livingstone tended to agree with Washington's plan, and made only one significant amendment thereto. He recommended

54 Washington to Clarendon, 18 December 1857, PO 63/842, ff. 15-17; MS copy in MDNL, MSS 120. Many of Livingstone's biographers have assumed that Washington submitted three distinct plans for expeditions on large, medium and small scales, and that Livingstone modestly chose the smallest of the three. Cf. Blaikie, DWGL, pp. 232-3; Coupland, CKoz, pp. 76-7; Campbell, CRL, p. 244; Macnair, MLL, p. 213; Beaver, SGDL, p. 302; Wallis, WZEL, xxvii; Foskett, FZJK, xiii-xiv; Martelli, MGDL, p. 54; and Jeal, JTI, p. 191. The difference in Washington's figures reflects various methods of placing the expedition on the Zambezi, and has nothing to do with its size.
that one further post be created for a European, who would act as "General Assistant and Moral Agent." He then went on to suggest the names of persons to fill the various posts.

Second-in-Command was to be Commander Norman Bedingfeld (1824-1894), who was to pilot the steamer, survey the river, and take observations for the survey of the earth's terrestrial magnetism. Livingstone had met Bedingfeld when in Luanda, and he was recommended by Edmund Gabriel.55 Next in the chain of command was John Kirk (1832-1922), Medical Officer and Economic Botanist, recommended by Sir William and Dr. Joseph Hooker, both of the Royal Botanical Gardens; Professors George Wilson and J.H. Balfour of the University of Edinburgh; and Dr. David Christison of the Edinburgh Infirmary.

The Geologist was to be Richard Thornton (1838-1863), who was strongly recommended by Sir Roderick Murchison, and was a graduate of the Royal School of Mines. Fourth on the list was Charles Livingstone, recommended only by his brother, "as general assistant. He understands cotton, and the machinery used in its preparation. He has travelled much and having great experience is fully qualified to act as moral agent. I place entire reliance on his temper and judgement in dealing with the natives during the temporary absence of other members from the central depot."56

55 Washington thought Bedingfeld's rank too high and his past too uncertain to warrant his appointment.

56 DL to Clarendon, 7 January 1858, FO 63/842, ff. 60-68.
David had not yet decided who would fill the post of Artist/Storekeeper, but he was "disposed to suggest Thomas Baines." Baines had spent eleven years in South Africa, the last five of which found him in the eastern part of the Cape Colony, where he had served as artist during the second phase of the War of the Axe (1850-53), between colonist and Xhosa. From 1855 to 1857 he was a member of Augustus Gregory's exploring expedition in northern Australia, where he apparently served with distinction. He was recommended to John Washington by Murchison and the elder Hooker. At this time, Livingstone had no name to suggest for the post of Engineer.

The Commander went on in this document to once again set down his plans, which by now could hardly have surprised anyone. In fact, it may well be that Clarendon merely wanted David to prepare a copy in his own hand so that a concise statement would be on file in the Foreign Office.

Basically, the expedition was to proceed up the Zambezi to Tete and deposit all of their gear at a temporary headquarters. While David visited the chiefs above Tete to conclude treaties of friendship and induce them to grow cotton, the other members

57 Baines also produced letters on his behalf from Gregory, Sir Wm. Denison (Governor of New South Wales), and Henry Labouchere (Secretary of State for the Colonies). Murchison said he was recommended to him by Sir George Cathcart (Governor of the Cape Colony), and Wm. C. Oswell, Livingstone's friend and fellow explorer. In spite of these impressive testimonials, both Livingstone and Washington hesitated over Baines' appointment. In fact, he may have been appointed by default: Murchison announced his name at a meeting of the R.G.S. on 11 January 1858, after which it was too late for anyone to suggest another name. (See FGSL, vol. 2, (1857-58), p. 101.
would set about their specialized tasks in the region around Tete. When the first stage was completed, all would proceed together inland to the Batoka (BaTonga) highlands south of the Kafue and north of the Victoria Falls, where a prefabricated iron house would be erected to serve as the central station. Experiments in agriculture would be carried out nearby, the local people would gather around to sell their products and receive religious training, and once again the men would set about their specialized tasks. Livingstone would again contact the Kololo, and endeavor to persuade them to move up to the highlands.\textsuperscript{58}

At the end of one year, the steamer, loaded with cotton, would proceed to Tete to reestablish communication with Britain. During the second year, while the men went about their chores, Livingstone would explore the highlands and waterways to the north. When this year ended, all would return to Tete to receive further instructions from the government, and allow any members wishing to go home to do so.\textsuperscript{59}

As so much work had been done by so many persons behind the scenes, governmental acceptance of the plan was a forgone conclusion. It now remained to organize the personnel and

\textsuperscript{58} In 1855 Livingstone considered this ridge as depopulated, as most of the BaTonga had moved northwards in the face of attacks by Mzilikazi. No conflict was thus anticipated between Kololo and Tonga for this land.

\textsuperscript{59} DL to Clarendon, 7 January 1858, FO 63/842, ff. 60-68. Someone in the Foreign Office, perhaps Clarendon, wrote in the margin: "This seems a very business-like plan."
supplies and arrange for their smooth transport to Africa. While Washington and Livingstone were seeing to these matters, Clarendon was attempting to clear the way diplomatically. On 15 January 1858 Livingstone received his commission as H.M. Consul to Quelimane, Sena and Tete. However, this was not agreeable to the Portuguese, who complained that Sena and Tete were not open to foreign commerce, adding that they could not grant Livingstone their exequatur unless his commission were revised.

Three weeks later his appointment was amended, and he was advised that he could function as Consul only in Quelimane. As the Portuguese were intractable on this point, the Foreign Office decided it better if Livingstone did not visit Lisbon at all, fearing no doubt that something he might say could possibly endanger the prospects of the venture even further. In order to increase Livingstone's freedom of movement, his commission was revised for the last time on 22 February, when a clause was added to the effect that he was also recognized as Consul to several peoples of the interior, including the Kalolo.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Office prepared for Livingstone a longer version of his plan of 7 January, which was resubmitted to him on 20 February as his official instructions. These instructions inform him officially for the first time of the

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60 The draft of this document is found in FO 63/842, ff. 204-220, and curiously enough, it indicates that Livingstone was perhaps not the household word he is usually portrayed as having been: it is addressed to "Andrew Livingstone, Esq., H.M. Consul at Kilimanjaro."
name of his Engineer,\textsuperscript{61} and go on to recommend that the men look to their health, treat the Africans well, etc.

Toward the end of February, Livingstone was daily expecting word that the departure from Birkenhead was imminent, but inevitable delays in the construction of the steamer and the collecting of all the supplies at the point of embarkation pushed forward slightly the departure date. By 1 March, most of the stores were in Birkenhead, and the members were advised to proceed to Liverpool immediately. The Zambezi Expedition was about to set sail.

**Charles' Final Preparations.** When in early January it became clear that Charles would be going out to Africa with his brother after all, his official duties were to consist of acting as his brother's assistant, raising cotton for export, and imparting religious instruction to the natives. In addition to these contributions, Charles had undertaken to learn other skills which might make him useful when the time came.

As early as September, 1857, he had written to Harriette from Rossie Priory, telling of how their host, Lord Kinnaird, had demonstrated his hobby of photography to the Livingstones, and added: "We mean to get a little practice in London and take out an instrument with us."\textsuperscript{62} In his next letter, from

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\textsuperscript{61}George Rae (1831? - 1865) had served on ships making the Atlantic crossing, and was lately employed by Tod & Macgregor of Glasgow. How he came to the attention of Livingstone or Washington remains a mystery.
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\textsuperscript{62}CL - HCL, 26 September 1857, G5/40.
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Birmingham, he mentioned that in London he would receive instruction from Prof. Lyon Playfair. He evidently made some progress, for a month later he could write: "I am taking lessons in photography. Can now take very good likenesses." Subsequent letters tell of further progress, and of taking lessons also from a photographer in Kendal, until finally he informed his wife: "I have got a large + complete Photographic apparatus in 5 boxes wh I hope to make pay well. Have two stereoscopic cameras. The whole costing several hundred dollars is the gift of Mr. Young to me." In slightly over four months, Charles had become a competent photographer.

Nor was this the last of his efforts at preparing himself for the work which lay ahead. Once his presence on the expedition was confirmed, he began (along with Thomas Baines) to receive instruction in the taking of geophysical measurements ("magnetic observations" in the documents of the day), to enable him to render aid to Bedingfeld with this particular phase of the expedition's work. From Richmond, where he was receiving this instruction at the Royal Botanical Gardens, he wrote Harriette that he was learning to observe the dip and force of the needle (of a special compass), and that he had further intentions of becoming competent in taking latitude and

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63 CL - HCL, 16 October 1857, 05/41.

64 CL - HCL, 25 November 1857, 05/44. In this letter, Charles also indicates that he has been studying Portuguese.

65 CL - HCL, 12 February 1858, 05/51.
longitude with the sextant. Clearly, Charles had not only made it a point to prepare himself in areas where his competence was expected, but he went further and developed skills which he himself thought might prove useful. He had no intentions of riding along on his famous brother's laurels.

Snags Begin to Appear. It has been pointed out, with justice, that "the Expedition was doomed to failure even before its members landed in East Africa." This is because the Portuguese were not prepared to open the Zambezi to trading vessels of all nations, and thus the anticipated results could never see fruition. Furthermore, the extent of the rapids above Tete, which Livingstone had never seen but suspected might prove formidable and had somehow placed in the back of his mind during this crucial year, were a factor which made the success of the expedition as Livingstone visualized it impossible. But there were other factors which appeared prior to sailing, which also greatly impeded the smooth functioning of the

66 CL - HCL, 14 January 1858, G5/47.


69 At an R.G.S. meeting on 9 March 1857, John Crawford asked if David considered the river navigable for four or five hundred miles from the sea. Livingstone replied: "With the exception of those first rapids." PRGSL, vol. 1, p. 317.
expedition, and two of these warrant consideration at this time.

Late in February, Charles informed his wife that he and Bedingfield were taking 7 chronometers from Greenwich to Liverpool, adding: "I would as soon take as many babies down and will be glad to get them safe off our hands." During this trip, two of the chronometers fell off the seat of a railway carriage and were damaged. This incident was not reported by either of the parties directly concerned.

Even more serious was a situation described by Livingstone in a letter to Murchison dated 15 February, 1856. Baines had complained that his pay (£200) was too low. Thornton, just over one-half Baines' age, was earning £350, and in addition to being artist, Baines was expected to act as storekeeper and also aid in the taking of magnetic measurements. Livingstone commented: "He is such a good fellow that I must try to get him £350 too and allay all cause for grumbling on that score." On that same day, Livingstone advised Baines:

I think you were quite right in declining to draw at the rate of £200 a year. I am sure you deserve £350... When the salaries were put down by Capt. Washington, Sir Roderick and myself £200 were named for an artist without any reference to you. When I subsequently became acquainted with you, Dr. Shaw thought you had got £250 in the Australian expedition, but I was elsewhere informed that it had been but £200, so I could say nothing, except that I felt it to be too little. Rest assured I shall do all I can for you.

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70 CL - HCL, 26 February 1858, 05/53.

71 NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 739-742.

72 Maggs Bros. Christmas Catalogue, 1918, item 2401. Location of original unknown.
Two days later, Livingstone brought the matter to Washington's attention, expressing his "hope that the matter may be comfortably arranged with Baines." Unfortunately, Livingstone neglected to recommend that Baines' salary be increased to £350. Next day Baines put his case before Washington in no uncertain terms: he had spent eleven years in Africa, and two in Australia (where he earned £300), while the youngest officer of the expedition had never travelled and yet was getting £150 more. He added: "I cannot accept a rate of pay which would place me below those officers with whom I have a right to consider myself on equal terms."

Baines' request was modest: he had left Britain when Thornton was four years of age, and had roughed it in the bush of two continents, making a good account of himself in both cases. Many men of his experience would have been insulted at the thought of being treated as Thornton's equal, which was all Baines was asking. Washington, who appears to have had the most practical mind of all who were concerned with the expedition, committed a serious error at this juncture: after thinking it over for almost two weeks, he wrote Edmund Hammond at the Foreign Office, requesting Baines' salary be increased to £300 per year. When Hammond wrote back two days later, advising

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73 Baines to Washington, 18 February 1858, MDNL, MSS 120.
74 Baines to Washington, 18 February 1858, MDNL, MSS 120.
75 March 1856, FO 63/842, ff. 237-8.
Washington that Lord Malmesbury approved, the deed was done. 76

From the tone of Baines' letter to Washington, it is clear that any solution short of parity would have been unacceptable to him, and if the expedition had not sailed so shortly thereafter, it seems almost certain that he would have written another letter of protest.

Yet already a number of unanswered questions arise with regard to Baines, such as why both Livingstone and Washington hesitated over his appointment, even though Livingstone had met him in November 1857 (before Livingstone met Kirk, Thornton, and Rae), and had seen him occasionally before the turn of the year; why Baines was placed below both Charles Livingstone and Thornton in the chain of command, despite his experience; and why Washington did not recommend a salary increase to £350, which would have been only £50 more than Baines had received on his previous expedition?

It may be that Charles and Thornton were better educated and could present their views more articulately than could Baines, and yet his letters indicate that he could write at least as well as either of them. Also, they were backed by Livingstone and Murchison, respectively, and while Baines was armed with an impressive sheaf of letters on his behalf, his influence was not as powerful as theirs.

Neither possibility is very convincing, and wonders if

76 Hammond to Washington, 4 March 1858, MDNL, MSS 120. Lord Malmesbury had just replaced Clarendon as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Baines had a personal habit which proved a severe liability - such as alcoholism - which his only biographer to date chose to ignore. Whatever may have been the case, the treatment Baines received in London was apparently either unjust or at best ill-considered, and it was to have repercussions in Africa, for only six days after Washington learned that Baines' pay increase was accepted, the Zambezi Expedition left Britain.

77 J.P.R. Wallis, *Thomas Baines of King's Lynn*, (London, 1941), hereafter WTBK. At this writing another biography is said to be in preparation in Cape Town, which will hopefully be free of the obvious bias manifested by Wallis.
All folks believe within the shire
This story to be true. Child, 35

A Review of the Literature. Although Charles Livingstone was appointed to the expedition to serve as his brother's general assistant, by the end of 1859 the European nucleus had been reduced from seven to four persons, and was about to be reduced to three with the departure of Rae for Britain in March, 1860. This decrease in personnel altered the nature of Charles' duties, for now the strict interpretation of his office gave way before the necessity of the remaining men to lend a hand to whatever needed be done, with little regard for the content and implications of their original instructions. Thus it seems reasonable to emphasize Charles' role as assistant during the first two years of the expedition, and to give it less import as time went on.

Most writers have tended to portray Charles as having been the main cause of the dissention which plagued the men from the very beginning. Coupland, for example, who wrote mainly from the viewpoint of John Kirk, portrayed Charles as being lazy, untruthful, ungentlemanly, and something of a "dandy," and goes on to blame him completely for the differences which arose between David Livingstone on the one hand, and Thornton and

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Baines on the other. In fact, throughout his book he treats Charles to what today would be considered a generous portion of character assassination. This interpretation was underscored by Wallis in his biography of Baines. Once this die had been cast, few seemed willing to challenge this interpretation.²

Hence while Debenham concentrated on David's skill as a geographer, he could not resist commenting on Charles en passant: observing that there was in the Narrative³ the "complete suppression of the names of those who did valiant work," he conjectures that this is one element of the book which was forced on David by his brother Charles, "of whom no good thing could be said." Coming from a man of Debenham's obvious stature, such an evaluation of any human being is rather surprising, but he goes on to refer to Charles as "the real black sheep of the party."⁴

Two years after this was published, Seaver repeated many of Coupland's conclusions, but he noted another side to Charles:

²Bosazza points out that the "earliest published accusations" against Charles were made in H.H. Johnston, Livingstone and the Exploration of Central Africa, (London, N.1. [1912]), hereafter JLCA, but his approach is mild and specific compared with the all-encompassing accusations of Coupland and the vitriol of Wallis. BLPN, Chapter VI, p. 16.

³David and Charles Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and its Tributaries, (London, 1865), LNZI anon.

⁴Frank Debenham, The Way to Ilala, (London, 1955), pp. 202-203. Hereafter DWTI. The only European whose name is completely suppressed from the Narrative (of the original 7) is Bedingfeld, and no one has yet suggested he did "valiant work" on the Zambezi.
he gives him credit for introducing the cultivation of cotton into south-central Africa, and points out that there must have been a gentle side to his nature since his niece Anna Mary (David's daughter) recalled in later life that her Uncle Charles was always attentive, kind, and playful with her during his furloughs from Africa — something her own father had not been.  

In his excellent work on Charles Mackenzie, Owen Chadwick has much to say about Charles Livingstone. He was a "calamitous choice... the spark which ignited the flame fuel of bad temper... unsuitable as an officer of the expedition." His "nervousness of colleagues... rendered him aggressive," and he "concealed his uncertainties by a veneer of roughness, self-elevation, truculence, dogmatism, and assertiveness." The "evil genius of the expedition," David "accepted his often inaccurate and unbalanced judgements on persons and situations, took note of his gossip about the crew, and thereby committed some of his mistakes."  

To continue this brief examination of works dealing with Charles Livingstone, which information presented later in this chapter and indeed throughout this entire study will prove not to be irrelevant, attention will now be given to a small but

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vital work on the expedition, the edited version of Livingstone's Ruvuma notebook. In this work, Charles is portrayed as David's "awkward if not malevolent brother" who "for reasons of health or simply through weakness of character... brought so much discord to the Expedition."\(^7\) Thus the reader is given the option of considering Charles either awkward and unhealthy or malevolent and weak of character, and the concept that Charles might have been anything other than evil and sinister, is a more contemporary echo of an observation made earlier by Campbell.\(^8\)

Nevertheless, in the following year, another work appeared which dealt with Charles in a most contemptuous and scathing manner. Ransford calls Charles "the curse of the whole enterprise... the vindictive eminence grise of the expedition," and "the dandy of African exploration." Not content, he goes on to call Charles "Livingstone's demented brother."\(^9\)

In his history of the expedition, Martelli perpetuates the "traditional" interpretation of the role Charles played in Central Africa. When discussing the Expedition's personnel, he

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\(^8\) "Charles Livingstone was... never free from fever from the first week of landing in Africa... the same may apply to Bedingfeld, Baines and the rest, and perhaps explains everything." *CKL*, p. 261. Indeed, as has been suggested in the Introduction, it was this curiosity of Professor Shepperson's which led him to suggest that a serious, full-length study of Charles Livingstone and his Zambezi work was long overdue.

writes: "Individually, with the possible exception of his brother Charles, they were all men of character and ability, well qualified to serve the purpose of the Expedition."\textsuperscript{10}

He goes on to depict Charles as the "laziest of the party," "always the weakest link in the chain," who often behaved like a "vicious guttersnipe."\textsuperscript{11}

In his very controversial biography of David Livingstone, Tim Jeal continues the trend of deprecating Charles Livingstone. With reference to the theological division among the members of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), he writes: "Charles did his best to try to set the Low Church section of the mission against the High Church section," implying that Charles wrought such havoc out of sheer delight.\textsuperscript{12}

He also quotes from a letter Charles wrote his wife, in which he mentions the hot and humid lodgings in the "Pioneer" which David and Mary were compelled to share, and comments: "the unfortunate couple are nearly melted." Jeal writes that Charles noted this with "relish," again implying sadistical tendencies

\textsuperscript{10}MGLR, p. 36. \textsuperscript{11}Ibid., pp. 76, 124, 143 respectively.

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{JTLi,} p. 238. Everyone enjoyed setting Rowley against the others on topics such as Cromwell and Charles I, etc. Kirk wrote: "We must amuse ourselves so we have grog before going to bed and a discussion either on politics or theology..." (letter to his brother Alexander, 26 June 1861, in Reginald Foskett, \textit{The Zambesi Journal and Letters of Dr. John Kirk 1858-63,} (Edinburgh and London, 1965), p. 554; hereafter FZJK. Waller noted: "A good heavy argument is a fine thing in these climates, it exercises the mind," journal entry for 26 July 1863, quoted in \textit{COLO,} p. 156. Chadwick commented: "The arguments never transgressed the limits of friendly provocation..." \textit{Ibid.,} p. 40.
to the man.\textsuperscript{13}

Listowel takes a passing shot at Charles by referring to him as "an inveterate gossip, who intrigued freely and worked little,"\textsuperscript{14} and it is further discouraging to note that in his excellent work on the Africans who contributed so much to the European exploration of Africa, Simpson, when discussing the Europeans of this expedition and of the U.M.C.A. who later returned to work in Africa, completely ignores Charles Livingstone and the nine years of his life he dedicated to the service of H.M. Government in West Africa.\textsuperscript{15}

This then, is a composite character sketch of Charles Livingstone as represented by the various writers mentioned above: he was a weakling, a liar, lazy, ungentlemanly, a malicious gossip, awkward at best, demented, nervous, aggressive, rough, truculent, dogmatic, and assertive; a man who pulled the wool over his brother's eyes due to familial connections, and who was in addition sadistical, the black sheep of the party, the weakest link in the chain, of whom no good thing could be said.

\textsuperscript{13}'\textsuperscript{13}JT\textsubscript{L}Li, p. 252. The entire excerpt from this letter (CL-HCL, 28 February 1862, G5/79) reads as follows: "These hot nights the unfortunate couple are nearly melted, have now to open the door leading to our den. Dearly though I love my own wife, I should regret to see her in this hospital ship." Charles hardly "relished" the Livingstones' plight, but was rather sympathetic. Incidentally, Chadwick published this entire extract (COMG, p. 126) 14 years before Jeal published \textit{Livingstone}.

\textsuperscript{14}'\textsuperscript{14}Listowel, Judith, \textit{The Other Livingstone}, (London, 1974), p. 174. Hereafter \textit{LTOL}.

\textsuperscript{15}'\textsuperscript{15}Simpson, Donald, \textit{Dark Companions}, (London, 1975), p. 52. Hereafter \textit{SDDC}. 
and who was possibly only worthy of being ignored. Indeed, this is the Edward Hyde of Africa.

However, to anyone acquainted even superficially with the world at large and the record of its history, it might seem that all of this simply cannot be true about one individual, at least one with no record of criminal activity or crimes committed against mankind on his record. Nevertheless, the evidence must be examined to determine how well Charles Livingstone fulfilled his role as his commander's assistant.

It should be noted from the outset that this is not easily determined, because it is not always easy to ascertain exactly what David required of him. In his letter of instruction to Charles dated 10 May 1858, David makes no mention that Charles is to function in any way as his assistant. However, from the time of their arrival in the Zambezi region, Charles did a great deal of copying of letters and dispatches for his brother. No doubt David felt Charles was the only person he could impose upon for this task, due to their relationship, and because of the sensitivity of the material being copied, he undoubtedly felt that his brother was the best choice for reasons of security. In this area, Charles' duties as assistant were adequately performed in a non-controversial manner. He duly witnessed documents

16 Original among "Autographs" in OCL00; David's copy published in J.P.R. Wallis, The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, 1858 to 1862, 2 vols. (London, 1956), (Central African Archives, Oppenheimer Series, Number Nine), pp. 431-2. Hereafter WZEL. It should be remembered that all documents quoted from this source are David's copies, which often differ from originals.
relevant to the Bedingfeld affair, he copied much of David's correspondence into the Commander's private journal, and he rendered further service by copying Government dispatches. In a way, Charles was from the first penalized - not favoured - for being the leader's brother, in that as a result of their relationship, his duties were increased.

Many are those who have believed that Charles used his position as the Commander's Assistant in order to elevate himself at the expense of others, by securing or contributing unfairly to the dismissal of other Europeans from the expedition. Even had he desired, Charles would have found it difficult to remain neutral to the affairs of others, because his role as scribe exposed him to information which the others could not possibly have known. Many times one cannot be certain if his words and actions are his own, or are in general conformity with his brother's expectations. And, as so many of David's instructions to him would have been given orally, written clues are few and far between.

We have seen above (p. 80) that in recommending Charles, David placed "entire reliance on his temper and judgement," (albeit when dealing with Africans), and on 1 December 1859, when the original two-year period of the expedition was waning, David wrote: "The Botanist and my own assistant have fully answered my expectations."\(^{17}\) If very close to the end of the period under discussion the assistant received his commander's appro-

\(^{17}\)\textit{WZEL}, p. 136.
bation, there should be little more to say on the subject. But as we shall see below (p. 189), David shortly thereafter changed his mind dramatically, and the writers mentioned above who assailed Charles tend to concentrate their attacks on his behavior during 1858-9, while justifying their conclusions using opinions recorded by David and others during 1860 and later.

In order to fathom the labyrinth of charge and counter-charge, it is necessary to examine carefully and in maximum detail the dismissals of Norman Bedingfeld, Richard Thornton, and Thomas Baines, with emphasis on the role Charles Livingstone played - or did not play - in each.
PART TWO: NORMAN BEDINGFELD

He took leave of his fellows all,
And quickly he was gone. Child, 271

Embarkation and Dismissal. The "Pearl" left Birkenhead on 10 March, 1858, bound for Asia, with major stops planned for Cape Town and the Zambezi delta region of Moçambique. In addition to the members of Livingstone's expedition, the "Pearl" had on board the 24 pieces of the expedition's steamer, which were to be unloaded and assembled upon arrival. After an exploration and survey of the delta had been completed, the two vessels were to proceed upriver to Tete, where the remainder of the supplies were to be unloaded. These tasks completed, the "Pearl" was to continue on its journey to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), while Livingstone and his party turned their attention inland.

On 14 May they arrived at the delta region, and after slightly more than two weeks' exploration, the "Pearl" entered the Zambezi via the newly-discovered Kongone Canal, a natural channel which permitted large ships to enter the river proper. When it quickly became apparent that the "Pearl" could not navigate the river as far inland as Tete, the expedition's gear was deposited on Nyika Island (renamed "Expedition Island"), some 40 miles from the sea, and on 26 June the "Pearl" departed. Not until 8 November were the bulk of the supplies transferred to Tete, and by that date, Bedingfeld was no longer connected with the expedition. On August 28 he had left Shupanga in the company of Colonel Gualdino Nuñes and a guard of Portuguese soldiers, bound for Quelimane and eventually, London. He had been
dismissed as Second-in-Command of the Zambezi Expedition.

The reasons for Bedingfeld's dismissal are too numerous and varied to list completely at this time, mainly because they had little to do with Charles Livingstone. Among the many advanced by David are insubordination, egomania, temper tantrums unbecoming an officer, and a lack of sufficient interest in the success of the expedition.¹ And there was another, less publicized reason: Bedingfeld was victim (according to Livingstone) of a particularly obnoxious form of syphilis.² Furthermore, Livingstone believed that Bedingfeld wrote letters to the official bulletin of the government of Moçambique which were damaging to expedition prospects.³ This being the case, it would have been most unusual had Bedingfeld not been dismissed. Obviously, there was more to his departure than could be laid at the door of any one expedition member, but as there was one serious cause of contention between Charles and Bedingfeld, it should be examined at this time.

¹These charges are discussed at length in the various biographies of Livingstone.

²DL to W.E.A. Gordon, 3 November 1859 (a postscript to an earlier but as yet unknown letter), copy in DL's hand enclosed in DL to John Washington, 4 February 1860, MDNL, MSS 120; also referred to as "syphilis" in DL to J. Bevan Braithwaite, 7 February 1860 (postscript to 26 January 1860), NLS, MS.dep.237. To Frederick Gray (21 September 1858, RCSL MS. Sc 99), Livingstone calls it "irritation of bowels and bladder," and in his journal on 1 December 1859 it is "venereal irritable bladder," WZEL 136.

³A brief perusal of the Boletim do Governo Geral da Provincia de Moçambique, relevant issues (hereafter BGPM) revealed no such letters, but printed herein are many of DL's letters to persons and government officials in London and Cape Town. For some of these letters, the location of the original is not known.
It was briefly mentioned above (p. 87) that prior to the sailing of the "Pearl," the two men were taking chronometers from Greenwich to Birkenhead, when two of the watches fell off a seat in a railway carriage and were damaged. Ever afterwards, chronometers continued to provide a cause of discord between the two men. As a general rule, one or more of the chronometers would be allowed to run down, and Bedingfeld, who was responsible for keeping them going, would attempt to evade responsibility, usually at the expense of Charles.

David later wrote that on 30 June 1858 a small chronometer loaned to the expedition by the R.G.S. (called "Old Traveller") was "purposely allowed to run down."^ He also wrote Thomas Maclear (Astronomer Royal in Cape Town) that Bedingfeld had let 2 chronometers run down, and had got them going again without telling anyone or noting it in the chronometer journal.5

After his dismissal, Bedingfeld returned to London, where he was questioned on many subjects by Admiralty and Foreign Office officials. In defence of his role with regard to the chronometers, Bedingfeld raised four points, as follows: 1) two of the chronometers had been allowed to fall off the seat of a railway carriage "while in the care of Mr. Charles Livingston;" 2) "several" were allowed to run down on the "Pearl" while Bed-

4DL to Thomas Maclear, 6 October 1858, NARS LI 1/1/1, pp. 904 - 927.

5NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 889-92. This journal, which is apparently lost today, was left on the "Lady Nyassa" in Bombay in 1864-65, and was sent to Maclear shortly thereafter: see DL to Maclear, 4 February 1867, NARS LI 1/1/1, pp. 2224 - 27.
Bedingfeld was absent exploring the river, and hence not responsible; 3) while the group headquarters were on Expedition Island, Bedingfeld was frequently absent, and upon his return he "always found their errors and during my absence Mr. Charles Livingston had the care of them and also the Chronometer journal," and finally; 4) "On Sunday morning 25th November during a dense fog... I remonstrated against going - Dr. Livingston abused me and my mind occupied with insults... the Chronometers were forgotten and allowed to run down. On returning to the island I informed Mr. Charles Livingston of the circumstance and I of course thought he would have entered the fact in the Chronometer journal in his charge."^6

For the moment, no further mention of the railway carriage incident will be made. Bedingfeld's accusation in 2) is vague, and evidence to corroborate his charge is not available. This could only have transpired between 15 May (when the "Pearl" entered the West Luabo) and 26 June (when she sailed for Ceylon.). No mention of chronometers' running down during this period is made in David's journal, Kirk's journal, Thornton's journal, Baines' journal, Skead's journal/report, Charles' letters to his wife, David's letters to John Washington, his dispatches to the Earl of Malmesbury, the existing correspondence between David Livingstone and Commander Bedingfeld, nor,

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^6 Bedingfeld to Malmesbury, 29 January 1859, FO 63/871, ff. 14-21. It is to be noted that Bedingfeld's date of 25 November in 4) is incorrect, as he was out of the region by then. The date should read "25th July."
most incriminating of all, Bedingfeld's "log" of events during this period - which Livingstone was certain Bedingfeld wrote at a later date using Baines' journal as a guide. 7 Since Bedingfeld's main antagonist at this time was John Duncan, Master of the "Pearl," Bedingfeld may have made this unsubstantiated statement in order to discredit him.

Bedingfeld's charge in 3) is similar to the previous one, except that it covers the period from 27 June to Bedingfeld's dismissal on 31 July. In a letter to Washington dated 26 March, 1859, Bedingfeld wrote that when he gave up charge of the chronometers on 31 July, they were running well and steadily. 8 However, when writing to Harriette on 22 June, 1858, Charles said: "I have 7 chronometers to take charge of." 9 It is obviously difficult to determine which of the men had charge of the watches on which days, and none of the sources mentioned in the previous paragraph provide further information. Certainly, Bedingfeld blames Charles in no uncertain terms.

In examining Bedingfeld's final point, it seems that he is not blaming anyone for the fact that the chronometers ran down (unless it was Livingstone's fault for distracting him), but he does seem to blame Charles Livingstone for failing to make a

7 Livingstone to Washington, 13 September 1858, MDNL, MSS 120. All of the sources referred to are described in the Bibliography.

8 MDNL, MSS. 120.

9 CL - HCL, 19 May - 24 June 1858, G5/8. However, para. 2 of Charles' instructions (WZEL, pp. 431-2) indicates that he was to take charge of the chronometers only after Tete was reached.
relevant entry in the Chronometer journal. It was probably this incident to which David referred in his letter to Maclear of 10 September (p. 102 n. 5 above), which he brought to Bedingfeld's attention on 12 August, and to the Earl of Malmesbury's on 16 August. Although Livingstone seems nowhere to give the date of the incident, Bedingfeld's 25 November/[July] seems to fit, and by his own words, he had charge of the chronometers until 31 July.

In explaining his dealings with the chronometers in his 4 points listed above, Bedingfeld seems to be responding to the question "Why did you fail to report immediately the fact that 2 chronometers fell off the seat of a railway carriage?" Bedingfeld said that it would have been unpleasant for the Dr. had he done so, "as his brother had already stopped one chronometer by jumping out of an omnibus with it in his pocket," and as there was a long voyage ahead to the Cape, and as the chronometers had not stopped, there was time to get them steady again. Two days later he wrote Washington again, telling him that another reason he did not report the incident was that the "Pearl" was expecting to leave immediately for Africa.

The reference to Charles' jumping off the omnibus is unique: no other source mentions it. But it does call to mind the fact

10 WZEL, pp. 27-29, and p. 280, respectively.
11 Bedingfeld to Washington, 26 March 1859, MDSL, MSS. 120.
12 Bedingfeld to Washington, 23 March 1859, MDSL, MSS. 120.
that Charles was involved in yet another chronometer controversy before the expedition left England. Livingstone wrote to Washington on 12 February 1858:

The complaint of Mr. Welsh about the chronometer having run down was frivolous. I wrote a sharp letter to Mr. Charles Livingstone on receiving the report and on further investigation felt ashamed that I had done it. The watch did not run down but stopped and evoked the ejaculation "Hallo! Have I forgotten to wind it up?" On trial with the key it was found wound up. Captn Haig asked if it had been neglected and received the reply No. Mr. Welsh overhearing this inferences the inference is gravely reported to you as fact. I was very much annoyed by the idea that my brother was careless in the performance of his duty. He walked all the way from Highbury to this around midnight and back again after receiving my note and after spending a sleepless night (I was out til 12½) was here early this morning to explain.13

This is another incident for which further information is not available, but it does appear as if Charles acquitted himself of the charge. In addition, this extract does reveal one side of the working relationship established between the two brothers from the very start: David was not about to overlook Charles' errors, and Charles could not depend upon his brother to treat him uncritically. Indeed, David Livingstone was never one to pamper his brothers, sisters, or any other relatives: his letters and journals show he was severe in his criticism of even his parents and children when he disagreed with their actions or ideas. Indeed, only his wife Mary and his daughter seem to have always been exempt from his quick eye and sharp tongue.

13MDNL, MSS. 120. As this was written from 18 Hart Street, Bloomsbury, Charles' walk was in excess of ten miles.
Having thus examined various bits and pieces concerning the chronometer controversy which dogged Bedingfeld and Charles, let us attempt to assess it all. Evidently they were both clumsy when handling the delicate instruments, but it does seem that whenever Norman Bedingfeld had the slightest hope of shifting responsibility for maltreatment or malfunction to Charles Livingstone, he attempted to do so. This would certainly contribute to the less-than-ideal relations between the two, although it should be noted that since many of Bedingfeld's accusations were made after he had left the Zambezi, it is just possible that Charles never knew he had been cast as the naval officer's scapegoat.

John Washington, with much of the evidence and one of the two antagonists before his very eyes, was not inclined to acquit Bedingfeld. In his 17 page report on Bedingfeld's resignation, Washington notes that Bedingfeld lays blame for the railway carriage incident on Charles, "who is not here to answer for himself," and goes on to say that 7 chronometers were placed under Bedingfeld's charge at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, on 2 March 1858; and if in fact it was Charles Livingstone ("as we now learn for the first time") who allowed the two chronometers to fall, why was it not reported to either David or Washington by Bedingfeld?

Rejecting Bedingfeld's reasons advanced in his letters of 26 and 28 March (p. 105 above), Washington notes that on 5 March 1858 he himself visited the "Pearl" at Birkenhead, spoke of the
chronometers, and was shown where they would be stored during
the voyage (he implies he was shown by Bedingfeld), yet no men-
tion was made of the accident. There was ample time to have 2
replacements sent from Greenwich; the time ball at Liverpool
dropped daily (an aid to mariners from which corrections could
have been made); and corrections certainly could have been made
at the observatory in Cape Town. Washington goes on to say that
Bedingfeld was chosen as Naval Officer of the Zambezi Expedition
"for the express purpose of taking charge of the chronometers
and all astronomic and magnetic observations, as stated in the
25th par. of the Foreign Office Instructions, and as repeated
more pointedly in the 20th par. of Dr. Livingstone's Special
Instructions to this Officer."

After noting that "Cmdr. Bedingfeld states that he found
some difficulty in getting a correct rate for the chronometers
owing to the cloudy weather at the Cape," Washington concludes
"This short sentence betrays entire ignorance of the management
of chronometers...," and "Commander Bedingfeld failed to clear
himself of this charge." i.e. [dereliction of duty with regard
to the chronometers].\footnote{14}

It may be that had Charles been so charged, he would have
been unable to clear himself, but it must be noted that except
for the charges advanced by Bedingfeld, there is no evidence that
Charles mishandled the chronometers prior to Bedingfeld's

\footnote{14} John Washington, "Report on Commander Bedingfeld's re-
signation of his Appointment to the Zambezi Expedition under Dr.
Livingstone," 31 March 1859, MDNL, MSS. 120.
dismissal. In fairness to Bedingfeld it must be noted again that a main piece of evidence - the chronometer journal - is not available. However, until that volume comes to light, Captain Washington's judgement must be allowed to stand.\textsuperscript{15}

Charles' Role in Bedingfeld's Dismissal. It remains to consider how crucial a role, if any, Charles played in Bedingfeld's dismissal. Wallis wrote that when Bedingfeld ran afoul of Livingstone and Duncan, "brother Charles rushed in, making the affair a personal quarrel, eagerly testifying to the naval officer's use of insubordinate language."\textsuperscript{16} While there is scant evidence that Charles "rushed in" "eagerly," Kirk noted that Charles had made a "private quarrel" of it.\textsuperscript{17} Perhaps Charles could be forgiven if he knew how Bedingfeld regularly tried to place blame on him, and anyway, one can hardly expect that Charles would have supported Bedingfeld in his dispute with the expedition's commander, which no other European (with the possible exception of Baines) did.

A close examination of Charles' testimony against Bedingfeld (written six weeks after the dismissal and hence hardly a "rushed" action) reveals said testimony to be nothing more than a very reasonable account of what Charles heard Bedingfeld say

\textsuperscript{15}Washington was no stranger to chronometers and similar instruments. In his younger days he took astronomical observations in many of the exotic places he visited, and his pioneering work in Morocco was published: "Geographical Notice of the Empire of Marocco," \textit{JRSGL} i, (1831).

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{WTBK}, p. 156. \textsuperscript{17}\textit{EZJK}, 5 August 1858, p. 61.
to John Duncan on one occasion and to David on another: Charles uses no emotive words or phrases, implies no more than what he actually recalled hearing, and gives no indication of any kind that he harboured a personal grudge against Bedingfeld. In fact, judged from his position as Commander's Assistant, Charles did an admirable job... his report is concise and surprisingly disinterested. Kirk's similar testimony is more vague, and Thornton goes farther than anyone: "Having been a good deal with Cpt. Bedingfeld in the Launch, it is my opinion that his ceasing to be a member of the Expedition was decidedly for the good of the Expedition. Not only was he dissatisfied himself but he tried to make other members of the Expedition so..."

While John Duncan had many quarrels with Bedingfeld, his version of the one which led to Bedingfeld's second and final resignation is again a reasonably calm assessment of what actually took place. And although there seems to be no document in Rae's hand against Bedingfeld, he was none the less involved in the controversy. Livingstone wrote that Bedingfeld's first major quarrel was with "the Engineer, and but for Captain Duncan's kind interposition we should have been deprived of the best man that Tod + Macgregor could give us. He offered to go

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18 CL to DL, 14 September 1858, FO 63/843 ii, f. 58. Wallis dates it erroneously as 1st September in WZEL, p. 278. Charles is in fact much fairer to Bedingfeld than Wallis is to Charles.

19 Both items are found in WZEL, pp. 278-280.

20 WZEL, p. 19.
as a stoker in the "Pearl" rather than be abused by Bedingfeld's tongue..."  

Although we do not know in what way Duncan intervened, it may well be that this was the genesis of Bedingfeld's antipathy toward Duncan. In the same letter from which the previous quote was taken, Livingstone notes that Bedingfeld, upon watching Baines run the launch aground, "said to Mr. Rae 'I saw that... do you think they could do without me?" Rae's mentioning this to him certainly irritated Livingstone considerably, for he mentions this attitude of Bedingfeld's in many of his letters from this period.

Thus Charles was not alone in presenting testimony which faithfully witnessed Bedingfeld's unfavourable conduct - as we have seen, his report was among the most restrained - and he can hardly be considered responsible for Bedingfeld's dismissal/resignation.

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21 David Livingstone to John Washington, 13 September 1858, MDNL, MSS. 120.

22 Although there is little to indicate that Baines was offended by Bedingfeld, Kirk wrote as early as 10 June that Bedingfeld quarreled with Baines, Rae, Skead and Duncan, noting that Bedingfeld "comes out perhaps as the great man and forgets that he is but the equal of others when the Dr. is present." (FZJK, p. 40). Baines seems to have been the only one with whom Bedingfeld patched up the disagreement, and ironically enough, it appears that the only person with whom Bedingfeld did not have an open altercation was Charles Livingstone. Perhaps Charles' journal will tell a vastly different story, when it becomes available to researchers.
PART THREE: RICHARD THORNTON

Yonder comes a good fellow, said our king,
That cares not whether he lose or win. Child, 273

Various Opinions. Although few writers have been willing to implicate Charles Livingstone very seriously in the dismissal on Bedingfeld, this has not been the case with regards to the failure of Richard Thornton. Debenham wrote: "His dismissal... was brought about in a most awkward way and with accusations tainted by Charles' malevolence toward the youth."\(^1\) Apparently speaking ex cathedra, Ransford commented: "The dismssals of Thornton and Baines can with certainty be traced to Charles' trouble-making..."\(^2\) and the editor of Thornton's papers echoes: "Charles Livingstone brought against Baines and Thornton the charges on which they were dismissed,"\(^3\) a comment which yields itself to slightly broader interpretation.

Martelli sees Thornton and Baines (it is interesting to note how frequently writers lump these two cases together) as being "victims of Livingstone's prejudice and his brother's spite," and further states that Thornton's better qualities only emerged after he had escaped Charles' "baneful influence."\(^4\) Jeal adds that Charles "worked hard to discredit Thornton," but

\(^1\)DWTI, p. 155. \(^2\)RLIN, p. 85.


\(^4\)WLJR, pp. 115 and 117, respectively. As Martelli fails to indicate which brother was prejudiced and which was spiteful, the reader is free to ascribe either quality to each.
in an unusual moment of self-restraint, Jeal admits: "The precise part Charles Livingstone played in Thornton's dismissal is not entirely clear..." Even J.F.R. Wallis, whose continual unrelenting and unsubstantiated attacks on Charles soon become boring, shows unaccustomed circumspection by merely noting: "The evidence points to Charles Livingstone as the source of much of the personal difficulties in the party." Coupland, one of the earliest of writers to address himself to this problem, wrote: "The mainspring of these quarrels was the mischief-making of Charles Livingstone."

While all of these, and others as well, freely accuse Charles of ill behavior, few bother to present specific motives for his alleged ill-treatment of innocent men, and the charges of those who do seem to lack conviction. Thus Tabler writes: "Charles' motives are not difficult to uncover. Thornton states that he was jealous of the attention and favours lavished upon himself and Baines by the Portuguese." According to Jeal, "Thornton's sin in Charles' eyes was that he 'sneered at Scotchmen' and laughed at religiously-minded men for their seriousness." Even if true, such hardly warrant assumption that Charles was so angered by such trifles as to demand - and get -

5 JTLi, pp. 227-228. 6 WZEL, xxxix. 7 CKoZ, p. 181. 8 TPRT, p. xv. 9 JTLi, p. 228.
Thornton's dismissal from the expedition.\textsuperscript{10} Jeal's comment is illustrative of a phenomenon all-too-frequently observed in the works of 20th century writers concerning the Livingstones, namely the assumption that because they were religiously oriented, they were by definition narrow-minded, intolerant, and anti-Epicurean. Thus Martelli, in criticizing David for disapproving "skylarking" (drunkenness\textsuperscript{11}), refers to him as a man who "except possibly with his wife, never had any fun in his whole life,"\textsuperscript{12} as if to imply that drunkenness was merely recreation which could hardly retard government service. Charles was indeed trained thoroughly in religion and theology, but he was not as narrow-minded and serious as his critics make him out to have been. His letters to his wife and children from 1857 to 1873 are filled with levity and good humour - much more so than are David's - and he was not above having an occasional drink with the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{13}

Thornton's Charges. After reflecting upon his dismissal, Thornton placed blame on Charles, but surprisingly he also advances no convincing motives to substantiate his claim. Charles:

\textsuperscript{10} Actually, it seems that Rae took Thornton's anti-Scottish remarks much more seriously than did Charles: on one occasion when Thornton referred to "Scotch brutes," "Mr. Rae put him in bodily fear by telling him if he repeated the words he would drub him as he would not have either his country or his countrymen disrespectfully spoken of." DL to Murchison, 7 February 1860, NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1099 - 1102.

\textsuperscript{11} See DL to Catherine Ridley, 26 February 1841, NMLZ on display.

\textsuperscript{12} MCLR, p. 118.

\textsuperscript{13} CL-HCL, 15 November 1858 describes celebrating the birthday of Pedro V (16 September), 05/10; and CL-HCL 26 June 1859 does the same with regards to Victoria (24 May), 05/18.
had an old grudge against me because I would not let him have all his own way in the 'Pearl,' and have not since shown him quite as much respect as he liked. Since Christmas he has (except when the Dr. was at Tete) been commanding officer at Tete: he has lived in state at one end of the house whilst Mr. Baines and myself have lived in one room at the other end. We only saw each other at meal times. Well, neither the Dr. or his brother are liked by the Portuguese, so that he got no visitors while lots came to our end, so he got spiteful, and set the Makololo to spy after all our doings indoors and out. Now the Makololo get lots of cloth, etc. from Mr. L., whilst if they come to our end of the house, I always turned them out, so they wld exaggerate any of our doings and 'the long one,' [Charles] who keeps the public journal, added his own exaggerations and writes all off to Senna for the Dr. Things have been going on in this way since Christmas. By the time the Dr. arrived in June the 'long one' had a long bitter account against Baines and myself, the result of which was that the Dr. wrote me an official letter, stopping my pay from the 3rd of May, so that I am now no longer a member of the expedition, and was told that if I continued to work it wld be better for me.¹⁴

No further evidence is available concerning a disagreement between Charles and Thornton while on the 'Pearl,' but as the two men spent free days wandering around together in Freetown and Cape Town, it was either insignificant or occurred thereafter. It may also be that it made a deeper impression on the young Thornton than it did upon Charles, for the former wrote in his journal on 23 July 1858 - after the 'Pearl' had sailed - "Mr. Q. L. brought me a lot of geological specimens. [He was] nearly knocked up with the heat which this day has been something tremendous."¹⁵ Furthermore, in early 1859 when Thornton

¹⁴Richard Thornton to his sister Helen, 22 July 1859, in WZEL, pp. xli - xlii.

¹⁵TPRT, p. 29.
was recovering from illness, but was anxious to get back to work, Charles "recommended me to stay a few days longer and get quite strong." ¹⁶ This obvious concern on Charles' part must have impressed Thornton, for he recalled it over 6 months later, and it may indicate that whatever differences the two men may have had, Charles certainly bore no virulent grudge against the young geologist.

As far as Thornton's charge concerning the Portuguese is concerned, there can be no doubt that Thornton and Baines were on a more intimate social level with the Portuguese than was Charles. David continually railed against their "frightful immorality," and Charles probably thought in similar terms. Yet he was congenial with the Portuguese, and in addition to making an appearance at their celebrations he on occasion spent hours translating letters from English into their own language. ¹⁷

However, in addition to his religious convictions, Charles approached the Portuguese in a different frame of mind than did the other two men. For example, he was married and they were not, and he would have some social occasions at which they would have been present. Again, he was Acting Commander at the temporary headquarters of an expedition under the aegis of the British government, and there is evidence to indicate that he took this responsibility very seriously. Indeed, with a brother like David

¹⁶ Thornton to his sister, 22 July 1859, WZEL, p. xl.

¹⁷ CL - HCL, 15 November - 21 December 1858 (including journal entries from 14 September to 21 December 1858), G5/10; entries of 6 and 7 October.
Livingstone, he hardly had a choice. As such he would have considered some social gatherings among the men of Tete as beneath his dignity and as unbecoming an officer.

In this sense it may be significant that one of Kirk's most often-quoted attacks on Charles' mode of dress was written on the day when he and David arrived in Tete (and over ten weeks since Kirk had last seen Charles): Charles "presents a first rate specimen of a respectable individual to the Portuguese. I am afraid most of us are not too particular about appearances when there is work doing." It may well be that Charles dressed that morning in a manner he deemed suitable to receive his Commander in the presence of the Portuguese.

If so, he judged well, for at a later date he may have inadvertently offended the new Governor of Tete (António Tavares de Almeida) because his mode of dress was not deemed suitable. This official visited the "Ma-Robert" somewhat unexpectedly at a time when the vessel was in a state of chaos, and only Charles was there to receive him. Charles informed Harriette:

The Governor had a black dress coat, white trousers and a black hat, gloves etc. I went out to rec. them on board in my usual full dress trousers & shirt with black belt, shoes on of course. Told him it was a very small steamer. He went off again without staying - left two cards. We hear that he was not quite pleased with my receiving him without a coat.

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18 FZJK, 3 November 1858, p. 115.

19 According to Ransford, Charles "saunters along the winding native paths of Africa in a clean well-cut suit..." RLLN, p. 85.

Furthermore, Charles was a missionary at heart, and it is small wonder that the Portuguese became more familiar with Baines and Thornton, and sent them food and presents from time to time. Also, this may have been a local application of the ancient and almost universal "divide and conquer" principle, and if so, it worked well. If this were indeed the case, Baines and Thornton were guilty of being duped. At any rate, Thornton implies that because he and Baines found favour with the Portuguese, Charles was perhaps jealous or "spiteful," and as there is no other evidence to support this charge, it is still an open question.

Just how "familiar" Thornton became with the residents of Tete may never be known, but years later Livingstone wrote:

Thornton told some of the members of the expedition as a fine joke, that he had been at a feast in so + so's house, and he did not know how it ended for when he came to himself he was lying in his own bed next morning. This debauchery was put a stop to by the Medical Officer of the expedition telling him from muscal volitantes and other symptoms in his eyes that if he did not give up those feasts he would lose his eyesight.21

One wonders to whom Thornton would have related this anecdote—certainly not to Charles Livingstone, and the only other expedition members in Tete at the time were Baines and Rae. The reference to eyesight may imply syphilis or crudely-distilled alcohol, and while Thornton (unlike most residents of Zambezia)
may have been free from any danger of contracting the former, no one has yet accused him of total abstinence with regard to liquor. This, however, was hardly more favourable as far as David Livingstone was concerned for earlier, upon seeing Africans become drunk on Expedition rum, he wrote: "I resolved never to allow anything of the kind again. The English shall not appear by this Expedition to be a set of drunkards making others drunk." 22 Perhaps instead of being castigated for supposedly being anti-social, Charles should instead be commended for his caution.

In the letter to his sister quoted above (p. 115), Thornton charges Charles of bribing the Makololo to spy on the others, but he may merely have been paying them wages. No doubt they gossiped to him and he listened, either out of petty curiosity or as an acting commander concerned with his responsibility for the behavior of the men under his charge. The "long, bitter account" allegedly given to David may have been verbal (and it may have been given by Rae and not Charles), and the public journal into which Charles wrote his exaggerations has yet to surface, so verification of these points is not possible. Until further evidence comes to light, Thornton's charges will retain their hollow ring, partly because they are unsupported, and partly because they were written after his dismissal.

22 Journal entry, 28 June 1858, WZEL, p. 16. On this occasion, Livingstone followed Bedingfeld's advice in issuing the rum, and the results he observed could only have lessened Livingstone's opinion of Bedingfeld's counsel.
Relations between Charles and Thornton. From this brief examination of Thornton's accusations, let us turn to a study of the interaction which took place between the two men in Tete from November, 1858 to June, 1859.

In the early part of the former month, the two men were alone together for five days while the rest made a preliminary reconnaissance of the Cabora Bassa rapids, and upon the return of the others, Kirk wrote in his journal: "Things are not going on well between young Livingstone and the others. On the one side, they have been sick and are more sensitive on that account, on the other, he is one who never had any one under him and is awkward and ungracious in his dealings."23

While Kirk fails to note that Charles had also been ill frequently, and might himself have been sensitive on that account, his point is well taken. Accustomed to one kind of leadership role in his several American pastorates, Charles probably found it difficult to make the transition to a position of responsibility in an exploring expedition. For his part, Thornton's record prior to his dismissal makes it clear that he found it difficult to adjust to anyone's leadership, a trait hardly uncommon among youths of his age then and now.

During the following month, the expedition was engaged in the serious examination of the rapids, most of which time the men were usually either ill or exhausted. After returning to Tete and resting a week, Thornton began mining coal on the

23_FZJK, 15 November 1858, p. 123.
Revubu River on 16 December, 1858, aided by a list of 99 outcrops of that mineral provided by Major Tito Sicard, Commandant of the military garrison at Tete and the regional Governor. Four days later, David Livingstone, Kirk and Rae left Tete to explore the Shire River. Stopping to visit Thornton on the Revubu, they learned that he had located three promising seams on the Murrungose River, a tributary of the Revubu. Charles was left in charge of operations in Tete.

After having spent 8 days in mining operations, Thornton returned to Tete on Christmas eve due to illness, although it would not have been amiss had he returned to spend Christmas in this strange land with his companions. As mentioned above (p. 116), around 10 January 1859 Charles recommended Thornton tarry at Tete a while longer until his strength was completely regained; and on 18 January Charles and Baines left the village to go upriver to examine the rapids at high water, as ordered.

Baines and the younger Livingstone arrived back in Tete on 3 February, the day after David and his party returned from the first exploration of the Shire. Thornton was in Tete to welcome both groups: he had again taken ill while in Tete, and did not return to the coal face. In the 48 days since he had begun coaling operations, Thornton had spent only 8 at the site of the mine. As the "Ma-Robert" consumed the fruit of 1½ days’

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24The mouth of the Revubu was on the north (left) bank of the Zambezi a few miles below Tete. However, most of Thornton's actual mining took place on the Murrungose, which flowed into the Revubu from the north, six miles from the latter's confluence with the Zambezi. Travel from the mine to Tete took about 4 or 5 hours under normal conditions.
woodcutting, David wanted as much coal as could be taken from
the mine as soon as possible and this work record, illness or
no, would not have impressed him very favourably.

On the other hand, there was evidently no discord between
Charles and Thornton during this period. On 14 March David and
Kirk again left Tete for the Shire, and did not return until
23 June. This time, Rae remained in Tete. Since no evidence
suggests disharmony between Charles and Thornton between 3 Feb¬
uary and 14 March, when David was in charge, with Charles often
ill and Thornton frequently out in the field, let our attention
be directed to the period from 14 March to 23 June.25

When David Livingstone left Tete for the Shire a second
time, Thornton was busy coaling on the Murrungose, fortified in
his resolve by a sharp verbal reprimand received from his Com¬
mander. On 21 March, Thornton wrote to Charles at Tete, com¬
plaining about the conduct of four men Sicard had loaned him
for help with the mining, and requesting "an overlooker" for the
men.26  Thornton's notebook for this period, parts of which were
not published by Tabler, indicates that from 11 to 19 March
Thornton spent much time in his tent writing and reading (a part
of the writing was a report demanded by David), only occasionally
going to the mine to check on the men and exhort them to mine

25Thornton left Tete to go exploring on 14 February; on 2
March he arrived to do serious work at the mine on the Murrungose,
and next day he returned to Tete.  TPMT, pp. 95 - 99.

26The location of this letter is unknown: its contents are
surmised from Charles' reply, and from Thornton's journal entry
of that day.  TPMT, p. 101.
coal, or to supervise the required blasting. 27

On the 19th he began to feel unwell, on the 20th he had a bad headache and no appetite, and he wrote accordingly to Charles. At Thornton's request Charles immediately advised Sicard that his men would not work unless constantly supervised, and in his reply to Thornton, Charles noted that Baines was having similar problems with Sicard's carpenters, who were helping Baines work on one of the expedition's boats. After expressing regret that Thornton was ill and hoping that his condition had improved, Charles advised: "Perhaps, if the ground is suitable for your tent nearer the mine, by removing it to the mine your presence might keep them at work." It is noteworthy that Charles does not upbraid Thornton for not working harder, nor does he order him to move to the scene of operations and apply himself with greater diligence. He follows this gentle advice with: "We are all well here at present although we have all had ill turns of headache, etc." 28

The second day of April saw Charles writing to Thornton again, sending him requested supplies, commenting with concern on Thornton's ill health, and noting again that Africans tend to work better if directly supervised. 29 This letter is as polite

27 Thornton's notebook, 13 January-15 July 1859, RHLO MSS. Afr. s. 32. While Tabler publishes some notes Thornton made during this period, those in this notebook differ somewhat, and at times the difference is significant.

28 Charles Livingstone to Richard Thornton, 22 March 1859, KmlPL.

29 C. Livingstone to R. Thornton, 2 April 1859, KmPL.
as the last, and reveals not the slightest hint of animosity.

The following day (2 April) Thornton returned to Tete, where he remained for 10 days: on the 13th he returned to the coal mine. Evidently the work went well for a while, for on 22 April Charles was again writing Thornton, sending supplies plus a goat presented by Sicard, commenting on the scarcity of provisions to be expected during the following 4-5 months, and closing with "Glad to hear you are well and expect to finish mining by the middle of next week." 30 Toward the end of April, Thornton again became ill, and on the 29th Charles wrote again:

Dear Sir, your note has just come to hand - sorry to hear that you have again taken cold.

Your remark that "you do not think it is making the best use of your time overlooking natives" etc. and express a wish to return to Tette before the work to wh you were appointed to do is completed. Now as that work is what the Commander of the Expedition requested you to do and as you do not say what better use you would make of your time were you in Tette I really do not feel authorized to interfere with Dr. L's arrange¬ments.

I want you to go North with me as soon as you have finished which I suppose will be soon. We are to move out of this house in a few days. Notice will be sent you so that you may come + see to packing etc. of your own things + the Expedition property under your charge. Tito thinks his men are harshly treated - Try kindness with them. yours etc. 31

Evidently Thornton did not treat Africans well: at a later date he noted in his journal that he sprained his toe in kicking Seguati, his personal servant. 32 Although this final letter

30 C. Livingstone to R. Thornton, 22 April 1859, KmPL.
31 C. Livingstone to R. Thornton, 29 April 1859, KmPL.
indicates some irritation and perhaps exasperation on Charles' part, and may have offended Thornton for that reason, it seems a reasonable enough reply when one considers all that had gone before. At any rate, four days later (3 May) Thornton sent to Tete for a machilla to convey him thence, and he evidently did not return to the scene of his coal mine.

After spending a month recuperating from the ailing leg which prevented his returning to Tete on foot, he "by order" began "a survey of the district about Tete, leaving the coal to be finished by the men under Mr. C.L. who twice went over there." Whereas some have assumed that Charles was sneaking to the site behind Thornton's back in order to gather information which would incriminate him, Thornton's own words make it clear that Charles (perhaps at David's written order) was merely going to continue for the good of the Expedition the work which Thornton had abandoned.

Sometime - perhaps in late May - Charles wrote to David to report on the state of affairs in Tete, for by this time David had been away for over two months, and evidently knew little or nothing of the progress made in Expedition Headquarters. Little is known of the contents of this letter, and even less of David's reply (vaguely alluded to in the last sentence of the preceding

33 Charles wrote at least one other letter to Thornton at this time (TPRT, 31 March 1859, p. 102), and perhaps there were others.

34 Thornton to his sister, 22 July 1859, WZEL, p. xli.

35 Wallis seems to take this attitude: WIBK, p. 169.
paragraph, and perhaps by Thornton in the first sentence of that same paragraph), for the location of the originals is not known, and David apparently copied neither into his journal. Kirk, however, made a general summary of what he heard of Charles' letter in his journal, but he did so in Turkish! Kirk indicates that Charles reported Thornton as spending most of his time eating, drinking and sleeping, but fails to mention whether or not Charles mentioned the state of Thornton's health.

On 23 June 1859 David arrived in Tete himself, and no doubt questioned Charles on Thornton's conduct, but again no record seems to have survived indicating their trend of conversation on this day. Here again, writers have been close to unanimous in condemning Charles for "tale-telling" behind Thornton's back (yet Thornton was in Tete at this time), but virtually none observe that as officer-in-charge Charles was to some degree responsible for the personal conduct and occupational progress of those placed under him, and was furthermore responsible to report the facts as he saw them to the Expedition Commander upon his return to headquarters after an absence of over three months. Virtually no evidence has yet indicated there was any real animosity between Charles and Thornton prior to the latter's

36 Foskett calls Charles' note "a long and bitter letter which contained complaints about Baines and Thornton..." but gives no indication that he saw either the original or a copy. FZJK, xviii.

37 FZJK, 2 June 1859, p. 208. Facsimile, transcription into modern Turkish, translation into English, and interpretation in light of the context are found in Appendix C.
dismissal: Thornton's journal as published and his unpublished notebook referred to above (p. 123) contain not one entry speaking ill of Charles Livingstone from the day they met in early 1858 until Thornton left the expedition on 27 June 1859.

Assuredly, Charles may have handled his responsibility and the men under him awkwardly (although his four letters to Thornton quoted from above do show discretion and a spirit of cooperation), and evidently became irritated with Thornton by the end of April, but this hardly indicates that Charles made a vendetta of the relationship. Even if he and Thornton were close, Charles would have been hard put in late June to explain to David's satisfaction why Thornton had penetrated an exposed coal seam only 13 feet 9 inches in a period of over 6 months when accompanied by an intermittent crew of four Africans to do most of the manual labour, especially when David himself had reprimanded Thornton in early March for insuffient progress.\(^38\)

In fairness to Thornton, he could not have been expected to be at the mine every day for 6 months as he was also ordered to make a general geological survey of the region, but one must wonder if David would have taken that into account.

**Thornton's Health.** Thornton's first line of defence for his lack

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\(^38\) 13 feet 9 inches is taken from *WZEL*, p. 113; Tabler renders this as "only about thirty feet" (*TPRT*, p. 102). The difference may well represent the work accomplished by Charles and the men after Thornton abandoned the project, for when David himself inspected the mine, he noted the opening was 6 ft. high, and 29 ft., 9 in. in depth, adding "The men have worked much better since Thornton left them. They complain that he struck and kicked them." *WZEL*, "1st July 1859: say 30 June," p. 114.
of progress was the continually deteriorating state of his health. Even prior to his taking up mining on the Murrungose, Thornton, like most of the other European members of the expedition (and the Krumen from Sierra Leone), had suffered from malaria plus a variety of other minor tropical ailments. We have seen above how frequently he returned to Tete, feeling himself to be physically incapable of working.

When he returned at Christmas time, 1858, he was suffering from "a very bad cold and prickly heat." Upon recovering but while still in Tete in January, he contracted "fever and cold," which lasted 10 days and was accompanied by "prickly heat" and "burning headache," for which he took what he later learned were "dangerous quantities of opium." Instead of returning to the coal mine in February, he went off on a geological expedition where the going was rough and he was "knocked up" from the exertion, and he had to go to the hills to regain his health. While on this excursion, the "wet dew in the morning and the burning sun in the afternoon," plus a bad foot (perhaps a recurrence of an ailment suffered months earlier in Shupanga) ended this junket and sent Thornton back to the Murrungose to resume coaling operations. One day after pitching his tent there he was unwell, and he returned immediately to Tete.

On 10 March he returned to the coal mine, but he took ill

39 A. Thornton to his sister, 22 July 1859, WZEL, xxxix - xli.

40 All quotations in this paragraph are taken from the source cited in note 39.
nine days later (see p. 123 above), and returned to Tete on 3 April. He was back at the coal on 12 April, and after taking ill sometime toward the end of the month, he returned to Tete on 3 May with his legs covered with festering sores which resulted from his scratching mosquito bites. For three weeks he did not wear a shoe, and in that period again took a bad cold and had a slight attack of fever.  

On 3 June he was again (by his own testimony) well enough to work, and as the healthy (dry) season had begun, he was apparently in good health for the remainder of the month.

Again, there seems to be no way of knowing what Charles told David about Thornton's health upon David's arrival in Tete on 23 June 1859, but the entry in the private journal kept by the Expedition's Medical Officer is not insignificant:

Thornton has no doubt been sick but he is now in excellent health and although he often complains, yet I could not venture to prescribe for his most anomalous symptoms, many of which are only expressions of one giving in to the feeling of lassitude which all have felt and if once yielded to become daily more difficult to overcome. His geological work has been very limited indeed and he can say very little, even in respect of the coal fields which it was his especial work to examine minutely.

Thus Kirk, who was an excellent medical officer and certainly in no league with Charles Livingstone, felt that many of Thornton's complaints stemmed from the mind rather than the body. Thornton had little to show for his mining, and his pleas

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41 R. Thornton to his sister, 22 July 1859, WZEL, xli.

42 KJT, p. 213. This was written sometime between 23 June and 11 July 1859.
on the grounds of illness failed to convince Dr. John Kirk.
It now remains only to examine the relationship between Thorn-
ton and the man ultimately responsible for his dismissal.

David Livingstone and Richard Thornton. It has previously been
indicated that in the light of available evidence, Thornton's
accusations against Charles seem not to ring true, and this is
even more obvious when one considers the character of David Liv-
ingstone. A man of such strong will and independent spirit is
hardly to be swayed by others, and those who use David's filial
connection with Charles to summarily surmount this dilemma over-
look the fact that brotherhood, as we have seen above and will
see below, does not always imply blind loyalty.

Because 1858 was such a busy and traumatic year for David,
and as he was partly distracted from other things by the dispute
with Norman Bedingfeld, his journal as published has little to
say about Richard Thornton. However, upon returning to Tete in
early February 1859, and learning that Thornton had spent only
8 days in seven weeks working on geological pursuits, he began
to express an opinion. Thornton later wrote to his sister:
"A few days later [after Baines returned to Tete on 3 February]
I got a blowing up from the Dr. for not having gone on another
geological excursion..." Thornton quickly went into the field,
and while on this jaunt, he received another "blowing up from the
Dr.," this one in the form of a note.43

43 Both quotations in Thornton to his sister, 22 July 1859,
WZEL, xl.
At this time, Livingstone wrote to Roderick Murchison, who was Thornton's chief sponsor and mentor, saying that Thornton "is terribly lazy," and "I can't get any work out of him at all." He "is very clever as far as books go," but not "a field geologist." Kirk, David and several Portuguese all discovered fossils, but he has discovered nothing. "I send him where I know coal + matters of interest exist but he is soon back sleeping," and "I hope he will behave better after he becomes acclimatized - told him this is his chance to distinguish himself." Livingstone's journal entry five days later was much more laconic: "Thornton went off to geologize Monday: has been inefficient of late." Livingstone's journal entry for the same day reads: "Send [Thornton] off to make a shaft in the coal: Thornton evidently disinclined to geologize and has done next to nothing last 3

44 February 1859, NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 985-992. Such criticism at such an early date makes one wonder if Charles had special instructions to keep Thornton from loafing when David left a second time for the Shire. If so, Charles showed restraint.

45 WZEL, 20 February 1859, p. 82.

46 See n. 27, p. 123 above. The strikeover is Thornton's; this entry is not published by Tabler. Perhaps Livingstone's attitude disheartened Thornton, as it did so many others.
months. Gorges himself with the best of everything he can lay
hold of without asking. Baines sent for four bottles of Brandy
to the launch. I was obliged to speak sharply to him about it.
He receives £1 a day and does next to nothing."\textsuperscript{47} Although
Livingstone’s use of personal pronouns is confusing, it seems
that he spoke sharply to Thornton (whose pay was closer to £1
than was Baines’) about the four bottles he and Baines intended
to share in the launch. At any rate, Thornton immediately
returned to the coal, rewrote his report, and submitted it to
Livingstone on 14 March.

Thereafter, Livingstone presumably heard little about his
geologist until when in Sena he received the note which Kirk
recorded in Turkish. He wrote to Washington on 25 May: "I have
had Thornton mining coal at Tette but he does very little, and
lays all the blame on the people employed under him. He cannot
be trusted out of sight and is frequently ill."\textsuperscript{48} A month later
Livingstone was back in Tete.

Thus it is not only clear that David Livingstone considered
Thornton lazy prior to his return from the second visit to the
Shire, on 23 June, but that he recognized this to be the case,
in his letter to Murchison, almost a full month before he even
left on that trip. Furthermore, when David, Kirk and Rae

\textsuperscript{47}WZEL, pp. 85-86.

\textsuperscript{48}DL to Washington, 25 May 1859, MDNL, KSS 120. The quote
concerning Thornton and the men under him suggests that David
received the "Turkish" note from Charles somewhat earlier than
Kirk recorded it in his journal, or there was an earlier letter
of which absolutely nothing is known.
returned to Tete from the first exploration of the Shire on 2 February, a day before Charles and Baines returned from their trip to the Cabora Bassa, Thornton was there to greet them. As David indicates in his journal, both Charles and Baines were ill with fever for most of the following week, thus Thornton was able to present his case while Charles was removed from the scene. The idea that David Livingstone formed his opinion of Richard Thornton solely upon the testimony of Charles Livingstone, and dismissed him from the Expedition accordingly, is categorically false, and cannot be maintained in the light of available evidence.

Dismissal and Aftermath. After he arrived in Tete on 23 June, David wrote in his journal: "Thornton does nothing: is inveterately lazy and wants good sense." Four days later he gave the geologist the letter of dismissal, noting in his journal on that day that Thornton:

has been incorrigibly lazy, seems to have no taste for geology and works none. It is absolutely necessary for me to act, for he will go home without any materials and then the blame will come back on me for allowing his salary to run on. [He] came here on the third of May, and has done nothing since but take magnetic bearings of some heights.

The letter of dismissal contains one new element: "Hearing that you were remaining here idle, I sent an order from Senna for you to go on with the geological examination of the district.

49 WLZEL, p. 109.
50 WLZEL, p. 112.
This you have not attended to."51 Less than a month later, Livingstone again wrote to Murchison. After reiterating Thornton's laziness, he wrote: "I bore with him til March, then almost forced him to the coals." His shaft penetrated 13' 9" — after he retired, the men "went on to 29 feet." When he returned to Tette in my absence, "my brother spoke to him very seriously, but he only laughed at what was said... Dr. Kirk spoke to him again and again, urging him to work, but the least illness — even prickly heat, laid him up!"52

Since Thornton's journal reveals no ill concerning Charles Livingstone, the oft-quoted letter to his sister of 22 July 1859 represents the earliest document in which Thornton sees Charles as the cause of his dismissal. It has been suggested above that the charges Thornton shared with sister Helen in that letter have a hollow ring, as indeed does his sister Octavia's charge that Charles Livingstone exercised "brutality" toward her brother.53

In the months that followed, Thornton continued to blame his failure on Charles Livingstone. He repeated his charges in a letter to "My Dear A.I." dated 10 March 1861,54 and again in one to David Livingstone. In the latter, Thornton accused

51 DL to Thornton, 25 June 1859 (delivered two days later), WZEL, p. 113.
52 22 July 1859, NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1029 — 1036.
53 Octavia to Richard Thornton, 1 December 1859, NARS TH 1/1/1, p. 9. See JTLi, p. 228.
54 NLS, MS.2618, f. 258. "A.I" is unidentified by Tabler.
the Commander as follows:

First, that you condemned [me] mainly on the evidence of your brother O. Livingstone, without making a proper inquiry into the truth of that evidence, and without giving me an opportunity to defend myself. Second that you condemned me for having done no work without even asking me what I had done. To this day you do not know what geology I did or did not whilst a member of the Expedition.55

According to Thornton's journal, the two met in privacy on 14 July 1862 to discuss these countercharges. At length Livingstone agreed that Thornton's second point contained merit, but Thornton failed to convince him of the veracity of the first,56 simply because he could see for himself that Thornton was healthy enough and that the work had not been completed.

There yet remain four pieces of evidence to be examined concerning Thornton's behavior during his first two years on the Zambezi. The first two are letters from Thomas Baines to Thornton's brother George, and concerning Richard's digging for coal, he wrote:

the Doctor was not satisfied with the progress he made or with his manner of dealing with the natives who said that he beat some of them. This may be true for anything I can tell... [Then, in May] Mr. Livingstone went over to view the works and was dissatisfied with their progress. He I suppose reported this to the Dr. on his return and your brother was dismissed.57

55 Thornton to DL, 7 May 1861, original unknown. WZBL, pp. 177-78.

56 TPR, pp. 253-54. Livingstone makes no mention of this in his journal from 9 November 1861 to 1 May 1863. SNMDL, on exhibit.

57 T. Baines to G. Thornton, April 1860, JoPL.
Not long thereafter, Baines wrote again:

At first he [Richard] was of course deficient a little in the experience which would enable him to turn his scientific knowledge to the best account - and he also had to learn that many duties and much actual drudgery are demanded of every officer of an expedition beyond the mere acquisition of knowledge in his department.58

The first quotation is especially interesting for Baines' use of "I suppose," (after all, it could have been Rae who gave the Commander the most incriminating verbal report), and for the way he implies that Thornton's dismissal was a direct result of Charles' testimony. In the second case, he applies circumvention to indicate that Thornton was lazy, which, after all, is why Livingstone dismissed him.

Thornton's apologists have accused Livingstone of leaving the young and inexperienced geologist to much to his own devices, or unsupervised,59 and yet we have seen that David himself directed Thornton by word and note, and encouraged him to prepare reports indicating his progress, and two senior staff members (Kirk and Charles, of course) repeatedly attempted to move Thornton into action, by advice or order. This encouragement (as far as coal mining was concerned) continued over a period of six months. The Commander knew well that Thornton needed a guiding hand, and even after he felt he had no choice but to dismiss the young man, he remained open to the idea of Thornton's rejoining the Expedition at a later date. And it was the result of Livingstone's attitude that John Washington, when reviewing

58 T. Baines to G. Thornton, 19 July 1860, JoPL.
59 JTLI, p. 228; WOLR, p. 115 to name only two.
Thornton's dismissal, wrote that because of Thornton's youth, inexperience, and the possibility of his eventually rejoining the Expedition, "I recommend utmost leniency." Nevertheless, it must not be overlooked that Thornton signed on to do a man's job, and it is unrealistic to expect that Livingstone should have led him by the hand in order to ensure that Thornton's tasks were completed successfully.

Final Evaluation. In conclusion, it seems that Thornton was both brash and headstrong: he apparently disobeyed Charles Livingstone's written order (albeit in the form of a suggestion) of 29 April that he stay and work at the mine until further notice (although perhaps he was really ill at the time); he disobeyed David's order from Sena that he complete the geological survey of the region around Tete; he mistreated the Africans working under him, which even his friend Tito Sicard admitted; he felt it was beneath his dignity as a trained geologist to do his share of the tedious and difficult labour which any such expedition requires, which even his friend Thomas Baines admitted; and no doubt he failed to show Charles Livingstone, his superior officer who was temporarily in charge, proper respect — and he may have shown him no respect at all; and he failed to follow the advice of the Medical Officer, whom he apparently tried to convince he was more ill than he really was. This is hardly model behavior for an officer of the Crown.

A letter from Thornton to Murchison written before the Expedition sailed hints at Thornton's impetuosity:

I... express my gratitude to you for all your great and continued kindness to me, in obtaining me the appointment, in helping me – often undeservedly – out of all the difficulties I got into – and on every opportunity giving me advice, instruction, and encouragement, not only concerning my public duty, but private life.61

One wonders about the difficulties Thornton mentions – whatever, they may help to explain why Murchison apparently never for a moment wavered in his support of David Livingstone in this controversy.

Finally, in justice, it may be fair to add that this side of Thornton's character is in a sense irrelevant, simply because he was not dismissed for insubordination or tempestuousness, but rather for dereliction of duty, or laziness, and David Livingstone's premise that Thornton was chronically indolent is more in keeping with the available evidence than Thornton's belated countercharge that he was dismissed due to unjust accusations brought forth by Charles Livingstone.

PART FOUR: THOMAS BAINES

Whether thou be thief or true man...
I'm weary of thy company. Child, 273

The Traditional Viewpoint. Of the three men here considered, the case of Thomas Baines is by far the most controversial. The others were accused of insubordination and laziness respectively, either of which could be attributed to the heat of the moment, the climate, the state of one's health, etc. But Baines was accused of theft (among other things), and this implies a character deficiency which is exempt from all existential circumstances. Baines resisted the charge with considerable and continual vehemence, and never wavered in his conviction that he had been treated unfairly. We have already seen (above, pp. 112-113) the position taken by some writers, and now let us turn to some opinions registered by others. As they tend to be nearly unanimous in their conclusions, only a few will be considered.

One of the least accurate and most inflammatory accounts of what transpired is presented by Tim Jeal, who mixes a number of quasi-facts with a great deal of hearsay and his own personal imagination to conclude that Baines was a sociable, outgoing man who worked hard and honestly, but was set upon by Charles Livingstone like the wolf on the fold, who exaggerated Baines' every move and drummed up patently false charges in order to have Baines removed from the Expedition. No motive for Charles' alleged behavior is offered. Among other things, Jeal writes: "There was no shred of evidence to accuse Baines of theft." ¹

¹JTLI, p. 227.
Kirk's Camp at Nyeka or Expedition Island: the Ma-Robert and Pinnace of the Hermes being loaded with stores to be taken up to Shupanga, 1858.

by

Thomas Baines

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In stating his case, Jeal directly or indirectly accuses Charles of narrow-mindedness, prejudice (against Portuguese), ingratitude, vanity, chronic complaining, egotism, gossipping and backbiting, bribery, false accusation and false witness, almost as if his main thrust toward whitewashing Baines is to blacken Charles, a tactic also used by Wallis.²

Almost 50 years earlier, Coupland saw Charles as the cause of Baines' problems,³ and just over a decade later, Baines' biographer amplified these interpretations. Martelli also sees all good in Baines and all evil in Charles,⁴ as do virtually all other writers on the subject. Since the most influential exponent of this theme was J.P.R. Wallis, considerable space below will be granted to his contentions. From this apparently black-and-white background, let us begin by examining the relationship between the two men.

**Charles Livingstone and Thomas Baines.** Prior to July, 1858, when the Expedition was temporarily centered on Nyika Island, there is little to indicate any hostility existed between the two men. The month of July was characterized by the illness of both: they suffered severely from malaria, although it affected them in different ways. Kirk noted that Baines had an additional

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²Jeal's treatment of this controversy, found between pp. 226 and 229 of his book, constitutes a classic case of how easily the record of history may be distorted. Among a host of inaccuracies, he mentions that Baines was "ten years older than" Charles. Baines was born 27 November 1820; Charles 26 Feb. 1821.

³*OkZ*, pp. 159, 181 etc. 
⁴*MGLR*, pp. 115 - 121.
problem: "He has queer notions about hardening himself." ⁵
Baines continually worked in the sun without a hat, and refused
to take the advice of the medical officer by working when
counseled to rest. ⁶

After two days of working in the sun without a hat and
against Kirk's advice, Baines became delirious and continued so,
muttering incoherently for the next two days - yet he still
refused to cover his head when in the sun. Meanwhile, the
fever made Charles quarrelsome and easily irritated, as he him-
self recognized and admitted to Kirk. ⁷ On 5 August, Kirk noted
that Baines suffered "his old complaint from too much exposure
in the sun," and went on to write that although Baines was
"knocked up" from too much hard work, he complains against
Charles and Thornton for being lazy. ⁸ Baines' continual sicken-
ness and irrational behavior finally caused Kirk to conclude:
"He is decidedly queer in the head." ⁹

David Livingstone also suspected that Baines was subject to
occasional bouts of mental instability: His "head is a little
touched by the sunstroke of the island," and "He is to be

⁵FZJK, 9 July 1858, p. 51.
⁶This may appeal to the macho-oriented, but has no place in
an expedition where the health of every member is vital.
⁷FZJK, 16 July 1858, p. 53. Actual medical details of the
2 cases are in: David Livingstone and John Kirk, "Remarks on the
African Fever in the Lower Zambesi," July, 1859, William Monk,
⁸FZJK, p. 61.
⁹Ibid., 15 August 1858, p. 65.
watched, as it is known he formerly had brain fever." In a footnote to the latter statement, Wallis writes: "So far as the present editor has been able to learn, Baines had never been so afflicted;" yet in introducing the same volume, he refers to the "cruelties of close cross examination of a brain-sick man," with Baines as the unfortunate victim.

Livingstone's phrase "he is to be watched" is curious - one wonders if he means spied upon, or given constant medical attention for his own protection, or both? Earlier, Kirk had written: "nothing but watching him like a child will induce him to avoid fresh exposure," and Bedingfeld later testified that due to overwork "in the midday sun his head was very much affected, and he was obliged to be watched in his tent."

At any rate, very early in the Expedition's fortunes the Commander (who happened to be a medical man) and the Medical Officer felt Baines had a mental problem which was induced by exposure to the sun, fever, or both, and was a recurrence of an earlier condition. This was not lost upon the other members of the expedition. Later, Baines mocked Charles for occasionally

10 WZEL, 5, 6 November 1858, p. 59.
11 Ibid., p. 59, n. 2, and xxxviii.
12 FZJK, 13 July 1858, p. 53.
14 Baines attributed his illness to cessation of active employment, exposure to the sun, and night air during the watches. Journal, 18 July 1858, copy BLJS; excerpts published in PRGS, vol. iii, no. 3, Session 1858-9, pp. 99-102; hereafter BJnl.
carrying a green parasol,\(^{15}\) which among other things prompted Ransford to refer to Charles as "the dandy of African exploration."\(^{16}\) While Charles missed enough days from work due to malaria and other complaints, no one has yet accused him of suffering from overexposure to the sun. Baines was perhaps anxious to prove his toughness by driving himself too hard — he resented Thornton's age, salary, and both Thornton's and Charles' lack of experience in the bush, and perhaps their education as well. Already aware that his health was not his strong point, Charles learned to tread softly once he saw the ferocity of the African climate.

From 1 July 1858 until the Expedition members were all reunited in Tete on 3 November, Baines and Charles saw a great deal of each other. For the first 16 days of July, they were on Nyika island and ill most of the time, although during the respites from the ravages of malaria they worked together at many of the required tasks. From then until 14 October, when Baines arrived in Tete,\(^{17}\) they were intermittently together, and while little is known of their interaction during this period, one incident is worth mentioning.

\(^{15}\)Baines to G. Thornton, 19 July 1860, JoPL.


\(^{17}\)CL - HCL, journal/letter 14 September - 21 December 1858, 05/10. Charles arrived at Tete on 8 September.
After the "Ma-Robert" left Expedition Island on 2 August bound for Shupanga with Dr. Livingstone and Dr. Kirk on board, Baines left the accommodation he shared with Charles and Thornton and moved into Bedingfeld's tent. On one of the next three days, when Baines was busy tearing down the house in which they worked and ate, Thornton told him to desist in his destruction for the time being. When Baines proceeded undeterred, Thornton went to Charles (who was in charge), and succeeded in getting him to order Baines to stop. 18

He did, but he almost certainly resented Charles "interference" as well as his authority, and it was this incident which prompted Baines to accuse Charles and Thornton of being lazy (p. 141 above). However, Charles and Thornton had good reason for wanting the house to remain standing until the launch returned: in addition to working and eating there, they apparently slept there as well. The day the "Ma-Robert" returned, Kirk commented on Baines' hard work and the others' laziness, indicating that by this early date Baines' had gained Kirk's sympathetic ear, 19 probably because he was such a hard worker, ostentatiously or otherwise. Next day, the rest of the house was taken down. This was perhaps the first clash between Baines and Charles Livingstone, and it may not be irrelevant that it took place the very first time that Charles was in charge of the others.

18TPRT, pp. 35-6. 19FZJK, 6 August 1858, p. 61.
During November and December, 1858, the men of the expedition were engaged in consolidating their position in Tete and exploring the bulwark of Caborra Bassa. While it may be that Charles and Baines retained antipathy toward one another, there seems to have been no major incident between them at this time.\footnote{During the second half of October, when Baines was ill in Tete, Charles nursed him regularly, noting on one occasion when he got worse: "he is very careless of himself." CL - HCL, journal/letter 14 Sept.-21 Dec. 1858; 25 October entry, G5/10.} On 20 December the bulk of the expedition departed from Tete bound for the Shire, leaving Thornton on the Revubu and Baines and Charles in Tete.

While they were waiting for the river to rise and enable them to examine the rapids in full flood, the men had several tasks to keep them occupied. In addition to his painting and sketching, Baines was always working on the Expedition's boats, and no doubt there was a great deal of reorganizing of the stores to be done. Charles had his photography to attend to, in addition to keeping the public journal, experimenting with cotton growing, collecting birds and insects, and dealing in an official capacity with the local residents. The river rose on the night of 17 January, and on the following day the two men went upriver.

They were absent for 16 days, not returning until 3 February, after which date both men were so ill that they spent most of the next ten days resting and recuperating. According to Wallis, the two men clashed sometime during this trip.
Naturally neither included any reference to an unpleasant clash between them (in their reports of the trip) when they first took to the land, but Mrs. Baines gave a sufficient account in a letter to her married daughter. Baines was busy upon a drawing of the turbulent rapids, while Charles reclined under a tree beneath the shade of his green umbrella. 'He never hurt himself with work' writes the indignant widow, 'but expected to be waited upon, till your brother told him he was not there as his servant but as an officer that had duties of his own to attend to.'

This passage is intriguing for several reasons, among them the fact that Martelli (p. 109) and Jeal (p. 226) both repeat the statement attributed to Baines, and like Wallis, fail to give the date of the manuscript. Nor do any of the three question the impartiality of the source.

In addition to wondering why Charles needed his umbrella if he was reclining under a tree, one wonders what it was that he asked Baines to do under what circumstances. After all, it may have been vital to the Expedition's work (such as application of a chemical at a crucial stage in the photographic process), and in fact Baines' reaction may have been one of selfishness rather than independence. On the other hand, perhaps Charles did expect too much from the artist. Unfortunately, no source offers any further information on this curious incident.

However, the men did have a disagreement, or at best a series of misunderstandings, while on this assignment, and

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21 WTBK, pp. 161-162.

22 Later in this same work, Wallis quotes from a letter from Mrs. Baines to her daughter dated April, 1867 (p. 242), and it may be the above information was taken from the same manuscript.
a detailed account of this trip was recorded by Charles Livingstone. During the first week or so the men had very hard going, and often the two split up (Baines always staying with the boat), as Charles wanted the land on both sides of the river examined very carefully. When the boat could go no further, they went overland, and when Baines "fell behind," Charles (both were accompanied by Africans) pushed on alone to the river. Here he waited an hour, then climbed upon the rocks to see if Baines had reached the Zambezi further upstream. Not seeing him, Charles waited another three hours, and took fever, which incapacitated him the entire following day.

Meanwhile, Baines remained back away from the river, and Charles thought it "excessively stupid" of him to have done so, rather than follow the only path to the river, which Charles had taken. When recovered, Charles retraced his steps to Baines and the others, and led them down to the river over the path he had previously taken. In time, Charles became worn out, and as the river had fallen, and since orders called for them to observe the cataract at high water, he decided to go no further.

Baines, however, wanted to go on, and although Charles at first was reluctant to let him go on alone, he changed his mind and allowed two Africans to accompany Baines. Charles then wrote vaguely: "I dropt slowly down. B. returned ill with fever... this night we reached the boat." Next day they went to Tete.23

23 All of the above from CL - HCL, 5 February 1859, C5/11.
The two men had rough going all the way - rain, heat, rocks, and stingless bees which got into the eyes and caused soreness when rubbed, all took their toll. No mention is made of the quarrel mentioned by Mrs. Baines, and Charles refers to only one sketch made by Baines on this trip, a sketch of the rapids Baines made during the time he went on alone. Other than the comment on Baines' stupidity, Charles made no derogatory reference to his partner.

Nor does he say any ill of Baines in a letter to his friend Frederick Pitch, in which he describes their exertions on this trip "as if all the houses in London were knocked down and you should try to walk over the ruins." The long letter to his wife on this subject effectively refutes the statement that Charles Livingstone "never hurt himself with work."

Martelli adds his interpretation to this scene:

Charles as usual collapsed as soon as he became tired, and Baines then went on alone, and after several days of very difficult travel succeeded in reaching the highest of the rapids and making a sketch of it. On his return two days later to the place where he had left Charles, he found that the latter, tired of waiting, had gone off in the boat, leaving only a note. Baines, already exhausted, ill with fever, and without provisions, had then to struggle on for another two and a half days before he reached the boat and found food and rest. Leaving for the moment the question of how Baines could have gone on alone through "several days of very difficult travel," but returned to the point of departure "two days later," we must instead examine Martelli's evidence. His source is the letter

\(^24\) April 1859, NARS LI 3/1/1. \(^25\) MGLR, p. 117.
from Richard Thornton to his sister Helen, so frequently quoted in the previous part of this chapter:

Baines, after some very hard travelling, returned on the third day, ill with fever and found that Mr. C.L. had got tired of waiting, so had returned to the boat 2½ days below with the Makololo - leaving only a note stating the hour and minute at which he left - so poor Baines, ill with fever, and without provisions, had 2½ days walk to the boat, where he found Mr. C.L. all well. 26

Charles implies that he and Baines reached the boat together, and whatever may have been the case, there was certainly cause for disagreement between the two men.

There was also a marked difference in the reports the two men submitted to their Commander upon their return. Charles' report, dated 16 February, is very brief, and tells about the river, the landscape, and the people, and the main point it makes is that local Africans assured him that the rapid 2 miles above Mt. Stephanie disappeared when the river was full, and they reported likewise of the great cataract Morumbua, which Baines went on ahead to see and sketch. 27

Baines' report was submitted four days later, and is valuable not only for its content but also because it was written in the form of a journal. Almost three times as long as Charles', it contains detailed descriptions of the river currents, locations of rocks, and potential navigability, as well as mentioning the movements of the two men and their eight

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26 22 July 1659, WZEL, xl.
African companions. Charles' report is optimistic in that it encourages the hope that the river could be navigated at certain times of the year, while Baines' advances a number of reasons why this would be a very dangerous, if not impossible, undertaking. Each man reported on what he observed: Baines saw more of the river, and had had more experience with boats and currents, etc., than had Charles; his report is therefore much more valuable to one concerned with the state of the river and its potential for being navigated, as indeed David Livingstone was.  

Baines also makes it clear that he did not meet Charles until he reached the boat, and that he did in fact travel 2½ days with only one African (Macomocomo) as a companion. One must again wonder why Charles did not wait for Baines: he may have been ill himself (and recovered by the time Baines reached him); he and the Africans with him may have been out of provisions; or he may simply have abandoned Baines to his own devices. It is worth noting that according to Baines' account, he left the campsite slightly above and opposite Mt. Stephanie 24 hours after Charles and the others, but arrived at the boat only 5 hours after they did. Thus in 2½ days travel over incredibly rough country Baines made up almost a full day's time, and it is no wonder that his health was below par in the weeks that followed.

28 TB to DL, 20 February 1858, RGSL, DL 3/4/5; published in \textit{JRGS}, fol. 31(1861), pp. 287-290. The fact that Baines' report was written 4 days after Charles' may indicate that David was dissatisfied with his brother's, and gave Baines details on the kind of report he expected.
Or, he may have been the victim of his own desire to drive himself, or he may have been truly desperate and felt that he was in danger of being completely abandoned. On the other hand, we have seen that Charles wrote that he "dropt slowly down," and maybe this more than anything made it possible for Baines to almost overtake the party.

Whatever may have been the case - and clearly further evidence is required, - on the surface it appears that Charles committed a serious error of judgement in not waiting for his partner, or in not sending back a man with provisions as soon as the boat was reached. For all we know, the trip may have cost Baines his life (what if he had broken his leg among the rocks?), and one cannot expect that Baines would have had much respect for Charles Livingstone after this. The entire two weeks also indicates that David was wrong when he wrote that Baines (and Thornton) "could not rough it." Had Baines not been so susceptible to illness, contracted partly due to his own carelessness, he could have "roughed it" with the best of any age. Neither laziness nor physical weakness were flaws in his makeup.

Baines was not again placed under Charles' direct supervision until 14 March, and this situation was in effect until 23 June. With the men were Rae, an undetermined number of Livingstone's "Makololo," the Portuguese and African residents of Tete, and on occasion, Richard Thornton. This is by far the most crucial period in the career of Thomas Baines, at least as

far as the Zambezi Expedition is concerned, and it is a great loss to researchers that none of the journals kept by Rae, Baines, Charles Livingstone, nor the public journal are available for consultation. A very high percentage of the "facts" relating to this period are gleaned from letters and documents written much later, when the simple passage of time compounded by the interjection of self-interest and heated emotion undoubtedly introduced a great deal of distortion into the controversy. Nevertheless, there is no choice but to try to reconstruct events from the scanty evidence at hand.

Work and Health of the Men at Tete. We have seen above (p. 145) that the men had plenty with which to occupy themselves when in Tete. Virtually nothing is known of the activities of Rae during this period, with the exception of one sentence written by John Kirk: "Mr. Rae has been very busy at a hundred little jobs."\(^{30}\) It is a pity that no record of David's advice or orders to Charles before departing is available, for it would provide a basis with which to judge the men during this period.

Two expeditions were planned for this period: Charles was to lead the "Makololo" back to Sesheke; and they were all to go on an excursion up the Mazoe River to examine the gold-producing region, but both plans had to be scrapped for various reasons. Perhaps because of this, the men were more idle than they should

\(^{30}\) FZJK, 23 June 1859, pp. 213-4.
have been.

In addition, we must consider the state of the men's health, and to sum it up in a word: all four of the Europeans were ill for a great deal of the time. We have seen how Thornton frequently considered himself too ill to work, and Kirk recorded that Rae "has had many touches of his old fever," and "Mr. L. has had the same." Charles also suffered from the painful deterioration of a wisdom tooth, which Kirk extracted for him on 25 June. Baines, who due to his lack of self-concern was probably the most seriously ill the most frequently, will be considered in detail below.

No doubt there was hardly a day, especially in March and April, when one of the men was not ill, and the journals and books concerning the expedition are rank with paragraphs stressing how irritable and unsociable the fever made one. As early as 19 November 1858 the expedition's medical officer wrote: "It is a curious fact that every one I have met here, with the least fever or sickness of any sort, becomes very irritable, and thus I can now tell the state of health and guess a coming attack." Horace Waller, Lay Superintendent of the

31 FZJK, 23 June 1859, p. 214. It is curious to note that although Rae was sick, and during this period Tete was in a state approaching famine, in July Sr. Ferrão of Sena was astonished to see Rae arrive "fat and stout." CL - HCL, 30 July 1859, G5/12.

32 CL - HCL, 26 June 1859, G5/18.

33 FZJK, p. 124.
U.M.C.A., stated succinctly: "Fever poison has the tendency to make men quarrel in the most remarkable degree."\textsuperscript{34} And a distinguished tropical physician of our own day has written: "No matter what reasons are given for the differences between David Livingstone, Thomas Baines and others, there is no doubt that tempers were frayed because of the fever."\textsuperscript{35} Earlier in his career, the Expedition's Commander had written:

The fever makes me perfectly useless as far as mental work is concerned. I cannot perform a simple calculation or lay in a few new words though I try for hours. I have been reduced so low by it I forget the days of the week, the names of those about me, and think had I been asked I could not have told my own.\textsuperscript{36}

Indeed, those not exposed to tropical malaria have difficulty imagining its over-all effect on the human system: social intercourse must have been strained among the Europeans in Tete on those days when two or more of them were ailing. Baines was among the worst affected, and as early as 9 May 1859 David Livingstone wrote of him to Murchison: he "becomes heady when he has fever and we may be obliged to send him home."\textsuperscript{37}

**Baines’ Dismissal.** When Livingstone returned to Tete in late June, 1859, he wrote in his journal: "Baines had been heady for


\textsuperscript{36}SIAJ, 2 May 1854, p. 135.

\textsuperscript{37}NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1014 – 1017.
three weeks and made away with Expedition goods to a large amount while so affected. Asked them to put him in confinement."\(^{38}\) Two points are noteworthy: Livingstone seems to accept the state of Baines' health at the time as the most important contributing factor, and he indicates that Baines asked "them," implying that more than one other person was concerned. That the first of these two points is valid is underscored by Kirk, who wrote in his journal on that same day: "Poor Baines has had many touches \([\text{of fever}]\) and his head seems often to have been quite out of equilibrium. He has done many things, which without this excuse, would have been very difficult of explanation."\(^{39}\)

Livingstone makes no further mention of Baines' behavior until 9 July, over two weeks later, and it would seem that, recalling David's capacity for immediate action, nothing he learned from either Charles or the public journal necessitated drastic action against Baines. Although Kirk seems more sceptical of Baines' record than does David, both apparently accepted the fact that Baines was to be excused due to the effect of fever upon his mind. If Charles' testimony against Baines had been as severe as it is often described as having been, the Artist/Storekeeper would have been dismissed instantly.

On 9 July, Baines "expressed sorrow for goods having gone astray, and his willingness to pay what was missing,"\(^{40}\) which

\(^{38}\)WZEL, 23 June 1859, p. 109.  \(^{39}\)PZJK, p. 213.

\(^{40}\)WZEL, p. 114.
seems by implication an admission that the goods were in fact missing and that Baines was responsible. Livingstone, still accepting the idea that Baines was not in his right mind, told the storekeeper that payment was not necessary, but that if he lost his head in the future, he should appeal to Tito Sicard for help.

However, two days later, David Livingstone wrote Baines a letter of warning, indicating that while he will overlook the quantities of public property given away "by your own confession" on the grounds of fever, should it happen again, Baines' pay would be stopped and he would be sent home. Furthermore, should Baines again go off "skylarking with the Portuguese," taking the whaler without authority and "very materially damaging" it, or if you spend Expedition time and materials painting Portuguese portraits, you will be dismissed.

He goes on to say that Bedingfeld twice complained about Baines' storekeeping, and "now, having seen the [goods] left to anyone who chose to steal them, and Thornton even allowed to take what he liked in your presence," he cautions Baines to look sharp to the stores or be separated. Livingstone closes by telling Baines to do paintings of the natives, birds and animals, and categorically orders him to do no boat building, noting that he had given him verbal orders before leaving last time (14 March) not to do it, but to merely show the carpenters (who were supplied by Sicard) how to do it.41

At this same time, Livingstone wrote in his journal:

I find from Mr. Rae, that while Baines made so free with the goods of the Expedition, he took very good care of his own and was both sharp and mean. Gave soap to every one that asked for it; made away with the wine of the Mess,\footnote{Mess provisions were paid for by all members as a unit, for their private use, hence Baines was giving away common property. Two-and-a-half years later, Livingstone repaid the other men (who still remained) for their losses from funds realized from the sale of ivory in Mozambique (city). See Livingstone to Washington, 6 December 1861 (p.s. of 20 Dec.) in Gary W. Clendenen, "David Livingstone on the Zambezi: Letters to John Washington, 1861 - 1865," Munger Africana Library Notes, vol. vi, no. 32 (January, 1976), pp. 25 - 26. Hereafter GLLW.} treating the Portuguese with it, yet held back from paying more than his share; wished to make Rae pay half of his washing, Baines having 90\footnote{Original reads "93," and not "90" as published.} pieces and Rae only four. Has a piece of serge in his possession belonging to Rae, gave away some dozens of bottles to Generoso, etc, so that, while I gave him the benefit of the doubt as to his sanity while squandering Expedition property, not many would have been so indulgent.\footnote{WZEL, p. 116. This follows immediately the letter of warning to Baines, and in spite of the several references to Rae, Wallis writes of the letter: "written in the Drs! most angular official manner [it] seems to betray the presence of Charles at his elbow." WTBK, p. 171.}

That very day, Livingstone and the rest (minus Thornton and Baines) left Tete and proceeded down the Zambezi. On 28 July Livingstone again wrote in his journal:

Found that a piece of serge belonging to Mr. Rae had disappeared and was in Baines' box. He gave away the mess wine to the Portuguese whenever they called on him. I saw him once myself and then, when he had finished it, declared it had been fairly drunk at the mess table. He uniformly took precious sharp care of his own things while secretly giving away the goods of the Expedition. Painted the portraits of Generoso, Pascoal and Albino without authority and then, when he had quite destroyed the whaler, declared that she was none the worse -'not a whit.' On reflecting on the matter I resolved to send
the following and did so by Augustius, requesting Sr.
Sicard to take charge.\textsuperscript{45} [Augustius = Augustino].

The "following" was the letter dismissing Baines.

Obviously, these passages present a great deal of food for
thought. Leaving for the moment the disappearance of expedition
property, let attention be directed to other charges raised by
David Livingstone. "Skylarking" with the Portuguese or anyone
else was not to be countenanced by Livingstone, as we have already
seen (p. 114 above). In later times, when Livingstone was more
frustrated with Baines and hence perhaps prone to exaggeration,
he elaborated: at \textsuperscript{fete}, Baines "fell before the moral atmos-
phere of the place, was dishonest, diseased, +c."\textsuperscript{46} Two months
later, he wrote to his friend, Edmund Gabriel: "our painter
joined their orgies."\textsuperscript{47} One must wonder what Livingstone meant
by "orgies," and Bosazza's suggestion that Baines may have had
syphilis may not be irrelevant.\textsuperscript{48}

Livingstone's opinion of the Portuguese with whom Baines
"skylarked" also deteriorated with time:\textsuperscript{49} to Murchison he

\textsuperscript{45}WZBL, pp. 117-8. Wallis goes to great lengths to credit
David's change of opinion to Charles' whispering in his ear,
overlooking the fact that David was regularly learning things
from Rae; that Charles had no way of knowing Rae's material was in
Baines' box; and that during this trip downriver, Charles was
continually incapacitated due to fever. WTBK, pp. 172-3.

\textsuperscript{46}DL to Braithwaite, 26 January 1860, NLS, MS.Dep.237.

\textsuperscript{47}25 March 1860, BLJS, Book no. 6754. \textsuperscript{48}BTBA, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{49}One commentator astutely points out that Livingstone's
opinion of the Portuguese deteriorated severely only after he had
seen Lake Malawi. James Duffy, \textit{Portuguese Africa}, (Cambridge,
wrote on 8 August 1859: "Baines had associated with some Portuguese convicts in my absence," (implying that Baines would not have done so had David remained in Tete, which seems a reasonable enough assumption), and two months later they were "ticket of leave" men. 50 It does appear that Livingstone believed that Baines had taken part in immoral activities.

Then there is the charge that Baines took the whaler without permission and damaged it materially. Charles wrote to his wife: "Baines the artist began to lend the boat etc. without asking leave of me...", 51 an indiscretion with which he was not charged. Wallis offers his interpretation of the whaler incident: "For the damage to the whaleboat, she had been capsized at her moorings by a sudden squall, and when Baines, hearing of the mishap, went down to the water, he was too weak with fever to go in and salve the craft." 52 To believe that this was the case, and that Charles accordingly blamed Baines for damaging the boat, assumes an a priori belief that Charles had far less judgement and sense of fair play than the average human being.

David Livingstone himself puts this incident in its proper perspective: Baines "left it with the mast standing and, a storm coming on, it was swamped and left almost entirely useless." 53

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50 NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1046-9, and DL to Washington, 20 October 1859, MDNL, MSS. 120. A "ticket of leave" was a paper granting parole to a convict.

51 CL - HCL, 26 June 1859, G5/18.

52 WZRL, xxxvii-xxxviii; paraphrased by Martelli, MGLR, pp. 120-1.

53 WZRL, p. 336
Evidently, it was Baines' responsibility to lower the mast after he had used the boat. Concerning the specific damage to the boat, Livingstone wrote in his journal at a later date:

Mr. Rae [is] mending the whaler broken by Baines. One plank rent up about four feet, and at another part there is breakage right across boat. One plank was rent by using it as a fulcrum for lifting boat round by mast. He is obliged to put a patch along about six feet on one side of keel, and patch the rest of it with copper sheeting and canvas. The mending which Baines inflicted destroyed the whalers more than saved them.54

As for the Portuguese paintings, Kirk noted as early as 18 November, 1858: "Baines has begun a painting of one of our friends, which will be a troublesome precedent."55 Two days later, Livingstone wrote in his journal: "Sr. Manoel Gomes being very anxious to have his portrait taken, I gave orders to Baines to take it in oil. This is a mark of respect to a friend who treated me well when, poor and lonely, I wended my way down the river."56 Livingstone also gave Baines orders to paint a portrait of Sicard; the other three (p. 157 above) Baines did on his own. While this is hardly the most serious of offences, it bothered Livingstone on at least three counts: it wasted expedition time and property, and it was done without authorization.

Kirk was indeed correct in foreseeing this as a bad precedent, due to the possible snowball effect, which could result in rivalries among the Portuguese which were not in the British

54WZEL, 31 December, 1859, p. 144.
55FZJK, p. 124.
56WZEL, p. 63.
interest. Furthermore, one must wonder what Baines received for his services: was he merely showing gratitude for Portuguese "hospitality," or was he receiving goods and/or services which Livingstone might have found distasteful? The contemporary evidence is mute, but many years later Livingstone wrote that Baines received 2 gold chains and a gold ring for his paintings.57

One of the two most serious charges advanced against Baines was of faulty storekeeping, and from all accounts, Baines was a thoroughly incompetent storekeeper. A major piece of evidence supporting this interpretation is the Storekeeper's Journal, in which Baines was to keep track of the Expedition's stores. This interesting but disappointing journal contains little more than a rather disorganized list of items which were loaded on board the "Pearl" at Birkenhead. In many cases, Baines listed a box or a case as being from a certain British merchant, but gives no information concerning its contents. Occasionally, one sees a list of the stores in a certain place at a certain time, such as "Senna, July 1858," and "Shupanga, August 3, 1858," but the lists are carelessly made and do not inspire confidence. Also, there are a few scattered and vague entries of items consumed, which are of limited value.58

"Baines is not cut out for storekeeper, that is certain,"59 wrote Kirk in his journal, and few have contested that opinion.

57Journal, February, 1868, ff. 628-34. (See n. 21, p. 118).
58Privately owned (see Bibliography), hereafter B2SJ.
Nevertheless, it must be noted that even the most competent and conscientious quartermaster would have had difficulty keeping track of his stores had he been with David Livingstone on the Zambezi. Livingstone himself tended to be disorganized, thus he hardly set a good example. Furthermore, by the time the party had been on the river for 6 months, its gear was scattered from Expedition Island to Tete, with deposits in Shupanga, Sena, and some still on the "Ma-Robert." It is probable that once the launch made its first trip upriver, the supplies were never in one place again, and accurate accounting would have been impossible. No effective security system could have been devised under these circumstances, and to further complicate matters, expedition members traded with local people frequently, and this tended to make statistical control almost impossible.

In Tete there was no place to store supplies under lock and key, and pilferage would not have been surprising. Livingstone's warning letter to Baines of 11 July (p. 156 above) mentions that the goods were "left to anyone who chose to steal them," a situation which may or may not have been Baines' fault. Wallis adds a new element: "Apparently the Expedition's goods lay about for anyone to come at who might choose, for Charles Livingstone refused Baines a place where they could have been kept under lock and key." 60

Whether or not such accommodation was available is doubtful,

60 WTBK, p. 169.
since the Expedition had to borrow sheltered space in Tete
had such a place been available, it would have been David's
lot to designate it, since he was in Tete from the first
moment that supplies arrived (Charles was still on Nyika
Island), and, after all, he was the Commander. No evidence
suggests that such a secure room was available, and that
Charles "refused" to let Baines put the Expedition's stores
there. Had he done so, he would have had to answer to the
Commander, for brother or no, David Livingstone was always
on the lookout to account for government property. At any
rate, the lack of a storeroom made Baines' task no easier.
Kirk saw the futility of this position early on, when he wrote
with reference to Baines: "I should not like his post of store¬
keeper." 61

In addition to being lax as a storekeeper, Baines was also
accused of dishonesty. The entries from David's journal repro¬
duced above (pp. 154-5, and p. 157) charge Baines with "[making]
away with Expedition goods," and having given away soap, wine,
etc., but Livingstone advanced no further specific charges.
In a letter to Murchison of 22 July, Livingstone added "pro¬
visions" to wine and soap, 62 and in a letter to Washington on
20 October he elaborates, listing "five or six barrels of white
sugar, butter, cheese, hams and wine." 63 Livingstone may have

61 FZJK, 19 November 1858, p. 124.
62 NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1029-1036.
63 MDNL, MSS. 120. Livingstone's strikeover.
struck over the number of casks due to uncertainty, and felt it best not to over-estimate without further evidence.

In the meantime, Livingstone had sent Kirk and Rae to Tete to examine Baines' boxes and question him about the deficiencies. On 31 October Kirk wrote David, informing him that he had questioned Baines, and concluded that only 1 cask of sugar was entirely unaccounted for. He added that Baines' replies to his questions were recorded in the Storekeeper's journal. 64

In that book, Kirk wrote that according to Baines, there were 6 barrels of sugar, each containing seven loaves. Of the total 42 loaves, those expended plus those remaining equalled 33 loaves, and by adding one or two loaves given to Sr. Rapozo by Livingstone, one barrel remained unaccounted for. He also asked Baines about five missing jars of butter, which Baines believed had all been used at table or in cooking, except for three jars at least which were useless due to saturation with salt. 65

Directly below this entry is another one, which indicates that on 2 May 1859 (22 pages earlier) Baines recorded having 2 casks of sugar, one of which contained only four loaves, and on the opposite page (as was his custom) he records their expenditure. This should have exhausted his stock, yet on the first page (the left-hand page) he records five loaves remaining in store.

64 John Kirk to DL, 31 October 1859, NARS LI 1/1/1, p. 1071.
65 BZSJ, 26 October 1859. The questions were asked in Rae's presence, and both he and Kirk signed the document.
Further details are in Kirk's journal entry of that same date, where he records that Baines made no account of the butter in the storebook, and that one cask of sugar is missing. He then adds: "He denies the particulars of his former confession, he says he gave two boxes of sardines to Rapozo and gave several things to Tito, when he was on the way up in the pinnace, not since." 66

After the men were all together at Kongone again, David wrote that Baines "has cooked the book of store expenditure, making it appear as if 4 lbs. of sugar had been consumed per day." 67 Having already suspected that Baines helped Bedingfeld forge a "log" of events (p. 104 above), this certainly increased the Commander's mistrust of his artist.

Greater detail is provided in a letter Charles wrote to his wife, after he learned of Kirk's report, and five days after David himself had examined Baines:

The rascal [Baines] has made away with one fourth of our 2 years' loaf sugar. Can give no account of it and then cooked [David's very word] his accounts to square the remainder making all of us consume about three times more than we did. According to his account 4 of us used a loaf, 16 lbs, in six or 8 days in our tea + coffee + we used a good deal of brown besides. 68

David obviously believed that Baines' storekeeping problems were caused by more than mere inefficiency. The fact that Baines took good care of his own things only served to further incriminate him.

66 FZJK, 26 October 1859, p. 263. 67 WZHL, 22 Nov. 1859, p. 132.
68 HCL, 28 November 1859, 65/16.
If dishonesty with regards to government property were not enough, Livingstone had enough evidence to charge Baines with dishonesty at the expense of his fellow Expedition members. We have already seen that he gave away the mess wine, and was charged with having taken a piece of serge from Rae's boxes, and having also tried to cheat Rae with regards to laundry fees.

Kirk noted in his journal on 26 October 1859 that in examining Baines' boxes, he found (in those examined so far) "hardly any property which I can claim, but there is an enormous amount of artist's materials said to be private, also shirts which seem to be like those worn by other members of the expedition." 69

Next day he had more to relate:

Having completed examination of private boxes, find no expedition property which I can at once claim. The piece of canvas has the blue stripe and seems very like that we had. This, I shall take down to be examined by those competent to decide, as Mr. Baines thinks it is his but does not know how it came to be in his possession, unless it might be a remnant of the Australian Expedition stores which had not been taken up.70

The artist's stores present another problem for our concern. Kirk noted a very small expenditure of such items, a surplus in several cases, and "a very considerable surplus in the case of painting canvas." He presumed these came from

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69 *FZJK*, p. 263. One wonders whose shirts they were? While it seems absurd that one under these conditions would steal and secret another's personal property in his own boxes, it should be recalled that Samuel Gamble of the U.M.C.A. was dismissed in disgrace for this very reason.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 264. Kirk's extreme circumspection makes one wonder if he saw more than he wrote, and relayed information to Livingstone orally. "Those competent to decide" could only be David, as Kirk outranked everyone else.
Baines' private supplies. 71 In order to check Baines' story, David Livingstone wrote to Washington, informing him that it was Baines' claim that several such articles were presented to him by Windsor and Newton (of Spring Gardens), or that he got them from the Australian Expedition, and asking that he check into the matter. 72

And as far as outright theft is concerned, there was one further charge, this one advanced by the Commander without consultation with anyone: "We found a large parcel of hollow brass armlets which he had stolen from my private property, in his box." 73 In committing this to his journal, he gave further details: "A parcel of hollow rings, presented to me at Birmingham, has been appropriated by Baines and is in his chest. They were shown to Mr. Rae as mine, and he twice asked if I wished to take them out of his charge. Yet he told Dr. Kirk that he had bought them at the Cape. Brass chains are gone." 74 This is open to any number of interpretations, but it hardly puts Baines in a better light, and Jeal's "There was no shred of evidence to accuse Baines of theft." (p. 139 above) must be considered as unduly generous.

71 FZJK, 27 October 1859, p. 264.

72 20 February 1860, MDNL, MSS 120. No record of Washington's investigation seems to survive. Livingstone must have wondered how Baines could have legally come into possession of government property left over from a previous expedition. Also, Baines was ordered not to bring any personal artist's supplies on the expedition.

73 DL to T. Maclear, 22 February 1860, NARS, LI 1/1/1, P. 1107.

74 WZBL, 7 February 1860, p. 150.
When all of these charges are considered, it seems highly unlikely that Baines was framed, and equally unlikely that he was completely innocent. Where there was so much smoke, there was certain to have been some fire. However, it must be noted that most of the specific items raised against Baines were mentioned by Livingstone only after Baines had been dismissed, and it is now necessary to digress to examine the actual dismissal and its aftermath.

We have seen that Livingstone, after talking with Rae, gave Baines on 11 July a letter of warning that any of the repetitions of his past behavior would not be tolerated. Kirk, who up to this time (and even thereafter) had shown great sympathy for Baines, wrote: "Baines is left with the things but he is under restrictions such as his state renders absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Government goods."

Obviously, Kirk saw no reason to doubt whatever charges had been advanced against Baines up to that time. Slightly over two weeks after leaving Tete on that day, Livingstone copied into his journal the letter dismissing Thomas Baines.

This letter contains no new charges against Baines, but informs him that he was separated from the Expedition, and that his salary was stopped as of 30 July.76

It seems that up to this time, Baines wrote neither denial nor defence to Livingstone, for had he done so, Livingstone

75 FZJK, 11 July 1859, p. 215.
76 DL to Baines, 21 July 1859, WZEL, p. 118.
would certainly have copied it into his journal and sent it on to the Foreign Office, as he had done with Bedingfeld. Later, Baines was to write many letters on his own behalf, by why he did not do so prior to his dismissal remains a mystery.

The letter of dismissal finally moved Baines to react on paper, but he did so in remarkably calm fashion, mentioning that of the five portraits he painted, "those of Manuel and of Major Sicard were by direct order, the request from Mr. Pascoal was referred to yourself,..." and indicating that Sicard had given Baines a written testimony to his honesty,77 which had been translated by Francisco António Generoso. This was a very mild reaction indeed, and it should be noted that the two who wrote in Baines' defence were among the chief recipients of his generosity. There the matter rested until Kirk and Rae arrived in Tete to examine Baines and his possessions.

While many voices have been raised in praise of Kirk's diplomatic and gentlemanly behavior on this sensitive occasion, few have bothered to consider Baines' actions. Kirk's first impression of Baines upon arrival in Tete came from Sicard: "Baines has been touched in the head since receipt of dismissal."78 What Sicard told Kirk may never be known, but it appears

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77 Baines to DL, 10 September 1859, FO 63/871, f. 224. Baines wrote to Thornton: "I fancy it is rather a novelty too for a man to be tried on the 26th of July and sentenced to dismissal and stoppage of pay on the 30th and in happy ignorance of all this to be quietly doing duty till the 6th of September," and his point is well made; 19 October 1859, JoPL.

78 FZJK, 25 October 1859, p. 263.
that Baines' erratic behavior continued even when he was in Tete "on his own" so to speak. Five days later, Kirk wrote with obvious irritation: "After completing the accounts, etc. etc., call on Tito, along with Rae. Baines came in immediately after, knowing that we were on business." Kirk knew well why Baines intruded, for a few sentences later he wrote of Sicard: "He sides strongly with Baines, when Baines is present."

Next day Kirk noted: "Mr. Baines informs me that he will not take down his his boxes."79 While this statement is open to a number of interpretations, it seems to imply a reluctance to follow orders, and could well imply an attempt to suppress evidence, since some of the goods secreted therein were allegedly not Baines' property. (Indeed, Livingstone did not discover the brass armlets in Baines' boxes until he himself went to Tete in February, 1860.).

Also, the people of Tete were almost unanimously defiant in the face of Kirk's efforts to get a boat's crew to take them downriver, and it is not unlikely that Baines played a major role in this attitude. Had David Livingstone wished, he could have interpreted this as treason, for in his journal on 22 November 1859 he wrote: "Baines has set the Tette people against us."80 This rankled in Livingstone's breast, for he wrote in his

79 This and the above are in FZJK, 25 - 26 October 1859, p. 265.

80 WZEL, p. 132.
journal a short time later: "He [Baines] shewed what he was capable of in trying to stir up the Portuguese at Tette against me and the Expedition." Perhaps Livingstone's disenchantment with the Portuguese at this time had more to do with Baines than it had to do with his first sight of Lake Malawi in September (see p. 158, n. 49 above), and Baines' behavior with Kirk and Rae in Tete during the last week of October did nothing to elevate his position in Livingstone's eyes; in fact, the contrary was true. 81

Baines' Hearing and Departure. The three men joined Livingstone at Kongone on 21 November, 1859, and on the 23rd the Commander examined Baines on many points, but as Kirk noted in his journal, Baines "has no presence of mind in making replies."82 The exact questions and replies Livingstone recorded in his journal are too long to present herein, but they do indicate that Baines became somewhat insolent. More importantly, new charges against Baines' conduct were brought forth at this time.

Livingstone asked why Baines "had given Generoso an order upon me to pay £7 - 15, he being perfectly aware that I had no authority to draw his salary," to which Baines offered no explanation. David also "shewed Mr. Baines a piece of canvass which he had appropriated and offered to exchange for a drill with Mr. Rae," which canvas Livingstone saw Baines take out of the launch, and could not have been in the Australian Expedition at the

81 Quotation above in WZEL, 7 December 1859, p. 138.
82 FZJK, p. 270.
Government mark on it was not in use then. Livingstone did not consider Baines' replies satisfactory. 83

Livingstone then brought up the question of the missing sugar, asking Charles Livingstone and Rae if they had consumed the amount of sugar charged to them, and both replied negatively, adding that they had often been sick and ate nothing at all during those times. On this issue, Livingstone concluded:

After long and patient investigation and listening to confused explanations it came to this: one barrel of loaf sugar wholly unaccounted for in the book and the greater part of four barrels placed to the members was made away with without being touched by them. 84

Apparently totally unconvinced by any of Baines' comments, Livingstone allowed his anger to get the better of his Christian charity, and he refused to allow Baines to join them at table, and the poor man had to live apart from the others in a whaler, using a sail to protect himself from the elements.

Kirk and Rae, to be sure, fared little better, for they had to share the pinnace with a sail as their only protection - there was simply no accommodation at Kongone for the men, as the "Ma-Robert" was beached for repairs - but at least they were not

83 WZEL, 23 November 1859, pp. 132-3. Livingstone wrote to Admiral F. Grey: "Navy canvas which we got from Lynx was found in his box and he had tried to exchange it for private property..." 10 December 1859, RCSL, MSS. Sc 99.

84 Ibid. The fact that he records Charles' and Rae's presence for the sugar question implies that they were not there during the entire hearing; Kirk's sole comment on 24 November (FZJK p. 270) implies he was present throughout. In the letter to Grey (n. 83 above), Livingstone wrote that four barrels of sugar were gone, and that Baines was seen opening them at various times. Kirk's opinion that only one barrel was missing (p. 164 above), treated Baines to maximum charity.
ostracised which, after all, is man's most severe punishment to his fellow man. Perhaps it was an act of mercy to Baines that H.M.S. "Lynx" arrived on 29 November, and on 12 December 1859 he was able to sail away from the Zambezi Expedition, bound for Cape Town. Before departing he left no letter of complaint or plea of any kind.

Sequel. Of the original members of the Expedition, Baines was probably the hardest working, and with the exception of the Commander, he might have been the most independently-minded of the group. Whereas he obviously respected David Livingstone, he apparently had no respect at all for Charles, refusing to regard his advice or his communication of David's orders when at Tete.

Baines also refused to take Kirk's advice, and he seems to have shown no respect to Kirk during late October and early November when they were in Tete. It is interesting to note that while prior to this time Kirk rarely passed an opportunity to praise Baines in his journal, his entries on this occasion, on the hearing in Kongone, and finally upon Baines' departure in the "Lynx" are laconic indeed, and he reveals absolutely no regret over the man's departure. That Kirk thoroughly believed Baines' dismissal to be justified seems beyond question.85

85 Kirk later wrote to his brother Alexander: "Baines was a very queer fellow. I don't understand him at all. He was very low, that's a fact and for a storekeeper, quite incompetent..." 30 January 1860, FZJK, p. 546. It would be interesting and perhaps relevant to know exactly what Kirk meant by "low."
Before he left, Baines told Livingstone that "the imputation would stick to him for life if not prosecuted." To this obvious truth Livingstone was unsympathetic, and no doubt this was on Baines' mind frequently as his ship made its way west by south to Cape Town.

Shortly after his arrival there, Baines wrote a long letter in his own defence to the "Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs." In it he deals with some (but not all) of the charges advanced against him, and for the first time, he implies that it was Charles Livingstone who made the charges. He wrote that Mr. Livingstone "charged me with having given away the property of the Expedition in such a manner as to lay myself open to prosecution, this I of course at once denied," but during his next illness "I believe that in a moment of partial delirium I made use of some words which Mr. Livingstone has interpreted into a confession of everything he charged me with but which as far as I can remember were in many respects little more than a repetition of the words he himself used in accusing me." At Kongone David examined Baines and made "assertions which I believe to be untrue because I cannot call to remembrance at a moment's notice many things which happened about the time of my illness," and which Baines could not contradict.

He goes on to assert that when Kirk relieved him of the storekeeping chores, "a surplus of five loaves [of white sugar] remained," contrary to what Kirk entered in the storekeeper's

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86 MZEL, 7 December 1859, p. 138.
journal. (Whereas Baines told Kirk that there was one barrel of sugar which upon opening contained only 4 loaves of sugar, he writes here that two barrels upon opening had 3 loaves removed, i.e. only four loaves remaining, since the sugar was packed seven loaves to the barrel).

Saying he hardly knows what is meant by "skylarking with the Portuguese," he challenges Charles to say whether he was ever absent without leave from his duties for a whole afternoon, and to make a statement which Baines will then refute. Concerning the destruction of the whaler, he wrote: "I made no secret of [sailing] it, and when I thought it necessary, I referred to Mr. Livingstone who did not object to my doing so until the accident took place," that accident being the capsizing of the boat in a storm.

With regard to the paintings, Baines notes that he was ordered to do portraits of Sr. Manuel and Major Sicard, and referred Pascoal's request to the Dr. "who told me to 'do as I liked' or words to that effect." 87 Commenting that only one of the portraits was done on Expedition canvas, he notes that in returning the stores to Dr. Kirk's charge he found that he had taken out 12 pieces of canvas (from Expedition stores), having returned 25 or 26 in the form of pictures "more or less reaching completion."

87 In his journal on 7 December, 1859, Livingstone wrote: "I asked what he [Baines] had to say to wasting Expedition's time and materials in painting Portuguese portraits. Said I had left it to himself (this is untrue). I never answered the note of Pascoal at all." WZEL, p. 138.
Concluding that he gave "trifling presents" to Sicard and Sr. Reposo in return for their help and hospitality, Baines ends the letter. In addition to being filled with countless inaccuracies (probably the result of his having left his journal in Tete), this letter obviously contains information presented in a very different manner than it was presented to Kirk and David Livingstone. It also requested an official examination, which was refused.

In a pique over this refusal, Baines again wrote the Foreign Office, this time more briefly: noting that the Commander has the right to dismiss those "refusing to obey any reasonable order," he challenges Livingstone to prove this against him "if he can," and goes on to say that Livingstone is limited in his power to dismiss Baines according to paragraph 9 of his own instructions to Baines, and even if he has the power, "any British subject" deserves "an opportunity of defending himself."

Receiving no reply and reluctant to let the matter rest, Baines again wrote to "Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs," to wit:

In the month of January last I applied by letter to your Lordship for an investigation of the Slanderous and Malicious charges brought against me by Mr. Charles Livingstone on which without the slightest proof being brought forward Dr. Livingstone grounded my dismissal from the Zambezi Expedition.

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88 January 1860, FO 63/871, ff. 214 - 222.
89 May 1860, FO 63/871, ff. 354 - 355. The instructions appear in WZEL, pp. 434-5, but paragraph 9 is not included.
90 October 1960, FO 63/871, f. 447.
This letter is obviously the source of the change in Charles Livingstone's reputation: up to this time, Baines only mentioned Charles once (in the letter to the Foreign Office of 19 January, 1860), where he was portrayed as reporting Baines' words and deeds to the Commander, which words and deeds Baines' claims were either taken out of context or misinterpreted. Now, over a year after his dismissal, and more than 6 months after Baines' request for an official hearing was turned down, Charles Livingstone becomes "Slanderous and Malicious."

And this letter has more - Baines went on to request a discharge from Expedition, with full pay, plus mess expenses when on board H.M.S. "Lynx," plus expenses accrued in Cape Town from 7 January (1860, the date of his arrival there) to the date of the discharge, including repayment of medical charges during the same period, and compensation for the loss of his private equipment [which equipment, incidentally, he left in Tete of his own volition and perhaps in contradiction to Kirk's order].

Obviously implacable, Baines wrote the Foreign Office on one further occasion, and noted: "I was not dismissed for disobedience to orders but for theft and this not only without proof but without a hearing, in my absence and on the unsupported accusation of Mr. Charles Livingstone, the Commander's brother," and he went on to request a fair trial as a British subject.\footnote{9 January 1861, FO 63/894, Part 1, f. 21.}

As can be readily detected, these letters contain a great deal of apparent fact and outright fiction. The exact nature of
Baines' behavior when in Tete, as outlined in his first letter to the Foreign Office, may always be the subject of controversy, since concrete evidence either way will be difficult to produce. However, Baines' statement that he was dismissed "without the slightest proof being brought forward" is true only if one assumes, as Baines apparently did, that nothing is "proved" unless the plaintiff appeared in person before a British court in Cape Town with irrefutable evidence literally in hand. As far as missing sugar, wine etc., damaged whalers and "skylarking" were concerned, Livingstone could not do this, and Baines knew it.92

Nor was Baines dismissed without a hearing: Livingstone tried to hear him out, telling him, "[I] Wished him to explain and clear up the matter. I had no wish to find him guilty. It was a black burning disgrace to the expedition to have to turn out a dishonest member and I wished if possible to avoid it,"93 but Baines, as we have seen (p. 171 above) had "no presence of mind in making replies."

Furthermore, the charges attributed to Charles Livingstone were not "unsupported" - even John Washington, though far removed from the scene, recognized that, for in a memo on the subject

92 Livingstone was not averse to so doing, however, as he wrote to Sir George Gray, the Governor of the Cape Colony: "Were we within the jurisdiction of courts of law I would certainly deliver Baines over to justice." 20 October 1859, AuPL.

93 WZEL, 23 November 1859, p. 133.
of Baines' letter to the Foreign Office of 9 January 1861, he wrote: the dismissal of Baines was corroborated "by the evidence of Mr. Charles Livingstone, Dr. Kirk... [and] Mr. Rae."\(^{94}\) It is interesting to note that in his report on the Baines and Thornton cases almost a year earlier (p. 137, n. 60 above), Washington wrote that although the facts are hard to get at, the evidence presented seemed to favour "Dr. Livingstone, Dr. Kirk and Mr. Rae, who appear to agree that Baines was at fault and really did make away with the stores of the Expedition."\(^{95}\) He didn't even mention Charles Livingstone, and perhaps had no reason to until Baines wrote the Foreign Office much later.

Having thus at length examined Baines' case through his dismissal and its aftermath, and his "hearing" and its sequel, let us look back one last time to examine the role Charles Livingstone played in the dismissal of Thomas Baines.

Charles Livingstone's Role. In what is apparently the only written statement by Baines in his own defence, his letter to the Foreign Office of 19 January 1860 (pp. 174-6 above), he lists only four charges allegedly brought against him by Charles Livingstone. They include the giving away of Expedition property (which in spite of denying, Baines goes on to justify

\(^{94}\)John Washington, "Memo on the letter of Thomas Baines, dated 9 January 1861," 19 March 1861, MDNL, MSS. 120.

\(^{95}\)It is often overlooked that David Livingstone himself could have testified on the Government's behalf: he advised Thomas Maclear (albeit over two years later) that twice he had seen Baines stealing; 21 June 1862, NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1436-54.
on some occasions), and specifically white sugar; "skylarking" with the Portuguese and leaving his duties to do so; taking the whaler on occasion without permission (to which Baines implied admission in saying that he requested permission when he thought it necessary) and damaging it; and painting Portuguese portraits, some of which he admitted he did without permission (he failed to add that he had done them after David Livingstone specifically ordered him not to do so⁹⁶). That these charges were neither "slanderous" nor "malicious" is by now quite obvious: in fact, they were only the tip of the iceberg.

Although Livingstone accused Baines of all of these when dismissing him in July, when he questioned him on 23 November David only referred to two of them: the sugar, which by now Kirk had investigated carefully and found Baines wanting; and the portraits, which were a clear-cut, if relatively minor, breach of conduct.

However, at this "hearing," David Livingstone confronted Baines with a host of other charges of which no connection has yet been advanced toward Charles Livingstone by Baines or anyone else. In fact, the texts of David's and Kirk's journals make it unmistakably clear that they were brought forward by Kirk and Rae. Furthermore, we know not how many charges against Baines the Commander never brought up at all, but there was at least one — his own personal brass armlets were found in

⁹⁶Baines "painted Portuguese portraits with Government time and materials, after I had ordered him not to do so." WZEL, 23 November 1859, p. 133.
Baines' private boxes.

There remains yet one slur to Charles Livingstone's character upon which comment must be made in conclusion. In his letters to the Foreign Office, Baines takes the position that he was duped into a confession by Charles while his mind was affected by fever. There is no doubt that in his delirium Baines revealed something to Charles (and perhaps Rae was present), and delirium or no, it was deemed significant enough to bring to the Commander's attention.

Exactly what Baines confessed may never be known, but to his wife, Charles wrote:

One evening at ten he sat muttering a little to himself then said 'Mr. Livingstone I want to say that I gave Tito 20 boxes sardines, Raposo 2 etc., I also gave away cheese, hams, oil' and he was about to confess something worse when he stopped and said 'Oh dear, I wish you would put me in confinement!' Why? 'Because I have such thoughts and feelings.'

What Charles told David that he did not write to Harriette is anyone's guess.

Those who have accused David of dismissing Baines on the flimsy grounds of a second-hand report of a delerious confession do the great missionary-explorer a monumental injustice, for he knew better. While he was returning inland from São Paulo do Luanda in 1854-5, one of his porters became insane on the march between Golungo Alto and Cassange. Livingstone had earlier noticed that the man often laughed loudly and at the wrong time,

97CL - HCL, 26 June 1859, G5/18.
and he now wrote:

the madman is well but set them all at loggerheads yesterday by something he had said when insane. I made them state the case in full in solemn assembly and set all right by ignoring the words of a madman. They seemed to agree to the justice of the decision that such words must never be repeated.98

Livingstone did in fact have the words repeated to the assembly, and then he threw them out of court; and he was not one to forget his experiences in life.

Charles, who was concerned lest he fail in his responsibility as temporary officer-in-charge, did repeat the words to his brother – perhaps recalling how Bedingfeld failed to report various chronometer problems. It could be that he revealed a side of Baines’ character which has yet to come to light, but true to his common sense, Livingstone listened to the report with caution and a large grain of salt. Charles would have mentioned this to David on 23 June 1859 at the latest, yet on 9 July in his journal and on 11 July in his warning letter to Baines, David dismissed all of the charges mentioned in the confession or otherwise, on the grounds that Baines’ head had been affected by fever. To repeat at this time what has been written above: if David Livingstone were to dismiss his artist/storekeeper because of the charges brought forth by Charles Livingstone, he would have done so immediately, or at least prior to 11 July (well over two weeks later).

98DL to Edmund Gabriel, 4 February 1855, BLL, Add. Mss. 34710, ff. 81-84.
Nevertheless, in his letter of dismissal dated 21 July, David accuses Baines of giving away expedition stores "by your own confession." 99 Kirk on 26 October 1859 recorded that Baines "denies the particulars of his former confession." 100 And to Washington on 20 October 1859 David Livingstone wrote: "He confessed to some breaches of trust, but we don't know all he has made away with." 101

On the surface, it does appear that for reasons unknown Livingstone changed his mind and accepted the details of the confession relayed to him by Charles Livingstone, but this was not David's way, and apparently not the truth either. In his journal on 23 November 1859, toward the end of the record of the hearing he had just given Baines, Livingstone wrote: "Mr. B. tried to quibble about his confession and to take refuge in his head having been effected. Witnesses thought he seemed on the second occasion as well as he ever was." 102

This strongly suggests there were two occasions when Baines "confessed" certain wrongdoings - the first he made to Charles which David by and large ignored, and a second, repeated in the presence of more than one person, on a day when Baines was in good health. The second almost certainly came between 23 June and 11 July 1859, and while Livingstone dismissed it at first,

99 WZEL, p. 118. Evidence suggests that this letter was written at a later date, perhaps 27 July.
100 LZJK, p. 263.
101 MDNL, MSS. 120.
102 WZEL, p. 134; present writer's emphasis.
in time he came to accept it. This is because on the latter occasion, Baines was not plagued by malaria, and it is this second confession, of which almost nothing is known, that provides the key to Baines' dismissal. It might have included Baines' offer to pay for whatever was missing, from his own pocket,\textsuperscript{103} and also his request to remain with the Expedition without salary, both of which were made before Livingstone ever suggested that Baines might be dismissed.\textsuperscript{104}

Some might be disposed to assume that here was the offer of an honest man, and that in so doing Baines gave testimony to his own innocence, but Commander Livingstone assumed the exact opposite, and the frequency with which Livingstone mentions these two points in his later correspondence makes it perfectly clear why Baines was dismissed.\textsuperscript{105}

Finally, in spite of all of the above, it should not be readily assumed that Baines was indeed as evil as Livingstone would have him painted. Certainly Baines' conduct was far from being unstained, but it should be remembered that once a person ran against Livingstone's grain, that person was deemed guilty not only with regards to whatever issue might be at hand, but was considered so in any and every question which had arisen.

\textsuperscript{103}WZEL, 9 July 1859, p. 114.

\textsuperscript{104}Ibid., 23 November 1859, pp. 133 - 134.

\textsuperscript{105}See letters of DL to: Lord John Russell, 7 December 1859, (Inclosure 1), WZEL, pp. 336-7; Admiral Frederick Grey, 10 December 1859, RO3L, MSS. Sc 99; Jose M. Nunes, 24 December 1859, copy in NARS, LI 1/1/1, ff. 1086 - 1088; etc.
between the two within Livingstone's memory. It was one of the major flaws in David Livingstone's personality that molehills assumed the proportions of mountains when he dealt with those who had disagreed with him by word or deed. Kirk hit the nail on the head when he wrote: "Dr. L. if he once takes an ill opinion of anyone, makes [them] up into a devil very soon, by working together all imaginable things." Baines may not have been a thief (in the usual sense of the term), and Livingstone no doubt beat him with every stick within reach, but the fact remains that Baines was not an honest man, and his word, whether given under the onslaught of malaria or otherwise, could not be relied upon.

It would appear, then, that the Commander's evaluation of the work done by his assistant in 1858 - 1859 was indeed justified and must be allowed to stand as written: "my own assistant... has fully answered my expectations."107

106 John to Alexander Kirk, 7 January 1862, FZJK, p. 552. This letter is either erroneously dated or erroneously published as "7th January 1861."

107 WZEL, 1 December 1859, p. 136.
What bluid's that on thy coat lap,
Son Davie, son Davie? Child, 13

Marking Time. As 1859 came to an end, David Livingstone clearly saw that his expedition was approaching a temporary standstill. The existence of the Cabora Bassa rapids on the Zambezi and the Murchison and other cataracts on the Shire blocked the way for steamers attempting to reach the Batoka (BaTonga) Highlands and Lake Nyasa (Malawi) respectively, and although Lt. Henry Berkeley of H.M.S. "Lynx" had very recently directed Livingstone's attention to the Ruvuma River, Livingstone knew he could not seriously move in any direction until he had another steamer.

To use the time on his hands, he decided to return on foot inland to the land of the Kalolo, taking with him those Africans who had descended the Zambezi in his company in 1855-56, and who had remained in Tete or worked with the Expedition since that time. By so doing, Livingstone would keep faith with both the men and their chief, for Livingstone had promised to bring the men back in due time. Such a promise could not be broken, especially in a land where those led away by strangers virtually never came back.

Livingstone doubtless enjoyed planning for the trip. After over a year and a half filled with frustration caused by ships, rivers and men, he was to travel in his favourite fashion for his favourite reason - overland by foot (or beast of burden)
to explore new lands and contribute to establishing trade
routes and to the spread of the Gospel. Before he returned to
Mozambique from Linyanti/Sesheke, he intended to visit his
brother-in-law and fellow missionaries in Matebeleland, from
which he would have returned to Tete by crossing Mashonaland
and Manica, enjoying the while an examination of the gold
producing region. There would be plenty of new country to
observe, old and new friends both black and white with whom to
visit, and as a bonus there would be a second visit to the great
falls which he had named after Victoria. It was to be the kind
of trip that agreed with Livingstone completely.

Preparations. However, he could not leave immediately after
H.M.S. "Lynx" sailed, because time was required to make adequate
preparation, and furthermore, it was necessary to delay until
the rainy season had passed. The latter was important because
unless plants were blooming along the river above the rapids and
in the central highlands, the party could possibly starve to
death.

The Commander used the first four months of 1860 for pre-
paring: final dispatches were written and posted; available
provisions were collected and necessary gear was packed; Rae
was sent home to supervise the building of a boat for Livingstone;
and arrangements of all kinds were made in Tete, the point of
departure and return.
At least one of the two Europeans who were to accompany him lacked David's enthusiasm. As early as 11 December 1859 Kirk wrote in his journal: "It seems I can do very little on a tramping excursion of such duration,"\(^1\) reminding one that as a botanist, he felt he could accomplish much more in the Shire highlands or near Lake Malawi than he could in the drier central region, especially since David planned to be back in Tete in November. By late January, Kirk had not changed his mind:

in honour we are forced to undertake a journey which otherwise I should much rather avoid. I see little but fatigue and hardship, perhaps sickness and all for nothing tangible... In fact, this seems to be lost time.

Nevertheless, his attitude was healthy rather than surly:

However, I am pitched in upon it and I suppose something good may come of it. It is a clear bit of 'Kismet' and must be taken as that and patched up as best I can do into something useful.\(^2\)

And according to Kirk, Charles didn't want to make the trip either. "Mr. C.L. is sore against going up to Sekeletu [chief of the Kalolo]. He is for risking nothing in the way of health for the men, although they did bring the Dr. down."\(^3\) This comes as something of a surprise, for in the years before and after the Expedition Charles continually showed an interest in going new places and seeing new things - in this respect, as in so many others, he was his brother's brother, and indeed he wrote

\(^1\)FZJK, p. 271.  \(^2\)Ibid., 31 January 1860, p. 283.

\(^3\)Ibid. Jeal wrote: "Charles made it perfectly clear to his brother, before leaving Tete, that the trip was a waste of time and energy." JTLi, p. 231; the original basis for this statement is not known.
to Harriette on 26 March 1860: "We are on our way up to take the 'Makololo back to Sekeletu... This journey will be a pleasant one but rather long." Perhaps Kirk was wrong; perhaps Charles hid his true feelings from his wife for her sake, or perhaps in the interim Charles changed his mind. It seems most likely that he looked forward to making the trip.

First Signs of Strain. Unfortunately, by the time the men and their African companions set out, on 15 May 1860, Charles may well have been in another frame of mind, for on 13 May his brother recorded in his journal:

My brother informs me that the members of the Expedition did not get orders what to do, and were always at a loss how to act, that, so far as it has failed, I am to blame in having rejected the "Bann." All were willing and anxious to help if I only would have told them. He never told me this before... As he seems to let [his] out in a moment of irritation, a long pent-up feeling, I am at a loss how to treat him.5

Much of what Charles said was true (it is interesting that he gives Bedingfeld, Thornton and Baines credit for good intentions), but as Livingstone was extremely sensitive to criticism, he counterattacked: "As an assistant he has been of no value. Photography very unsatisfactory. Magnetism still more so. Meteorological observations not creditable, and writing the

4 CL - HCL, 65/60.

5 WZEL, pp. 163-4. The "Bann" was a small vessel proposed for the Expedition by John Washington, but rejected by Livingstone on Bedingfeld's advice. Charles was implying that the "Bann," due to its shallow draught, might have succeeded where the heavier "Ma-Robert" failed, and he may have been correct. As David himself long suspected this, Charles was touching a tender point.
journal in arrears. In going up with us now he is useless, as he knows nothing of Portuguese or the native language. He often expected me to be his assistant instead of acting as mine.  

We have seen (p. 185 above) that just a few months earlier, David was very pleased with Charles' work as assistant, but now that Charles had dared to criticise, truthfully or otherwise, his previous work was suddenly "of no value."

Leaving Charles' "Magnetism" and photography for detailed examination in subsequent chapters, we must remain in doubt as far as his meteorological observations and journal writing (personal and public) are concerned as the relevant documents are not available for consultation. Certainly Thornton and Baines felt that Charles wrote too much in the public journal, and four years later David relied heavily on Charles' private journal when writing his book on the Expedition, so David may well be in error on this point.

It has been indicated above that Charles knew enough Portuguese to attempt to translate letters as early as the first week in October, 1858 (p. 116), and that he had begun studying that language when still in London (p. 85, n. 64). Furthermore, he must have known a modicum of Setswana, since Livingstone held classes in that language for his men on the outward voyage of the "Pearl," and, as we shall see below (p. 289), Charles taught the Kalolo religious items in their own language.

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6 WZEL, p. 164.
And language skills or no, Charles could not have been "useless" - an extra man who could shoot could always hunt, etc. and free the others for other chores. And perhaps Charles did expect David to act as his assistant occasionally, but this sounds very much like a charge David levelled against Bedingfeld.

But David was not finished, and he wrote on, naming the cause of the disagreement:

This ebullition happened because I found fault with his destroying my pillow. It was, he said, all my fault. I rejected the "Bann" and every evil followed that as a matter of course. He was perfectly blameless, as if my act had destroyed his individual responsibility.7

Today, a pillow may seem a trifle over which to have such a row, but fevered disagreements often stem from insignificant beginnings, and in those days, a pillow was a prize:

Turned in on Kirk's bed. What a luxury it was after sleeping for some months on hard bare ground, or boards, or tin boxes, but the greatest luxury of all is the pillow. No matter how hard the bed, if I have only a good pillow I care for nothing & scarcely for mosquitoes.8

Again, one must wonder in what manner David found fault with Charles.9 If he spoke in a manner less than polite, as he did frequently, Charles would doubtless replied in kind. Once again, Charles found himself somewhat the worse for being the Commander's younger brother, for under these circumstances,

7^WZEL, p. 164.

8Thornton's journal, 12 September 1858, TPR1, p. 72.

9Kirk later wrote: "I could not easily see why the old pillow should raise Dr. L.'s indignation, but if I remember aright, it was over Mr. C.L.'s reply." FZJK, 20 November 1860, p. 307.
their long-standing familiarity did not encourage restraint on Charles' part (as Commander, David could be forgiven for not exercising restraint). Kirk never approached David in a spirit of confrontation, instead confiding his wounded feelings and his severe criticisms to his papers, and one wonders if he would have endured so much had the Commander been his elder brother.

It is of further interest to note that David's last journal entry mentioning Charles before this date, and his first such entry thereafter, proclaim Charles' contracting and recovering from fever, respectively. Indeed, as both Kirk's and David's journals attest, all three had been subjected to repeated bouts of illness ever since Baines left in December. By May, tempers would have been short, and this probably contributed to the problem.

Problems on the Journey Inland. Unfortunately, this was far from the end of it, for on 9 June David wrote in his journal: "People very obstinate since we left Tette, and my brother keeping up his sulks ever since we left Tette." Livingstone's actual entry reads: "People very obstinate and my brother keeping up his sulks ever since we left Tette." Although the

10 WZEL, 8 May 1860, p. 162 and 21 May 1860, p. 166.
11 Ibid., p. 174.
12 Journal, 1 December 1859-23 March 1861, Wilson Family Archives. The strikeover is of course Livingstone's.
discrepancy between the original and the published version may be merely academic, it seems relevant that David did think the phrase about Charles too strong, and struck it over.

Nevertheless, only two days later, Charles criticized his brother once again:

Manners of a cotton spinner, of the Boers; didn't know how to treat men. An old filthy pillow that I got the benefit of it; that I cursed him, that I set the devil into him, etc., and asked if it was not his work to take time for me, and repeated again and again that I had cursed him. What part of Botany is Sunday cursing. Seemed intent on a row, would be but a short time in the Expedition; regretted that he was on this journey. Would rejoice when he could leave it.13

Little elaboration can be offered upon a one-sided story such as this - Charles was certainly irritated with his brother for cursing him, and left no doubt of it in David's mind. By this date everyone who had originally joined the Expedition had either regretted doing so or at least rejoiced at the thought of leaving, except perhaps David himself.

Still neither content nor appeased, Charles evidently complained to David a few days later: "I have to do all the hunting and carry the game too - C.L. They eat the meat fast enough but it is impossible to get them to go for it - Do."14

Most of the complaints registered by Charles to date were done while the party was traversing the rough country on the north bank of the Cabora Bassa wilderness. Once the group had

13WZEL, 11 June 1860, pp. 252-3.
14Ibid., 18 June 1860, p. 254. It would be illuminating to discover what Charles wrote in his journal about David at this time.
left this rough country and emerged on the fringes of the central plateau, where the weather was more comfortable and the going easier, Charles apparently had no further outbursts until they were on the return trip. Sixty miles east of the great falls, in the village of Sinamani, Charles completely lost whatever vestiges of self-control he had retained.

The Grand Row. At a later date, John Kirk wrote: "The grand row came off at Sinamani's about Mr. C.L. kicking Lishovi [or Leshore, etc.], the head man of [the] Makololo with his boot."¹⁵

He also adds that on earlier occasion, Charles used "most improper expressions" to a superior officer, speaking of his service as "the service of the devil," and implying that David was no Christian gentleman, an obvious reference to David's journal note of 11 June. A week after he wrote this entry, Kirk went into much greater detail:

I trust that if I am sent on an overland trip, I may not have C.L. for a companion for if he can break out and abuse, tearing with nails so as to draw blood and tear clothes, his brother saying he was serving the Devil, indulge in epithets such as "the cursing consul of Quillimane" repeated over and over again, act before the men in such a way as to make them look upon him as mad, which if I could only say that I thought he was, would be the most charitable thing I could do. But under one who loses his temper suddenly so as to change from joking to kicking with iron nailed heavy boots the chief man sent by a powerful savage chief, to conduct us safely through his dominions and ask assistance in the chief's name in front, is one upon whom no reliance could be placed. Nothing but the high personal regard for Dr. L. averted bloodshed in that case - I never expected so much moderation among savages.¹⁶

¹⁶Ibid., 27 November 1860, p. 310. As Kirk lost his journal kept from 28 April to 13 November 1860, these passages were written from memory.
Although Kirk's accounts are not perfectly clear, they are clear enough, and it seems that when the party reached Sinamani, Charles attacked David, tearing his clothes and scratching him so as to draw blood, and also kicked Lishovi, the Makololo headman who was their guide, with hob nailed boots. In addition, he spoke disrespectfully and carelessly to David, and the only charitable excuse Kirk could suggest was that Charles had taken leave of his senses.

Kirk's treatment of Lishovi in these two passages is curious, for he gives no hint that he was evidently one of the Africans who went downriver with David in 1855-6 and remained in Tete until 1860, and was now evidently returning as far as Sinamani. On 9 January 1860, Livingstone "gave 2 pieces of [cloth of] 30 yds [each] to each of Makololo...," and one of the names listed as a recipient is "Leshove." Then on 16 May, the day after they began their trek to the interior, he wrote: "Takelan and [name illegible] wished to remain with their relatives but Makasaka went back and brought them on the 16th." The illegible name is "Leshove." A paraphrased version of this notebook entry appears in Livingstone's journal under the same date: here Takelan's companion is rendered "Leshore." Evidently Charles and Lishovi were not strangers to one another,

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17 WZKL, p. 147; original in the Wilson Family Archives.
18 Ibid., p. 249. 19 Original in the Wilson Family Archives.
20 WZKL, p. 165.
and they may have had disagreements in the past which contributed to Charles' rash act. Or, there may have been two men of the same name.

Only in one other document does one get a hint of this dark episode, and that is in the introduction to Wallis' edition of the journal of James Stewart. The editor wrote that Stewart "tells a story of him [Charles] assaulting his brother and tearing his clothes," but nowhere in the volume does one find the story. Since Stewart did not arrive on the Zambezi until 1862, one and a half years after the event, one wonders how he was in a position to tell such a story. His manuscript journal holds the answer:

At Linyanti he [Charles] behaved disgracefully: Dr. L. saved him from being assegaiied. He returned the kindness by striking and tearing the coat off his back. So K... in his letters home who was an eye witness.\(^21\)

Stewart adds: "Let me keep all this in mind when I meet him," a line which did not augur well for future relations between the two men.

Stewart wrote this while at sea, before ever landing in Mozambique, and he makes it clear that he learned it from George Rae, who was returning to the region on the same vessel. Evidently, Kirk wrote someone in Britain, who relayed the story


\(^{22}\) 18 January 1862, NARS, ST 1/2/1. Stewart's emphasis and ellipsis.
to Rae, who in turn reported it to Stewart. This no doubt accounts for the use of "Linyanti," which place Charles never visited.

Kirk's letters to his brother Alexander, as published, give no such details. One such letter, dated 10 December 1861, mentions that Charles' conduct when inland "was like that of a madman," and in another he refers to Charles' "rum fits of anger which he came out with on the journey to Sekeletu's." It may be that Kirk wrote someone else in greater detail, or if to his brother, the letter was not published with the others, and since neither of the brothers most directly concerned seems to have made any record of the incident, Kirk must remain the only source.

As Kirk wrote from memory after that particular journey was completed, he does not give the date of the action, but Livingstone's notebook of astronomical observations contains an entry for 7 October 1860 written at Sinamani's, which notes simply that the chronometer was carried over a "very rough road" and at this place entered a canoe. No doubt the quarrel took place within a day of this date, as the party was not long in that village. Further relevant information is found in a letter David wrote to John Washington on 26 November 1861, p. 558; and 7 January 1862, p. 553. The date of the latter as published (6 January 1861) is incorrect.

Notebook, 7 April 1859 - 8 November 1860, SALC, MSS. S.A., Sect. A.
1860, after reaching Tete:

The heat became excessive too at Sinimane's. The soil was 136° at 3 PM - not a single shower had fallen and the country had suffered one of its periodic droughts. A thermometer held in the shade of the body + 3 feet above the soil was 102° at that hour and during a march our blood even became 17° hotter than that of the natives or 99°.5.25

Not only was the road a hard one to travel, but it was hot and dry, so much so that David recalled it over three years later, when he wrote in his notebook:

Remark. A curious effect of great heat + exposure to the suns perpendicular rays, was remarked in my own case in 1860 in returning from the Makololo country + getting in canoes or marching on land where the temp. rose as high as 102° - the imagination pictured a possible event and then confirmed it as an accomplished fact + only by a process of slow reasoning could I bring myself to see it was nonsense.26

As we have seen, the heat affected Charles differently, and there were still other factors affecting his behavior. At a later date, Kirk wrote in his journal:

Mr. C.L.'s anus not impure, much under caustic. He ought to be operated on but Dr. L. don't like the idea. At Sesheke, he said, when I spoke of cutting the fissure, that he (Mr. C.L.) would find out what it was, if a knife was put in there. I believe there is no other cure.27

Concerning this entry, Dr. Michael Gelfand expressed the opinion: "There are, of course, a number of possibilities, but most likely.

25KDNL, MSS. 120.

26Notebook, 22 September 1863 - 25 March 1864, privately owned, microfilm copy in NLS, MS.10771. As this entry appears after the entry for 25 March 1864, along with several other undated items, its date cannot be fixed with accuracy.

is a fissure-in-ano. This is a common disorder, painful, and I should imagine this is what he actually suffered from."^{28} Dr. Gelfand later explained that in this common affliction, feces contaminates the fissure until the fissure must either be cut out and sewn, or another cut must be made in the sphincter to release the strain.^{29}

For six other possibilities, Dr. Gelfand advanced reasons why he considered them unlikely, including homosexual practices, which "as far as I know is not a painful condition, but is further characterized by papillomata around the anus."^{30}

Whatever came of this condition is not known, as further evidence is not available, but if Kirk recommended an operation at Sesheke, we can be sure that Charles was suffering throughout the return trip.

Among the other revelations of this confrontation between the brothers, one that bothered Kirk the most was David's comment that Charles would not like to hear repeated some of the things he had said about other members of the expedition. This so disturbed Kirk that he mentioned it twice with emphasis.

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^{28} Letter to the present writer, 15 March 1974. A senior staff member of Harari Hospital in Salisbury, Dr. Gelfand is a leading authority on the diseases of south-central Africa.

^{29} Conversation with the present writer, Salisbury, 25 May 1975.

^{30} Letter quoted in note 28 above. Diseases of the anus were apparently not unusual in tropical Africa: David describes one on 4 April 1856 (SLAJ, p. 450), which is discussed in Michael Gelfand, *Livingstone the Doctor* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 112-3, hereafter GLtD; and Kirk describes another on 20 March 1859, *PZJX*, p. 159.
in his journal, adding that it merely confirmed his earlier suspicions.31 Indeed even before the men embarked for the interior, Kirk had written of the effect of "brotherly insinuations."32 He seemed to conclude at this point that Charles was responsible for many if not most of the personality clashes which had occurred between the men of the Expedition. But to this remark of David’s, Charles responded by berating his brother for allowing Rae to go home with a good reputation, implying that Rae had duped Livingstone, but the significance of this seemed to be lost on Kirk.

Certainly David was correct – Charles would not have liked to have had his words repeated, but neither would Rae, Baines or Thornton have appreciated having their private conversations about other members repeated, and Kirk would not have wanted his journal or his letters home read to the others in assembly.33 The men found each other personally objectionable, and they talked about it – but as far as we know, only Charles and Rae talked to the Commander.

In spite of the many accusations to the contrary, it seems that Charles Livingstone did not quarrel with anyone but his brother David. We have seen above (p. 111, n. 22) that he was

31 *FZJK*, 20 and 27 November, 1860, pp. 307 and 310.
32 Ibid., 19 April 1860, p. 302.
33 It is interesting to note that many writers have taken the stand that Charles Livingstone should not have repeated to his brother the details of Baines’ first confession; no one has yet suggested that the words exchanged between the Livingstone brothers at Sinamani’s should not have been repeated or recorded.
apparently the one European member of the expedition who did not have a scene with Bedingfeld, and although he disagreed with Thornton and Baines, there is no evidence that they had unpleasant episodes. Charles seems to have had no difficulty with Kirk or Rae, in spite of the fact that from the very beginning, Kirk did not like Charles at all. Kirk later wrote to his brother: "With his brother [Charles, of course], I never had a word of difference."34

The Breach Healed. Shortly after the brothers left Tete, in November, 1860, David and Charles must have worked out their differences, because Kirk again noted in his journal: "Mr. G.L. seems again to have smoothed over the quarrel with the Commander. It is quite as well."35 This may well explain why Charles did not leave the expedition at the end of 1860. The time was opportune, for he had remained one year beyond his original commitment; he had done most of the tasks required of him (and, as we shall see a few others as well); and a ship was expected to appear on the coast at any time. However, he remained, and made further contributions to the enterprise which justified his retention. And, as a general rule, he rose slowly in Kirk's estimation.

34 John to Alexander Kirk, 7 January 1862, EZJK, p. 553.

Relations between Charles, David and Kirk, 1861-1863. On the last day of 1860, David and Charles had a "pass of words," which suggests that each of the men still retained some of his individuality. Ten days earlier the "Ma-Robert" finally gave up the struggle and sank in the Zambezi above Sena, forcing the bedraggled men to salvage what supplies they could and spend the night on a nearby island. On the last day of the year they left Sena and sailed to an island opposite the mouth of the Shire, where Livingstone made no mention of a quarrel with Charles, but noted "Great rain." From here the men made their way to the sea.

As he had not impressed Kirk favourably from the very beginning, and as he had alienated his brother very severely (rapprochement or no), it would have been very difficult for Charles to have made any positive progress in the estimation of either, whether or not the performance of his duty improved. No doubt both men would always take Charles with a large grain of salt, but into these relationships a catalyst was introduced which had a very positive effect on the others' opinion of Charles. That catalyst was George Rae.

We have seen that when angry with David in mid-1860 Charles taunted his brother with having allowed Rae to go home.

36 FZJK, p. 317.
37 Charles noted the event with wry humour: "Thousands of cockroaches, red ants, spiders, lizards, scorpions ... and rats went down in her." CL - HCL, 13 January 1861, G5/64.
38 WZRL, p. 177.
with a good "character," and this may have been the first intimation David had that something was amiss with his crack Engineer. In early 1861 the men received some papers from Cape Town, and one of them contained a letter from Rae to Baines reading approximately as follows: "I do hereby give you my word that I have never seen you give away any of the stores belonging to the Expedition, neither have I any reason to think that you did so." Of this Kirk wrote: "While he was accusing Baines of stealing his things, it now appears from a certificate published in the Cape papers, that he knew of no such thing. Altogether his conduct is very strange and will require explanation."  

Technically speaking, Rae was correct — for he never accused Baines (as far as we know) of giving away Expedition property — that complaint was raised by Charles. Rae did charge Baines with stealing his personal property, a fact which he did not deny in the letter to Baines, and this distinction was apparently not noted by Kirk. David seems to have realized this, for in his journal he wrote that Rae:

Has behaved with great duplicity, accusing Baines of having stolen his goods then giving him a certificate that he had no reason to believe he had stolen any public property. I shall use him but be wary of trusting to him in the least degree.  

39 Copies in Baines' hand are in FO 63/871, f. 225½, and FO 97/322, f. 341.  
40 John to Alexander Kirk, 10 December 1861, FZJK, p. 558.  
41 Journal, 1 January 1862, SNMDL, on display.
Nevertheless, it was obvious to all that Rae violated the spirit if not the letter of his testimony, and as Rae dropped in Kirk's opinion, Charles was elevated.

After mentioning Rae's duplicity to his brother, Kirk wrote on, saying that he and Charles get on smoothly, having never had a word of dispute, and he goes on to say:

we have got on very well during the whole expedition. We were never half so much together and we do get on very well indeed. Now I wonder whether it may not have been through words taken by Rae that we did not seem to come together before. I know now of more than one occasion on which Rae said things, meant for my hurt and we all suspect him of being the real cause for a good deal of the differences among members of the expedition.42

Four months later, Kirk was more definite on the last point:

"Dr. L. seems to have dismissed Baines chiefly on the evidence of Rae."43

Rae at this time was labouring under another difficulty as far as his standing with the other members was concerned, for while on route home in early 1860 he lost track of several cases of specimens which were to be taken to Britain in his charge. The men behind were very upset about this – indeed, some of the cases were not accounted for until 1883 (see p. 269 below), but as Kirk wrote, this problem was soon "cleared up:"

You were quite right to surmise that Rae might be doubted on his return here and so it was but all was soon cleared up. I don't know how he and the Dr. settled the certificate licences he gave to Baines, for it quite nonplussed

42 John to Alexander Kirk, 10 December 1861, FZJK, p. 559.
43 FZJK, 15 April 1862, p. 438.
the whole proceedings and set Baines in a different light, for I believe it was on Rae's evidence partly that Baines was accused of dishonourable dealings. I now make a very wide allowance for Rae's statement's. He states things as his stomach may be for the time. Things seem to change their aspect very rapidly to his imagination. He is a nice fellow, once you know that failing. When we went to Tette, there was no doubt of a deficit among the stores, but I should be very unwilling to accuse him [Baines] of dishonesty, taking the nature of evidence into account. 44

Charles was thus not the only one to profit by the revelations of Rae's perfidy. As time went on, Kirk retained his improved opinion of Charles, testifying: "His brother is very quiet and seems to have profited by his time here. There are no shows of temper nor does he meddle in other people's business now as he did." 45 Indeed, it seems that after his disastrous clashes with his brother during 1860, Charles withdrew into himself, becoming more quiet and detached in his dealings with others, and it appears that from this point onward the initiative he had previously shown was curtailed: he continued the work he had begun with birds, magnetism, cotton and photography, and he always hunted, led wooding parties, and did other similar chores, but for the remainder of his time on the Zambezi, he did his work quietly and kept to himself.

This to some degree accounts for the distance he kept between himself and the men of the U.M.C.A. Kirk would occasionally write disparagingly of Charles after this, but on almost every occasion it followed a diatribe against David, almost as

44John to Alex. Kirk, 25 August 1862, FZJK, pp. 574-5.
45John to Alex. Kirk, 7 January 1863, Ibid., p. 589.
if Charles were guilty by virtue of being David's brother.

On the other hand, Kirk's later remarks about David's opinion of Charles makes one wonder if the rift had been completely healed. "He has become a nuisance to me," wrote Kirk after he learned of David's comment to Rae (which says little for David's administrative discretion), and he later wrote that David was "sick tired of him as ever any man could be." Nevertheless, these are relatively isolated remarks, and on the whole, the two brothers got on very well during the last 3 years on the Zambezi.

When Charles left the region, one year ahead of his brother, David wrote well of him to H.M. Government, and while he did not recommend him directly for another post (David may have thought this to be in questionable taste), he certainly asked Murchison to do so. Furthermore, the fact that he chose to collaborate on the Narrative with his brother is a fair indication that David thought well of his brother in spite of their differences. While perhaps the rift between them was never completely overcome, it did in fact heal to the point where their relations were mutually respectful and beneficial.

\(^{46}\) FZJK, 13 October 1862, John to Alexander Kirk, p. 578, and ibid., 14 July 1863, p. 595.
CHAPTER VI

GEOPHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS

He practised all his youthfull prime
That exercise most rare. Child, 154

The Earth's Magnetic Field. The modern study of terrestrial
magnetism may be said to have begun with the publication of
De Magnete in 1600, by the English scientist William Gilbert.¹
In this work, Gilbert advanced his belief that the earth be¬
haved in fact as would a huge magnet, and thus created its own
magnetic field which had an inestimable effect upon the earth's
surface and its atmosphere. By the mid-nineteenth century, a
number of methods for measuring varying characteristics of this
magnetic field had almost been perfected, and throughout the
entire century naval missions and exploring expeditions to the
far corners of the earth had personnel assigned to take these
measurements.

In Great Britain, the leading man in this field was
undoubtedly General (later Sir) Edward Sabine (1788-1883), who
took part in the first magnetical survey of Britain in the late
1830's, and repeated that task in the light of new knowledge
and with more modern instruments from 1858 to 1861. Sabine and
his colleagues in the august Royal Society were intensely

¹ Nevertheless, Chinese magnetic compasses date from as
early as the 11th Century A.D. As the present writer is only
vaguely familiar at best with the sciences of geology and geo¬
physics, this chapter is designed as a "Layman's guide" to
Charles Livingstone's geophysical labours, rather than as a
serious, detailed study of terrestrial magnetism.
interested in organizing the data taken from all parts of the
globe, and completing the magnetic survey of the entire earth.
Once completed, this survey would yield no end of keys which
would unlock the secrets of the earth, solar system, and even
the universe. For example, they pinpointed the locations of the
north and south magnetic poles, without which knowledge exact
navigation by land, sea and later air would have been impossible.
On a more localized scale, magnetic measurements indicate the
nature of the earth below the surface, which is vital for the
construction of dams, irrigation projects, skyscrapers, bridges
and other such wonders of civil engineering. And, because
accumulations of ore underground produce anomalies in the
earth's magnetic field, such data reveals the existence of
minerals and hence are vital to the mining industry. Thus in
addition to revealing clues to the secrets of the origin and
extent of the universe, the study of the earth's natural mag¬
etism is a first step toward modern industrial development.

Of the many measurements which could have been made, the
most important from a practical point of view was the "declin¬
ation," which represented the difference between the directions
of true and magnetic north, as detected on a compass needle
which was free to rotate only in a horizontal plane. This is
of course the most common type of compass, and this difference
is vital to all accurate navigation and mapmaking. In his
writings, David Livingstone almost invariably referred to it as
"variation," which is a scientifically-acceptable synonym.
Another was the "dip" of the compass needle, or "inclination," which recorded the angle at which any feature in a plane is inclined from the horizontal, by reacting to the vertical component of the magnetic force. A third was the "vibration," which allowed one to measure the force of gravity by observing carefully the vibrations of a thin wire placed under tension by the weight of a known mass; and lastly, the "deflection," which recorded the deviation from the vertical of a vertically-rotating compass needle. The needle of a deflection compass would indicate true vertical only when placed directly over the magnetic pole.

Preparation and Early Problems. As soon as it was certain that a Government-sponsored expedition was bound for south-central Africa, the Secretary of the Royal Society wrote to the Foreign Office, expressing the hope that someone accompanying Dr. Livingstone would make magnetical observations "needed to supply the almost entire deficiency of such data in the interior of Africa."²

Of the personnel on the Zambezi Expedition, Charles Livingstone was chosen for this task, and paragraph 3 of his instructions reads as follows: "3. You are required to make observations on Terrestrial magnetism of different points and on different days at this station. You will also make use of

²W. Sharpey to the Earl of Shelburne, (Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs), 15 January 1858, FO 63/842, ff. 78-9.
certain Meteorological Instruments and carefully note the results for comparison with other observations at a distance.\(^3\)

As we have seen above (p. 85), Charles prepared himself for these tasks by taking instruction at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew. This study, which could only have lasted a few weeks, was supplemented by suggestions from Sabine himself, which mixed advice with instruction:

> The great continent of Africa presents a remarkable contrast to almost all other parts of the globe in the deficiency - it may be said in the almost entire absence of materials for magnetic maps... The time that would be thus occupied would be that of a single observer about 4 hours on each occasion, at distances which might be 80 or 100 miles apart.\(^4\)

No doubt Charles met Sabine sometime before the "Pearl" sailed, and would have certainly profited by his advice.

While en route to the Zambezi, Charles continued his preparation for taking scientific observations: "I have been out to the Observatory getting some instruction. I got so far as to be able to take the latitude on board the "Pearl" and will soon be up to the longitude, etc."\(^5\) Two months later, Charles was on the Zambezi, and as soon as he had recovered from his

\(^3\)DL to GL, 10 May 1858, "Autographs," OGL00; WZBL, pp. 431-432. Bedingfeld was also instructed to "make such magnetic and meteorological observations as the nature of the service will admit" (Ibid., p. 417); and Baines "in conjunction with Mr. Livingston (sic) [was to] make... magnetical and meteorological observations." (Ibid., p. 435.).

\(^4\)Edward Sabine, "Suggestions for taking Magnetic Readings on the Zambesi Expedition," n.d. [January, 1858], MDNL Mss. 120.

\(^5\)GL - HCL, 27 April 1858, Cape Town, G5/7. Like his brother 17 years before, Charles learned the use of the sextant while on a ship bound from England for Cape Town.
first serious round with malaria, he unpacked his instruments, and began this phase of his work. The earliest relevant reference is in Kirk's journal for 21 July 1858: "Mr. L. goes at Magnetism, chooses a site near the middle of the north end of the island." Next day Kirk tried his hand at it: "Today I take a set [of observations]. It seems simple enough but a deal of bother." Simple enough it may have been, but it was rendered infinitely more complicated by the state of the instruments, their packing, the effect of climate and terrain upon them, etc.

Thornton wrote:

After breakfast helping Mr. L. with the vibration instrument. Dr. K. soon joined us. Had a good deal of difficulty with it, could not get it properly levelled from the wood having warped. Then set off with Dr. K. to burn some grass a little before dinner time. Mr. L. came back, he had broken the torsion threads.

Although this instrument was repaired a few days later, Charles and his companions were continually plagued by broken instruments. Kirk wrote of other problems:

I open meteorological instruments today, find that the Standard Barometers are only marine ones and one of the Mountain Barometers is smashed beyond redemption, both tube and thermometer. I cannot praise the packing.

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6 *ibid.*, p. 55.

7 *ibid.*. This seems to be the only time that Kirk took magnetical observations when on the expedition.

8 *BIPRT*, 30 July 1858, pp. 29-30.

9 *FZJK*, 28 June 1858, p. 48.
Just over a week later, Kirk wrote of another problem:

There has not been much done to Magnetism here but a good deal of smashing among the instruments and one they can't get to work at all. The Doctor asks me to go and see it, as it seems impossible to get it to shew anything. A little reflection on the sort of lenses soon shows that they had been looking all the time through the wrong end of the spyglass.¹⁰

In a letter from Thornton to David Livingstone much later, we learn of other misfortunes which befell Expedition instruments:

The Kew Standard Thermometer was accidentally broken in service by Dr. Kirk at Expedition Island. The glass face of the aneroid barometer was broken Decr. 9, 1859 by the native who carried it. Again on Decr. 29th the barometer was for some time entirely under water, owing to the canoe in which it was, being swamped in a gale of wind.¹¹

From the writings of Thornton one final example may be taken:

When the theodolite arrived, found that the reading lens was burst from its socket, which was much bent & otherwise damaged. Found that the niggers must have been examining it, then could not put it back again into the case properly & broke it trying to force down the lid of the box.¹²

And of course there were always additional problems in transporting delicate instruments over river, swamp, mountain, plateau etc. in central Africa. And while it is granted that all of the mishaps above did not happen to instruments specifically to instruments required in measuring "magnetism," they do indicate some of the problems scientists had to face.

¹⁰FZJK, 6 August 1858, p. 62. According to Bosazza, Kirk was in error, as the spyglass could not have been inserted "wrongway around" BLPN, Chapter VI, p. 7, an opinion fortified by the fact that all of the men were familiar with the instruments, and no two would have made such an elementary mistake.

Part of Tete with the Zambezi River in the Distance, looking N.W. from the Elevated Foundation of a Ruined House, 1859.

by

Thomas Baines

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First Results. In spite of many drawbacks, Charles persevered with his geophysical measurements when on Nyika Island, so that when the expedition abandoned temporary headquarters there, David could leave a letter saying that while on that island, Charles took a set of magnetical observations for dip, deflection, vibration and declination. And in his next letter to the Foreign office, David mentioned that Charles had carefully made the required observations while on Expedition Island, and that he was now at Tete working on another set, both of which would be sent home by the earliest opportunity.

Charles worked on them at Tete whenever his other duties permitted. His journal/letter to his wife contains the following entry for 22 September, 1858, a week after David left Charles in Tete and proceeded downriver in the "Ma-Rober:" "Tried the magnetic work today — took a set of observations under a tree in the yard. Thermometer 93° in the shade at 2." In the following days Charles no doubt took other sets, and on 26 and 27 October he recopied his findings. In his dispatch to the Foreign Office after having examined the Cabora Bassa rapids, David wrote: "I enclose two sets of magnetical observations made by Mr. C. Livingstone for the Royal Society." One set

\[13\] DL to "Commander, H.M. Ship," 13 August 1858, SNMDL, on display. This note was placed in a bottle and buried in the sand.

\[14\] DL to Lord Malmesbury, 5 October 1858, FO 63/843, part ii, ff. 111-112.

\[15\] Ibid.

\[16\] Ibid.

\[17\] DL to Lord Malmesbury, 17 December 1858, WZEL, p. 299.
was from the island, and the other from Tete. As the table at
the end of this chapter indicates, he continued his magnetical
work at Tete, but exact dates are not available.

Having made observations at these two important locations,
there was further work to be done, and the next important spot
was the cataracts of the Shire, which were reached in January,
1859. Charles of course remained in Tete until mid-July, and
upon first reaching the cataracts he had no time to make obser-
vations, as the party was en route north to seek the great lake
known to be there. When they arrived back at the ship in early
October, Charles was again suffering from malaria. Anticipating
his recovery, David wrote again to the Foreign Office:

I enclose also a series of Magnetical Observations for the
Royal Society by Mr. O. Livingstone. They were made a few
miles below the cataracts of the Shire. It was impossible
to carry the instruments overland to the lake. [Malawi] 18

Indeed, Charles recovered and carried out his work before the
month was out, so that David had ample time to enclose them with
his dispatch before it was sent in December.

Not only did Charles do the work, but he did it well.
Upon his return from the trip inland in 1860, he wrote with
obvious pride to his wife: "Saw a notice of my magnetic labours
in London News. 'The Royal Society has just rec. from Dr. L.

18 DL to Lord John Russel, 15 October 1859, WZEL, p. 335.
Unfortunately, Charles' actual magnetic manuscripts are tempo-
rarily lost, as they are not with the dispatches in the PROL,
nor in the RSL. A century ago they were in the "Mag. Office,"
but that has long been disbanded and its documents scattered.
some valuable magnetic observations, etc.' and General Sabine writes of those of the Magnetic Force and Dip that 'nothing can be more satisfactory.' The Declination owing to some things breaking & errors in our watches is not so reliable. 19 Charles was not exaggerating, for on 29 October Sabine himself wrote to the Foreign Office, probably with reference to the first two sets to be sent home, acknowledging receipt of magnetic observations directed to him by Russell from the Zambezi Expedition, and commenting: "I have examined these observations and find them to have been made with an intelligence and care which cannot be too highly commended." 20 Such praise from such a distinguished source can only have been merited.

New Problems and Further Efforts. In the light of this accomplishment, David's journal entry of 13 May 1860 (p. 189 above) is indeed curious: "Magnetism still more so [unsatisfactory]." David wrote on: "He allow[ed] £100 of Magnetic Instruments to be completely destroyed by damp, but must not be blamed." 21 We have already seen evidence indicating that Charles work was quite satisfactory, and David's charge that Charles was responsible for the destruction of the instruments is equally false.

John Kirk wrote in his journal on 9 February 1860: "On coming aboard, I find all my boxes of specimens down in the

19 CL - HCL, 28 November 1860, 05/61.

20 Sabine to Wodehouse, (Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs), FO 63/871, f. 142.

21 WZEL, p. 164.
forehold, the place which has just destroyed all the magnetic instruments."^{22} Exactly one week earlier, David Livingstone had written in his journal: "Sprung a leak in forehold and found it full in the morning; prevented sinking by the other compartments."^{23} And later that month David wrote to Washington, advising him that "our craft has nearly ruined most of the Magnetic Instruments besides provisions and private property..."^{24} and on that same day he wrote Russell that the instruments were "seriously damaged by damp."^{25} Charles himself adds the final piece of evidence, written later in the year, upon his return from Sesheke: "Coming up from the sea last March a leak spoiled this lot of instruments..."^{26}

Pardoning Charles for being amiss by a month with his memory, we can see that the instruments were either seriously damaged or destroyed by damp caused by a leak in the forehold of the "Ma-Robert," where the instruments were stored during the 2 month trip from the Kongone to Tete. Three months later, when angry with Charles (and perhaps suffering from fever himself), David placed entire blame on his brother. We have no way of determining who put the instruments in the forehold upon whose orders, but it seems less than fair to blame Charles for havoc wreaked by a leaky craft struggling against an uncooperative

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^{22}_{FZJK}, p. 285.  
^{23}_{WZEBL}, p. 148.  
^{24}20 February 1860, MDNL, MSS. 120.  
^{25}_{WZEBL}, p. 348.  
river in a hostile climate. This situation brings into sharp focus one of the most serious faults of this undeniably great and distinguished missionary/explorer, and justifies a statement made by Professor Shepperson, who referred to Charles as a "man who was made the whipping boy for the Zambezi Expedition by his more distinguished brother."27 How many other times this happened, with either David or Kirk, no one can say, but this time the evidence is clear. It has been noted above (p. 185) how completely David would turn against anyone who disagreed with him, and Charles was to be no exception.

This situation explains why Charles was unable to continue his search for pieces of the earth's magnetic puzzle when near the Victoria Falls in mid-1860: most of the instruments were dysfunctional, and had been left behind. This may go far to explain why so little in this field was accomplished throughout the remainder of the Expedition, but it must also be noted that for most of his remaining three years in southern Africa, Charles was working and travelling in areas from which he had already obtained the readings he required, and further study so soon might have been superfluous.

To this generalism there are at least two exceptions—the trip along the west shore of Lake Malawi in 1861, and the second attempt to ascend the Ruvuma River, in 1862. When at the lake in 1859, Charles took no measurements because David decided not

to attempt to take the instruments over such a long and unknown road. Two years later, with a much smaller party accompanying them, Charles attempted to continue his magnetic research. This seems obvious from a note written on the very interesting map David compiled during the trip: "Variation on the South end of Lake 14° W, on the rest [?] 13° W; in Lat. 15° S, var. 15° - in 16° var 16° +c." Although Livingstone's journal as published gives no indication that anyone took any kind of magnetic observations while the lake was being explored, Kirk's does: "The magnetic variation since entering Latitude 12° has changed to 6° + 4° w formerly being 14° w." Considering that the declination in the region was usually measured between 13° and 16°w, these figures are very unusual, and may indicate the presence of severe magnetic storms or some other disorder, but what is more important is the confirmation that at least one phase of the work continued. Since Kirk and Charles (with John Neil) were always in the boat together, while David often travelled overland, it seems most likely that Charles took the measurements.

Nor did Charles neglect his tasks when on the Ruvuma a year later, for according to Livingstone's notebook, the variation at Michi, a place about 100 miles from the mouth of that

28 An extremely good tracing of this map is in the UCTL. By the "rest," Livingstone may have meant the entire west shore.

29 PJK, 22 September 1861, p. 381.
river, was $11^\circ 30' \text{ W}$.\(^{30}\) Since the figure for variation (or declination) was the most important required by the Royal Society, Charles did well to persevere with this measurement, in spite of the fact that most of his instruments had been destroyed.\(^{31}\) Perhaps other men would have given up altogether.

**Final Considerations.** In addition to Sabine's opinion recorded earlier in this chapter, there is one further indication that this great geophysicist thought well of this particular phase of Charles Livingstone's work on the Zambezi Expedition. On 15 June, 1876, three years after the Livingstone brothers had died, Sabine read a paper to the Royal Society on the subject of the terrestrial magnetism between south latitudes $10^\circ$ and $20^\circ$. When the tables and charts with which he illustrated this talk were published in the following year, they included Charles' work done at Expedition Island, Tete, and Dakanamoio Island (near the cataracts of the Shire) in 1858 and 1859.\(^{32}\)

Thus over 17 years after he had done his "magnetism" in southern Africa, Charles' work, along with that of many other amateur and professional field scientists, contributed to the completion of the magnetic survey of the earth.

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\(^{30}\) SDLR, 4 October 1862, p. 101.

\(^{31}\) No evidence indicates that the instruments were ever replaced, although Livingstone requested same from Washington on 20 February 1860; MDNL, MSS. 120.

\(^{32}\) See table at the end of this chapter. It is worth noting that Sabine's maps indicate no declination or other figures for the region around Victoria Falls, Lake Malawi, the Ruvuma River, nor the Luangwa River, which Thornton explored in 1859.
In recent years, a first-class geological/civil engineer decided to check a portion of Charles' geophysical measurements. He went to some of the places where Charles did his work, and used modern instruments to take similar readings. With regards to the all-important figure of declination, Dr. V.L. Bosazza wrote:

there has been a decrease in the declination, over the period of 1820 to 1969, along the whole east coast of Africa of $4'\text{ to } 6'$ per annum eastwards. If this figure is applied to Charles' figure of $15.1^\circ \text{W}$, then the declination for Tete today should be about $7^\circ \text{E}$, which is what I found it to be between the fort and the bank of the Zam-besi in September, 1969.33

He also provides a further check of Charles' work at Tete, this one concerning the inclination, or "dip:"

at Tete in 1858 Charles obtained a value of $48.2^\circ \text{s}$, and in 1884 Ivens and Capello found it to be $48^\circ 39.5^\prime \text{s}$. The difference of $27'$ could easily be due to a real change over 26 years, together with the small instrumental errors possible.34

Dr. Bosazza closes his brief study of Charles' magnetic labours with a helpful evaluation:

During my student days I carried out measurements with practically the same type of instruments as Charles had for his work... [and] Charles' work commands my respect, therefore, and now it must be generally accepted that he carried out his duties competently and under considerable difficulties.35

To this final word expressed by an experienced professional from our own day, nothing need be added.

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33 V.L. Bosazza, "The Hero's Brother - Charles Livingstone," DLAA, p. 107. To Dr. Bosazza goes the credit for writing what appears to be the first article in a century giving credit to CL. 34 Ibid. 35 Ibid., pp. 107-108.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Station</th>
<th>Lat. S.</th>
<th>Long. E.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Declination or Variation</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Observed</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Expedition Island</strong></td>
<td>18° 25'</td>
<td>35° 51'</td>
<td>21 Jul - 11 Aug 1858</td>
<td>14.57 W</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Dakameni Island</strong></td>
<td>16° 02'</td>
<td>35° 01'</td>
<td>21 - 24 Oct 1859</td>
<td>14.56 W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tete</strong></td>
<td>16° 09'</td>
<td>33° 28'</td>
<td>22 Sep 1858 / 1 - 2 July 1859</td>
<td>15.07 W</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>51.2° s</td>
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<tr>
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<td>48.7° s</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tete</strong></td>
<td>48.10°</td>
<td>48.2° s</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.83</td>
<td>7.83</td>
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| Station                  |       |          |                           |           |           |
|-------------------------|--------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| **Magnetic Force or Intensity** |       |           |                           |           |
| **Expedition Island**   |        |           |                           |           |
| **Dakameni Island**     |        |           |                           |           |
| **Tete**                |        |           |                           |           |

| Station                  |       |          |                           |           |           |
|-------------------------|--------|-----------|---------------------------|-----------|
| **Kongwe**              | 18° 55' | 36° 12'  | 9 Nov - 15 Dec 1859       | 21° W     |           |
| **Sena**                | 17° 28' | 35° 14'  | 6 April 1860              | 17° W     |           |
| **South end of Lake Malawi** | 14° 25' | 35° 30' | 2 September 1861         | 14° W     |           |
| **Michi**               | 11° 10' | 37° 10'  | 4 October 1862            | 11° 30' W |           |

Figures in the upper two sections taken from SCTM. A similar version was prepared by Dr. Bossaza in BLPN, who very generously sent me a copy. Both items give the date as the year only.

1. The latter date is for the declination; inclination and magnetic force were recorded on the earlier date.

2. Standard corrections were always necessary, as the delicate instruments could be affected by temperature, humidity, variations in the earth's magnetic field, "instrument drift," &c.

3. The magnetic force is measured in British Units.

4. D. Livingstone's maps provided lat. and long. figures below.


CHAPTER VII
COTTON AND OTHER TRADING PROSPECTS

0 will ye go to the Highland hills,
To see my white corn growing? Child, 84

Preparation and Beginnings. We have seen (in Chapter III above) that as early as May, 1857, Charles Livingstone took an interest in cotton, for the specific purpose of supervising the cultivation of that crop in the Zambezi River region. Later that year, he showed interest in a number of profit-making schemes in Africa, in each of which he had his brother's support. As the mills of the Midlands were dependent upon cotton grown in India and the southern United States, each of which was undergoing a period of political instability, the organization of a major cotton-exporting enterprise in southern Africa would have yielded high strategical and financial rewards to both entrepreneur and nation.

In spite of his being removed from the British capital for some sixteen years, the significance of this was not lost on Livingstone. Slightly over a month after he returned home, in January, 1857, the missionary/explorer placed his opinions of Zambezi cotton prospects before Roderick Murchison, who had agreed to relay them to Lord Clarendon (p. 54 above).¹ Clarendon was impressed, and Livingstone had official support for his plan.

This was one of the main reasons that Charles found a position on the Expedition; he had studied cotton, and the machinery required for its preparation. Yet surprisingly, his written instructions give cotton a decided lack of emphasis:

4. You are hereby authorized to purchase with some of the calico furnished to the Expedition as much buaze as can be procured, with a view to developing the trade in that article, and also whatever cotton may be offered for sale, in order to foster the growth of that tissue.²

Throughout 1857 and during the early years of the Expedition, Livingstone (David) had hopes that buaze would become a major crop,³ and indeed at various times during the venture he had ideas of establishing thriving trade in indigo, sugar, coal, coffee, seed oil, malachite, ebony, Lignum vitae and, as we shall see, ivory, to name just a few. He was never one to underestimate the value of anything the land might produce.

In his capacity as expedition cotton specialist, Charles lost no time in studying the crop as he found it in Africa. Within a month of arriving in the Zambezi delta area, David wrote in his journal:

Cotton of excellent quality was found by Mr. C. Livingstone in one of the gardens, and one of the people with whom I conversed said that they would gladly cultivate it for sale.⁴

²DL to CL, 10 May 1858, "Autographs," QGLOO; WZEL, p. 431.
³Buaze is a fibrous plant from which Africans made fine but strong thread for their fishing nets. Livingstone had hopes that it could be manufactured into cloth and rope, and in addition to bringing samples home with him in 1856, he sent a box and 2 barrels of the fibre home at the end of July, 1859.
⁴WZEL, 9 June 1858, p. 11.
And in a letter to his wife, Charles mentioned that he had "found cotton of a very superior quality, firm and long staple, growing round different huts - have got a lot of seed to plant up the country."\(^5\) As the men continued to penetrate Africa, they continued of course to note the presence of cotton. From Tete on 14 September, 1858, David wrote:

> We meet some very fine cotton growing wild wherever it has once been sown. It is long in the staple, and has been introduced, as its name imports. The other has a short staple which clings to the seed, and is more like wool in the hand than cotton.\(^6\)

This suggests that the Portuguese of an earlier day had tried to introduce cotton into the region but enjoyed only limited success, and indeed Lacerda noted an abundance of cotton growing wild around Sena when he was there early in 1798.\(^7\)

Africans themselves told Livingstone why cotton production was difficult in the delta region: "all complain that wars ruin their cultivation."\(^8\) This is not surprising when one considers the turmoil which embroiled the entire lower Zambezi during most of the nineteenth century. Anyway, since the Expedition was bound inland, serious consideration could not be given to the

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\(^5\) CL - HCL, 19 May - 24 June 1858, G5/8; entry for 22 June.

\(^6\) DL to ? [James Young], unidentified newsclipping [Glasgow Herald, 3-10 January 1859\(^2\)], in MDNL, MSS. 120; 14 Sep. 1858.

\(^7\) M.D.D. Newitt, Portuguese Settlement on the Zambesi, (New York, 1973), p. 135; hereafter *NFSZ*. However, Thornton wrote that if the Portuguese had planted corn or cotton near Maruru, their tribute to the Bandeens would increase: *TPRT*, p. 47.

\(^8\) DL to ? [James Young] 23 June 1858; details as in note 6 above.
cultivation of cotton in the delta region. Nevertheless, Charles was not content to wait until headquarters were established beyond the Kafue to begin his serious study of African cotton, for when in Tete he wrote his wife: "Got a piece of land on which we mean to experiment in planting cotton to see what it may cost." Two weeks earlier he had already begun, in a friendly spirit, to encourage cotton cultivation:

Sr. Manoel called - he leaves for his home at his Uncle's stockade (Bonga's) tomorrow - gave him cotton seed and directions how to have it planted. Hope it may lead to a better state of things.

The Shire Highlands and Lake Malawi. While Charles was so experimenting, the Cabora Bassa rapids deflected the thrust of the expedition northward instead of westward, and it was essential to the overall success of the endeavor that the new region, among other things, produce cotton. The first inkling we have of this possibility comes from Kirk's journal, into which he wrote the day after the "Ma-Robert's" progress was halted by the Shire Cataracts:

I have got a fine collection of the cotton of the place, both raw and spun and the instruments used which are few. I should like a good specimen of the cloth, which is very good.

Charles' taking seed to the central highlands was akin to taking coals to Newcastle, for cotton cultivation and spinning in south-central Africa had ancient roots indeed: Andrew Roberts, A History of Zambia, (New York, 1976), p. 55.

10CL - HCL, 14 Sep.-21 Dec. 1858, G5/10; entry for 7 Nov.

11Ibid., entry for 27 September.

12TZJK, 10 Jan. 1859, p. 149. Cloth from this and the lake region had been esteemed by peoples and traders throughout central Africa for several centuries: NPSZ, p. 42.
Upon his and Kirk's second visit to the Shire region a few months later, Livingstone saw a great deal more of the region. The party ascended the ridges and crossed the plateaux east of the river, becoming thereby the first Europeans known to have visited Lake Shirwa (Chilwa). Although their visit to the highlands was necessarily brief, they were favourably impressed by the topography of the country, and especially by the plethora of fresh, swift-running streams. They also saw cotton: "People [around the lake] cultivate an immense quantity of cotton. The further we went, the more important did the crop appear. All spin and weave it."13 Earlier, David had written in his journal: "The valley was most extensively cultivated with sorghum and cotton... People must export their cotton as few men are clothed with it, though so much is grown."14

Livingstone was also deeply impressed by the beauty of this new land, and he realized that due to the altitude, it could eventually become a major area of European settlement. From the little that he saw, he assumed that the indigenous peoples would willingly engage in trade.15 To the Earl of Malmesbury he wrote: "The people of the Shire... brought several small

13 DL to John Washington, 25 May 1859, MDNL, MSS. 120.
14 WZEL, 13 April 1859, p. 100.
15 This was an erroneous assumption; see J.M. Schoeffeleers, "Livingstone and the Mang'anja Chiefs," in PLKA; hereafter SLK. This article provides an excellent study of the factors inherent in the Shire political scene which Livingstone failed to comprehend and which contributed to his general failure to achieve his goals.
bags of cotton for sale on our second visit, though no time had elapsed to allow planting since we informed them of the existence of a market. The Cotton Trade is quite ready for development among them..."16

After returning to Tete to gather up the loose ends of his expedition, Livingstone returned to the Shire Valley a third time, determined this time to examine not only the highlands once again, but also to see for himself the upper part of the river valley, and the lake from which the river flowed. This was to be the first real journey of exploration of which Charles was a part, and he must have been quite excited by it. He used the opportunity to begin his attempt to convince the local people to grow cotton for profit. As David wrote:

in all probability sea island - the dearest of all cottons - would flourish [here], for specimens of common kinds were found superior to the Egyptian. The indigenous variety feels more like wool than cotton, but foreign seeds were eagerly accepted by the people from Mr. C. Livingstone.17

By mid-September they were in sight of the great lake, and on the 17th the Livingstone brothers, John Kirk and George Rae reached the southern tip of Lake Malawi.18

Livingstone immediately grasped the immense advantage to be gained by such a system of water communications, for from

16 31 May 1859, WZBL, p. 322.

17 DL to Lord John Russell, 15 October 1859, ibid., p. 333.

18 They were not the first to visit the lake, as its existence had long been known. It appeared on the map Livingstone included in LDIMT as "Lake Maravi or Nyanja;" and appears on the 1623 world map of the Portuguese cartographer António Sanches.
the distant and unknown tip of Lake Malawi to the Kongone canal there were adequate water communications (given a vessel of low draught) for most of the year, except for the 33 mile stretch of cataracts. Whatever reservation Livingstone previously had about the commercial potential of the region and its people now went by the boards. For one time in his life, he abandoned his usual circumspection and allowed his enthusiasm to show in his letters. In one to John Washington he wrote: "a great deal of cotton is cultivated and indeed the Lake region opens up the finest cotton + sugar country in the world." And five days later he wrote to Russell:

We have opened up a cotton and sugar producing country of unknown extent which, while it really seems to afford reasonable prospects of great commercial benefits to our own country, it presents facilities for commanding a large section of the slave market on the East coast and offers a fairer hope of its extirpation by lawful commerce than our previous knowledge of the country led us to anticipate.20

Thus in addition to the founding of a successful commercial establishment would be the satisfaction of dealing a lethal blow to the slave trade of eastern Africa. It was to him a vision in which Briton and African alike would benefit, with only the slave dealer failing to profit, and this vision, as we shall see, provided Livingstone with a great deal of motivation.

19 10 October, 1859, MDNL, MSS. 120.

20 15 October, 1859, WZEL, p. 332. Livingstone failed to take cognizance of the fact that there was a great deal more involved in "opening up" a region than there was to merely reaching and seeing it by a small overland party.
Cotton Prospects and Colonial Dreams. Up to this time, Charles' work with cotton was mainly confined to examining and noting the types and amounts of cotton grown in the areas he visited, experimenting with the plant itself in Tete, and encouraging Africans to continue to cultivate by distributing seeds along the way (somewhat reminiscent of the early nineteenth century American "Johnny Appleseed" [John Chapman, 1774 - 1845], of whom Charles certainly would have heard in Ohio), and collecting the fruits of their labour. Now, after having seen for himself this new land and its potential, he wrote a report which he presented to David for transmission to H.M. Government. In part, it said:

This is a great cotton growing country. The cotton is of two kinds "Tonji Manja" or foreign cotton and "Tonji cadji" (native cotton). The former is good quality with a staple from 3/4 to an inch in length. It is perennial, requiring to be planted only once in 3 years.

The native cotton is planted every year in the highlands, is of short staple and feels more like wool than cotton. Every family appears to own a cotton patch which is kept clear of weeds and grass. We saw the foreign cotton growing at the Lake and in various places for 30 miles south of it, and about an equal number of miles below the cataracts on the lower Shire. Although the native cotton requires to be planted annually in the Highlands, the people prefer it because, they say, "It makes the stronger cloth." It was remarked to a number of intelligent natives near the Shire lakelet "You should plant plenty of cotton and perhaps the English will come and buy it." "Truly, the country is full of cotton," said an elderly man who was a trader and travelled much. Our own observations convinced us of the truth of this statement. Everywhere we saw it. Cotton patches of from 2 to 3 acres each were seen abreast of the cataracts during the first trip when Lake Tamandua [Shirwa] was discovered, though in this journey, on a different route, none were observed of more than half an acre. They usually contained about a quarter of an acre each. There are extensive tracts on the level plains of both the lower and upper Shire where salt exudes from the soil. Sea island cotton
Areas enclosed in black were under cotton cultivation in 1970. *PMHN*, p. 155.
might grow well there, as on these the foreign cotton becomes longer in the staple. The cotton growers here never have their crops cut off by frosts. There are none. Both kinds of cotton require but little labour, none of that severe toil requisite in the United States.

Let but a market be opened for the purchase of their cotton, and they can raise almost any amount of it, and the slave trade will speedily be abolished.22

On the day that he wrote his report, Charles also wrote

Thomas Clegg, whom he had visited in Manchester in 1857:

The cotton country - not that merely where cotton may be easily grown, but where they are actually growing it, begins 20 or 30 miles below the cataracts, and extends up to the Lake and probably far beyond, both on the plains and in the highlands; the foreign cotton growing at the Lake and in different places for 30 miles below, and also again below the cataracts, while the native is cultivated throughout the whole extent of the country...23

Quite obviously, all that Charles had seen and heard about cotton convinced him that this was indeed cotton country, and he felt secure enough in his judgement, which was of course supported by his brother, to notify both H.M. Government and a leading cotton merchant of Manchester. In support of his opinion, Charles forwarded to Clegg six specimens of Zambezi/Shire cotton, 3 of which were native varieties, and three of which were exotic. Clegg judged the samples as "all exceedingly good and useful qualities, particularly the four first. The last two

21 The classic account is F.L. Omsred, The Cotton Kingdom (1861).
22 Charles Livingstone, "Description of the Country and Journey to Lake Nyassa," 4 November 1859, F0 63/871, ff. 242-247. This paper was published as "On the latest Discoveries in South-Central Africa," by Dr. D. Livingstone, in Report of the British Association, 1860, Section 2, pp. 164-168.
23 C. Livingstone to Thomas Clegg, 4 November 1859, Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1860, p. 3. Much of the information contained in the Report cited above is also included in this letter to Clegg.
[i.e. the worst of the lot] will be substitutes, till improved, for East India cotton." After he had heard from Clegg, Charles wrote to Harriette:

The specimens of cotton we picked up growing near some huts and not cultivated at all is considered worth 8 pence sterling in Manchester, i.e. 16 cts. a pound and the cotton near the Lake & through 2° degrees of latitude is equal if not superior to that.25

And with reference to these same samples he later wrote her:

The samples that I sent are better than Mobile, Upland and New Orleans except the best of the last, and be it remembered - some I picked on the march were only the leavings of the crop.26

Clearly, both of the Livingstones visualized the fruition of their plans here instead of in the Batoka highlands. Only David had seen both regions, and for reasons already discussed, he preferred the Shire highlands. It had the strategic difference to Livingstone: it lay athwart the major slave trading routes from Katanga to Zanzibar and Kilwa, and he believed that British presence on Lake Malawi could effectively cut this artery.

When first at the southern tip of the great lake, the men met a party of slavers moving eastward, and each of the slaves was carrying an elephant tusk. Upon learning that the smaller party was British, the slavers quickly left by night, but not 24

24Glegg to the Editor of the Manchester Guardian, 29 February 1860; Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1860, p. 3.

25GL - HCL, 26 March 1860, 05/60. Charles exaggerated a little: Clegg valued the top 4 specimens between 6 1/2 and 7 3/4 each.

26GL - HCL, 28 November 1860, 05/61.
before they had prompted Livingstone to ponder deeply the ramifications of this chance meeting. He knew there were bulwarks to be surmounted, the largest of which was the problem of transporting the trade goods in and out of the region at an expense that would render the entire project viable.

Not only was the geographical problem posed by the rapids a major one, but the position of the Portuguese in Moçambique added a political dimension to the problem. They had made it clear that the Zambezi was not open to the ships of all nations for trading purposes, and after the arrival of Livingstone's expedition, they erected custom houses at the mouths of the Kongone canal and the Shire River, to collect dues from non-Portuguese vessels. Although the Portuguese government had declared that cotton could be exported free from their African possessions for 10 years, Charles noted that "they tax calico, etc. which must be imported to buy the cotton, and no goods can go downriver except under their national flag and by national vessels - which do not exist." But spurred on nevertheless by his vision, David Livingstone was to spend the next four years trying to overcome these formidable barriers.

And Livingstone's zeal was motivated by more than cotton, freed slaves, and conversions. Even before he left Britain, Livingstone had in the back of his mind the founding of a

27Mainly canoes, of course: the "Ma-Robert" was the first steam-powered craft to sail the Zambezi.

28CL to F. Fitch, 1 July 1862, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
British colony, and now he had no hesitation in broadcasting his hope. Between 10 October and 10 November 1859, Livingstone engaged in what was by far the most prolific burst of letter-writing he experienced during the entire Zambezi Expedition, and in almost every letter he either spoke of colonization per se or of trading and mission establishments, etc. To his wealthy and influential friend, the Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts he wrote, mentioning his wish for a new steamer, and adding: "We have no doubt of it paying as a commercial speculation for we could secure all the ivory that now goes to Mozambique besides the cotton which people are quite ready to cultivate for sale." Ivory, then was to play an important role in the trading venture.

In a dispatch to Russell, the Commander wrote more comprehensively:

It is highly probable that a small steamer on the Shire and Lake Nyassa would, through the influence of the English name, prevent slave parties from passing the fords and should our merchants not be obliged to pay dues

29DL to Adam Segwick, 6 February 1858, NMLZ on display; cf. DWTI, p. 130; SGDL, p. 308; NGLR, p. 46 and JTLI, p. 186. Two days after writing Segwick, Livingstone shared this idea, which had been given him by the Duke of Argyll (That the idea for a colony was Argyll's and not Livingstone's is clear from DL to Argyll, 5 March 1859, ADGD, p. 512 and DL to Murchison, 15 February 1859, NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 985-992.) with Whitwell Elwin, in a letter dated 8 February 1858, CLWJ, A 348/A5.

30He wrote 38 letters and 3 reports; in the month following Mary's death, he wrote 16. Only at one time did he ever write more letters: February-March 1858, just before the expedition sailed. Of course, this may need revision as new letters appear.

31DL to A.B. Coutts, 10 October 1859, privately owned.
for entering upon English discoveries for trade by a part of the Zambesi unused by the Portuguese, goods could be furnished to the native traders at Lake Nyassa as cheap as they can get them on the East Coast which involves a month's journey further. By purchasing cotton from the people on the banks of the Lake and ivory from the traders who annually come past in great numbers from their tribes far in the West, there is a high degree of probability that we could cut up the slave trade of a large district at its source.32

In all probability, it would have taken more than "a small steamer" and "the influence of the English name" to halt the slave trade. While a mission south of the lake might have cut down the number of parties fording the Shire near its source, it probably would have had little effect on the slave dhows crossing the lake further north. The steamer would have had to have been a gunboat, and if the slave traders attacked the mission/trading station, the presence of a garrison might have been required.

Furthermore, Livingstone's assumption that legitimate trade would drive out the slave trade is suspect. Cairns wrote:

It seems clear on grounds of economic logic alone that there was no valid reason to assume that an increase in legitimate trade would have destroyed the traffic in black humanity, or the slavery which was its ultimate cause. ... On the whole, the economic impact of legitimate trade on illegitimate trade is indeterminate.33

Undaunted by such questions, Livingstone went ahead with his plans. Because his Consular Commission strictly forbade David to indulge in trade for profit (although he was allowed to represent himself as being a trader to African leaders, and he did

32 15 October 1859, WZEL, p. 334.

realize a profit from time to time, which he used to offset Expedition expenses), he advised the Foreign Secretary: "my assistant, Mr. C. Livingstone, is ready to take entire respons-ibility of the trade for a time." He also made this clear to Miss Coutts: "My brother will turn trader for the sake of the boon which opening up this region will confer on Africa." Again, since H.M. Government might not approve of one of her vessels being used to carry on a profitable trade, Livingstone wrote his friend and industrialist James Young, mentioning that he required a steamer capable of carrying 100 tons and being screwed together, so as to be capable of transportation in pieces not exceeding 400 or 500 lbs. each. He added that Mr. Rae thought the plan (of carrying these pieces around the Shire cataracts) feasible, and said that if the government would not supply one, he would have it built himself. And his vision went further, for Young had to have his share of the profits:

We could secure all the commerce of the Lakes. If you are sending another steamer which can trade from the Zambesi to the Cape, the thing would be complete.

He closed this presentation thusly:

Remember I never recognized rash speculation or company forming, but now our path lies open and plain, before us. I send a plan to the Government of all I want. If they fail, you must not. I shall pay everything rather than fail to enter a field open to us by Providence.  

35 DL to A.B. Coutts, 10 October 1859, privately owned.
36 12 October 1859, NLS, MS.Dep.237; extract in Young's hand.
For his part, Charles was indeed ready to become a trader. As early as 7 August, 1859 he wrote of the potential of the sugar and cotton trade:

As we can easily make a good profit by them, so we have both advanced one hundred and sent an order to Glasgow for two hundred pounds worth of goods with which we intend to start a trade in the products of this country. However, although there are so many fine and valuable things in it I will most gladly leave it as soon as I have made a little.

This is a most intriguing passage for a number of reasons. When this was written, Charles had never seen the Shire high-lands or the lake region, so it seems that David saw enough on his visit to Lake Shirwa to convince him to initiate the trade. Secondly, there is no mention of the slave trade, or of any benefits to Africans. Finally, both men sent £100 to Glasgow as the initial investment for their joint venture – theories had been activated: they were now down to brass tacks.

Once they had seen the new country to the north, Charles expanded on their plans:

We have written Mr. Young of Glasgow to try and get some good families to come and settle in the Highlands of Upper Shire. Church missionaries will come, and we hope to stop the slave trade across the sad path to the interior. Capt.

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37 CL - HGL, 05/17.

38 An undated letter from David to J. Young (NMLZ, G5) gives Young general guidelines on what to do with the money, £100 of which is to be taken from David's funds in Young's care, and another £100 which will be forwarded from Charles' agent in London (Goode & Co.). As further Livingstone-Young correspondence comes to light, David's plans for the commercial exploitation of Africa will be revealed in greater detail.

39 On 15 October 1859, DL wrote Henry Venn of the Church Missionary Society, suggesting he send out a mission party.
Berkeley captured a dow (sic) lately with what we believe [were] the very slaves on board we saw at the Lake. Then we will buy up all the cotton, Buaze etc. etc. the ivory trade etc. We think we can get the whole trade of these regions. Of course, others will come in + trade but it is great country and room for all. I think it will be better for you to come out to this healthy, beautiful country for a few years, perhaps as soon as we can get settled.40

The fact that Charles invited his wife to join him only underscores the fact that the Livingstone brothers knew they were on the verge of something significant. Indeed, David had written earlier in the year: "I have no doubt our people would make themselves rich..."41

Diversions and Distractions. Due to the circumstances in which they found themselves, the Livingstones could do nothing for the time being but wait for the construction and arrival of a vessel that would suit their plans, and hope that the political climate would improve so as to permit free trade. As we have seen, Livingstone used this hiatus to take his "faithful Makololo" back home to the central Zambezi valley. While on this trip they of course examined cotton wherever they saw it,

40 CL - HCL, 6 December 1859, G5/13. Over a year later, Charles was able to inform Harriette: "We have had eleven bales of goods sent to the Cape, but they have not come up. They are just the right sort for us to start a trade." CL - HCL, 11 February 1861, G5/65. By that time, of course, things with the men had so changed that large-scale trading never commenced, and if the goods ever reached the Zambezi, they were probably traded for food.

finding "cotton cultivated largely which according to Mr. C. Livingstone, resembles closely a superior South American species and decidedly of better quality than that of the foreign seed which we had for distribution," which indicated that David felt good cotton could not only be raised in the lake region, but in the central highlands as well.

In a letter to the Editor of the Times, Livingstone described this third kind of cotton found on the expedition: it produces fine long glossy fibre [and] was found at Sesheke right in the middle of the continent to have a woody stem of eight inches diameter and its branches covered a space of twelve feet square. It had yielded a crop of cotton though the native corn crop had failed from drought.

Livingstone described this new species further in the Narrative:

When they returned from this trip, they met at the sea a new steamer for the Expedition, the "Pioneer," which was a timely arrival, as the "Ma-Robert" had sunk a month earlier. Along with it came missionaries to answer Livingstone's call - Bishop Charles F. MacKenzie and the men of the Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin and Durham Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

42DL to Russell, 6 September 1860, WZEL, p. 387.
43Undated, enclosed with DL to J. Bevan Braithwaite, 7 March 1861, NLS, MS.Dep.237.
44LNEZ, p. 587.
Because the missionaries (the U.M.C.A.) arrived in late January, (1861), the rainiest part of the year, Livingstone decided for the sake of their health (and perhaps for the sake of his own curiosity as well) to explore the Ruvuma River, which flowed into the Indian Ocean just north of the boundary of Mozambique.

This was to be no idle jaunt, for on this trip David hoped to solve at one fell swoop the political and geographical problems hindering his enterprise. If the Ruvuma issued from Lake Malawi, and if it proved navigable, it would not prove necessary to build a road around the Shire cataracts, nor would it prove necessary to pay duties to the Portuguese.

Unfortunately, the attempt was not to be successful. After they ascended the river only some 30 miles the water level dropped, and to avoid being stranded, the party had to hurry back to the sea. They returned to the Zambezi and ascended the Shire, and after leaving the missionaries near Mt. Dzomba in the Shire highlands, the Livingstones, Kirk and John Neil (Able Seaman of the "Pioneer") with their usual contingent of Africans made their way northward to Lake Malawi.

Instead of having to be content with a mere glimpse at this great body of water from its southern extremity, this time they planned to explore the whole lake, as well as some of the surrounding country.

Livingstone’s plan was to explore the west shore of the lake northward until the extremity was reached, then move down the east shore to ascertain the location of the source of the
Ruvuma. This was a sound enough plan, but as Livingstone had no real knowledge of the lake, he understandably underestimated its size and power. In addition to the difficulties posed by sudden storms and huge waves which endangered their lives on more than one occasion, the lake continued to stretch on endlessly to the north.

After the party had advanced approximately 200 miles from the source of the Shire, they had to turn back: the country on the west shore was in turmoil, provisions could not be found, and supplies were running low. On land, David went as far north as 11° 25'S. latitude; the boat with Kirk, Charles and Neil went on about 5' further. As the last latitude taken was 11° 44'S., and as David guessed the boat to have gone 24' further, he believed the northernmost point reached to be 11° 20'S. latitude. By comparing David's map with a modern one, it is obvious that the boat party reached Dankhanyo Bay, in 11° 15'S. latitude. This is probably the only part of southern Africa that Charles visited which David did not, but he hardly enjoyed it, as both Kirk and Neil were ill when the boat turned back.

45 Here John Neil, a fisherman from the north of Ireland, was in his element. He was better acquainted than any of the others with the sea-like storms of Lake Malawi, and Livingstone continually relied on his advice.


47 Coupland thought the boat reached only 12° 8'S. (CKoz, p. 211), and Arthur Montefiore (David Livingstone: His Labours and His Legacy, London, n.d. [1890]), p. 99 wrote that E.D. Young later ascertained that they had reached 9° 30'S. As the northern tip of the lake is 9° 30'S. (9° 3'S.), Montefiore is incorrect.
As the rough waters prevented their crossing the lake, David decided to return the way they had come, and upon reaching the southern tip they were to work their way northward along the east shore until they solved the mystery of the Ruvuma. However, upon learning that the east shore was also destitute of provisions, Livingstone had to abandon that portion of the plan as well: the Ruvuma question was still open.

En route down the Shire the men visited for a short time with the missionaries, and then went on to the sea, where they arrived in January, 1862.

**First Fruits.** With them they had a large quantity of uncleaned cotton which Charles had collected.

> We were stationary at Chibisa's yet collected with ease cotton equal to 300 lbs of clean cotton. The price [was] very low... it is high time that regular cotton agents should begin their work. Had we been able to run up and down, a great deal more could have been bought.

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48 As the main object of this exploration was to seek the Ruvuma, one wonders why Livingstone did not initially sail up the east shore, when provisions were to hand, and leave the rest of the lake to chance. Siddle's proposition (p. 86, n. 68 above) seems relevant: Livingstone may have been unwilling to put Ruvuma, on which so much depended, to the ultimate test.

49 Chibisa was a Mang'anja chief who aspired to more power than he had, and accordingly befriended Livingstone. (Cf. *SLMa*). His village is the modern Chikwawa. Of this collecting, David wrote: "we were restricted by the great draught of the "Pioneer" to an area of less than seven miles." *LMEZ*, pp. 352-353.

50 DL to Washington, 6 December 1861, *GLLM*, p. 21. To Russell, Livingstone added: "It was not the season of the cotton crop, nor had the people been stimulated by the prospect of a market to plant more than was requisite for their own use." Inclusion 3 of Livingstone's dispatch of 10 November 1861, *WZEL*, p. 407.
The price was indeed low - David later wrote that it cost "less than a penny per pound."51 This time the cotton was sent to James Aspinall Turner of Manchester, as Clegg had fallen from favour with Livingstone by sending the expedition a bale of useless remnants, when first-rate calico had been ordered. Turner reported that "the quality was much superior to Indian Cotton and if the length of the fibre had been regular it would have been almost equal to American cotton," and when clean, it weighed 371 lbs, and sold for £27 16 0 of which £22 10 0 was profit.52 Earlier in the year, Kirk had noted that 42 pounds of raw cotton when cleaned yielded 10½ pounds of clean cotton,53 thus Charles collected roughly 1500 pounds of African cotton, with relative ease and in a tiny portion of the potential cotton producing region. Evidently, a well-run large-scale cotton exporting operation would have realized substantial profits.

Anticlimax. Sadly for the Livingstones, this optimistic beginning was a prelude to no successful conclusion. On the second trip up the Ruvuma River from the sea, in the second half of 1862, Livingstone and the party advanced 156 miles, only to ascertain beyond a shadow of even Livingstone's doubt

51 LNEZ, p. 353.

52 Turner to DL, 30 January 1863, NARS. Whether or not the cost of shipping is included is unknown. This was, of course, the first cotton exported from Malawi. Livingstone later used the profits to pay off the men who crossed the Arabian Sea with him in the "Lady Nyassa," in 1864: CLLW, p. 79, n. 62.

53 ELJK, 15 June 1861, p. 345.
that the Ruvuma was not deep enough frequently enough to support the heavy traffic the cotton trade would require. Yet even here Kirk and David noted cotton growing, indicating that the potential cotton field may have extended well to the east and the north.\textsuperscript{54}

As the Portuguese held fast to what Livingstone frequently critisized as a "dog in the manger" policy, and refused to allow free trade on the Zambezi, the plan could only fail. This failure was further insured by the vast and tragic depopulation of the lands east of the Shire in 1862-1863, when slave raids and war resulted in panic, mass migration, and famine, which left any agricultural scheme short of labourers.\textsuperscript{55}

With cotton, Charles had done his best. He freely distributed seeds to the Africans wherever he found them, he studied cotton diligently enough to be familiar with the types of the plant grown in Egypt, India, South America, and the United States, and knew the merits and drawbacks of each, and whenever he encountered a new species in Africa, he was able to evaluate its potential immediately. When he pronounced such cotton as acceptable in quality, his testimony was backed by two merchants of Manchester where it counted: in the pounds and pence column.

\textsuperscript{54}FZJK, 21 Sep. 1862 (p. 478) and 29 Sep. 1862 (p. 484); SDLR, 4 Oct. 1862, p. 103. Time has proven the Ruvuma not to be cotton country, and today it is better known for ebony and cashews.

\textsuperscript{55}"A complete check has been given to our hopes of getting cotton from natives - they are starving + all their thoughts are directed to getting somewhat to eat," wrote David in his journal on 17 April 1863, SNMDL, on display.
But for a deep river or a timely treaty with Portugal, Charles might have become a prosperous merchant in the upper Shire valley; finally freed from the eternal nemesis of poverty, he would probably have used a portion of his fortune to improve the lot of the African. But this was not to be. When the Livingstones reached the major crossroads of their lives, following their first visit to Lake Malawi in September, 1859, they were unable, due to circumstances far beyond their control, to "turn the corner" and see their opportunity come to complete realization. Such is the way of History with men and nations.

And yet, there is an interesting sequel to this phase of Charles' work: in 1893 Nyasaland exported 400 lbs. of cotton, and by 1918 cotton was not only the largest industry in the country, but it was in the hands of African cultivators. And, in more recent times, the "Chikwawa Cotton Development Project and the Salima Cotton Development Scheme provide continuing proof that Malawi is, indeed... a cotton field."\(^{56}\) Perhaps it is not an overexaggeration to suggest that both figuratively and literally, Charles Livingstone sowed the seed for this eventual development.

He waited long and very long, 
Untill the sun waxed very high; Child, 109

Early Processes. We have seen that whenever Charles came 
upon a skill which would prove useful in Africa, he set about 
in the short time available to him to familiarize himself with 
it as much as was possible. Photography was no exception: he 
began learning this skill in late 1857 (pp. 84-85 above), and 
he learned the "tricks of the trade" from a number of photo¬ 
graphers over a six month period. By the time he left Britain, 
he had a basic working knowledge of the photographic principles 
and processes of his day. 

Of the latter there were two, and he had occasion to work 
with both of them while on the expedition. One was the wet 
collodion, or wet-plate process. Introduced in 1851, it pro¬ 
duced pictures on a glass plate which had previously been coat¬ 
ed with collodion (a viscous substance made by dissolving gun 
cotton in alcohol or ether), in which potassium iodide had been 
dissolved. Just prior to exposure, the plate was sensitized in 
a bath of silver nitrate solution (hence the name of the pro¬ 
cess), and when taken, the plate was developed immediately in a 
solution of pyrogallol and silver nitrate. It was then "fixed" 
in a bath of sodium thiosulphate. Although an obviously tedious 
process, it afforded excellent results. ¹

¹This is the process utilized by Mathew Brady in the Amer¬
ican Civil War.
The second process available to photographers in those
days was the dry-plate process, which was perhaps 10 times
quicker than the wet-plate process. By this method, pre-
arranged plates composed of silver bromide were "ripened" when
required by heating in the presence of potassium bromide.\textsuperscript{2} No
further chemical manipulation was necessary. Although it was
not until the 1870's that the dry-plate process was improved to
the point of being practical, Charles and Kirk (who was also a
photographer) had good results with it on the Zambesi, almost
certainly due to the positive effect of the climate on the
plates.

Quite obviously, the earlier photographer had to be much
more than a mere "picture-taker" - it was prerequisite that he
be something of a chemist, capable of mixing the various chem¬
icals required and at the proper temperature. And, it was
another matter to make prints (positives) of his pictures once
the negatives had been rendered permanent by "fixing."

Equipment was far more cumbersome than today, and the photo¬
graher had to understand basic procedures for packing and trans¬
porting his camera, plates, bottles, etc. It was not unusual
for a person to experiment with photography for a number of
years before competency was reached. In the late 1850's there
was plenty of room - and need - for trial and error in the infant
science/art of photography.

\textsuperscript{2}It could also be heated for a longer period of time at a
moderate temperature in the presence of ammonia.
Early Efforts in Africa. When David wrote up Charles' letter of instruction, he took his brother's knowledge of photography into account, and advised him accordingly:

5. As it is possible that you may remain at Tete while the luggage is conveyed up to the Kafue, you may have ample time to get your photographic apparatus into operation. You will endeavor to secure characteristic specimens of the different tribes residing in, or visiting Tete, for the purposes of Ethnology. Do not choose the ugliest but (as among ourselves) the better class of natives who are believed to be characteristic of the race, companies of Banyai and other strangers may be induced to sit for payment; and, if possible, get men, women and children grouped together. Specimens of remarkable trees, plants, grain or fruits and animals may be taken, if opportunity occurs, and so may the scenery around Tete...

The emphasis was obviously placed on portraits of people, especially family groups, with some effort to be made with regard to nature whenever it was convenient. Shortly after the group headquarters became established on Nyika Island, Charles unpacked his camera and related gear and began his work.4

The very next day, Kirk noted in his journal:

Mr. L. tries the wet collodion process and succeeds to get something having a faint likeness to a picture, but it is a nasty unhealthy work in the dark room in a tropical country and as he has no idea of chemistry or of manipulation, I dont anticipate much to come of the photography.5

Again on the following day Kirk noted Charles' progress: "Mr. L's photogy (sic) came nearer to something today, that is, we

3David to Charles Livingstone, 10 May 1858, "Autographs," OCL00, pp. 431-432.

4FZJK, 7 July 1858, p. 50.

5Ibid., 8 July 1858. Of Charles' work with photography, Wallis wrote: "Charles Livingstone seems to have made nothing of this part of his work." WLBK, p. 144.
can see a white shirt or jacket or the shine of a gun barrel, but this is dreadful work one minute in a close, suffocating tent, quite dark, and steaming of Acetic acid and Colloid, the next out in the bright sunlight, often without a hat..."6 Kirk was correct, for later that night Charles became violently ill.

This, his baptism of malaria, was indeed severe, and it was almost a week before he recovered. Charles no doubt suspected that his exposure to the chemicals contributed to his illness, for he apparently gave up his efforts with photography, and spent the remainder of his time on the island measuring the magnetic properties of the area. Baines' journal entry for 18 July, written when he himself was recovering from his first contact with Zambezi malaria, indicates that he too felt that Charles' illness was caused by "exposure to the sun in photographic operations."7 After only 2 days practice with his camera, Charles was forced to give up.

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6FZJK, 9 July 1858, p. 51. Dreadful work it was indeed; from Tanganyika on 31 October 1860, John Speke wrote: "With regret I also sent back the camera; because I saw, had I allowed my companion (James A. Grant) to keep working it, the heat he was subjected to in the little tent whilst preparing and fixing his plates would very soon have killed him." SBSN, p. 49; this was written only about a month after they left Zanzibar. In an effort to reduce both the heat and the glaring light of the sun, Charles painted his tent yellow: CL - HCL, 16 Nov. 1858, 05/10.

7BJnl, 18 July 1858. Realizing this, Charles for a while made it a practice not to appear under the blazing sun without a felt hat and sometimes even an umbrella, a custom which, ironically, both Kirk and Baines mocked him for continuing. (See FZJK, 25 Nov. 1858, p. 128; Baines to G. Thornton, 19 July 1860, JoPL; JTLi, p. 226; and p. 143 above.) Portuguese in the region also used umbrellas for protection, and perhaps Charles received his from them. Bosazza in DLaa (p. 220 above, hereafter BHDC), p. 106
After having seen Charles work with photography for only one day, Kirk predicted that nothing would come of his efforts. On that occasion, he also wrote a line which may indicate why he was so very quick to judge Charles' work which, after all, would have been retarded by a camera he had probably not used before, and a climate which made developing a very different process from that which it had been in Britain: "I certainly believe, as I said in London, that the paper process is the only one which at present is worth taking on such an expedition as this." Kirk had been experimenting with photography for a number of years, and he may have looked with condescension or even resentment upon someone who attempted to study photography at such a hurried pace. In spite of his experience, there is no record that Kirk gave Charles any benevolent advice, and in later months when, as we shall see, Charles' work improved dramatically, Kirk failed to record it in his journal.

First Successes, at Tete. Once Charles was situated in Tete, he again began to try making photographs, and he did so in earnest. Since the other expedition members were occupied in transferring goods up to Tete from downriver, he was for a while free to operate with a minimum of distraction. His

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8 However, Kirk's results during his first days of photographic effort on the Zambezi were far from being uniformly successful: see Thornton's comments in TPRT, 30 August - 3 September, 1858, pp. 59 - 62.

9 FZJK, 8 July 1858, p. 50. Whether or not Kirk's "paper process" is the dry-plate process is uncertain.
journal/letter to his wife covering September to December, 1858, contains a veritable clutch of entries regarding his work in this field, beginning with 23 September when he again unpacked his equipment. His first apparent success came on 30 September, when he photographed the house Major Sicard had loaned the expedition in Tete, and also Sr. Prat, and on 4 October he wrote: "hot and dusty - went 3/4 mi with a dozen Makololo carrying the photograph apparatus to get a picture of a baobab. Got a terrible sweat - light comes through the tent and spoils the pictures." Ten days later he went to the same spot and "took a good picture but while developing it in the dark tent disaster! down came the table, bottles + bath, breaking the latter and one glass + spilling all the nitrate of silver." Of this incident Kirk wrote two weeks later: "Mr. L. has tried photography but has made a mess of it," implying that all of Charles' work was useless - which implication Martelli was quick to accept.

10 *GL - HCL, jnl/letter, 14 September - 21 December 1858, G5/10. For reasons of space and simplicity, further information from this item will be marked in the text with an asterisk (*), instead of with a more formal footnote.

11 Prat was caretaker of the house, and is not to be confused with Alfredo Duprat (often du Prat), longtime Portuguese Slave Trade Commissioner in Cape Town.

12 There were other pitfalls: on one occasion he had to stop work to kill two cobras which were menacing him from the thatch overhead.

13 *PLJK, 3 November 1858, p. 115.

14 *MGLR, p. 92.
Temporarily irritated but undaunted, Charles stuck to his lenses, and on 19 November he could report that he had taken some "good negative pictures I hope to sell in Eng." Next day he recorded further progress: "Took some pictures of Tito [Sicard] and Pratt, *in the aft. got a perfect negative of a Baobab, but unfortunately got it slightly scratched while looking at it through a stereoscope."*

Shortly thereafter the expedition members left Tete to explore the Cabora Bassa rapids, and Charles took his camera and gear with him. When on 25 November they rested at a rapid, he got my photog, placed it on a rock + took a view. It was with a dry prepared plate + took half an hour after I got all adjusted, I was rather 'used up' before by the long walk but this roasting in the sun did for me."*

Kirk, by now clearly unsympathetic to Charles, wrote of this:

Mr. L. gets up his photographic apparatus and might have had several splendid views but having accustomed himself to lounging indoors... he cannot stand the fatigue of remaining in the sun and after taking one which he subsequently made a mess of, he knocked off and had a cup of tea under a stone.15

In spite of illness and exhaustion, Charles took a picture of the rapids when on the return leg of the journey, and was at his work in Tete when again the mosquito struck: "worked at

15FZJK, 25 November 1858, p. 128. Kirk failed to mention that by this time Thornton had already given up and turned back, and he also failed to report that in spite of his illness, Charles endeavored to keep up with the party. On the 1st of December he changed his outlook: "Livingstone is fatigued and so is Rae. Indeed we have all had a good deal of hard tramping." In a like manner, his understanding expanded after he suffered his first serious attack of fever: "It lasted three days. These fevers are the devil as far as work goes. When under them and a few days later, the head is confused." Ibid., p. 133 and p. 271.
Rocks in the Bed of the Zambezi River below the Junction of the Lue, which is shown on the Spectator's Right in the Sketch, 1858.

by

Thomas Baines

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It was fearfully hot in the tent, the chemicals almost boiled. I had to quit it as I could get no satisfactory picture. I did not get well again for a week."* Nevertheless, Charles persisted—by now his work was very rewarding and his results encouraged him to continue. On 13 December, ten days after the above entry was written, he noted: "Since my return I have been taking some prints—got 2 of women, one with their water pots on their heads + the other some in gala dresses."* And when he sent this letter to his wife, he enclosed for Harriette a number of photographs, one of which was "part of the river, which gives a clear view of it... you will need a stereoscope."*16

Harriette Livingstone was not the only one to receive photographs at this time, for David sent an undisclosed number of them to the Foreign Office. He explained to the Earl of Malmesbury:

The photographs require varnishing and mounting for the stereoscope. One showing a dead hippopotamus while also exhibiting the rock in the river, will be interesting to Professor Owen on account of a rupture in the perineum nearly healed when the animal was shot. Another photograph exhibits the channel among the rocks. The extreme heat of the climate presents many difficulties to the operator.17

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16 A stereoscopic camera had two separate lens systems so aligned that it would automatically photograph the subject from two slightly different angles. When printed and put into a stereoscope—a tin and wooden hand-held instrument which used lenses to superimpose the two views together—the viewer saw only one picture in startlingly realistic three-dimension. Thus the system functioned almost exactly as does human eyesight.

17 DL to Malmesbury, 17 December 1858, WZEL, p. 299.
At the same time, Livingstone sent four photographs to John Washington, and he may well have enclosed some in letters to other correspondents.

Subsequent Results. After this time we hear little of Charles' actual efforts at picture-taking, but he kept a steady stream of photographs flowing out of southern Africa. Harriette received more in his next letter to her:

I sent in my last a number of photographs... in this you will find some illustrating African life and manners – some musicians who at first started back in dismay when they saw the instrument pointed at them, some women pounding their native corn into meal. One shows how they carry their babies and their mode of hoeing.

In the following month, David Livingstone sent some of Charles' photographs, along with a choice pun, to the man who originally prompted Charles' interest in this direction, Lord Kinnaird:

One of the cases of mild fever we have had is that of my brother whom I sent to examine the rapids above this, and he in working at photography may have overexposed himself. I enclose a few of his positives – the paper is said to be bad... the photographs are for Lady Kinnaird.

And anticipating Charles' success, which by now David took for granted, David advised Dr. Andrew Smith: "I shall be able to give you some photographs of the people [of the Shire] for your work on ethnology, if you are not in a great hurry with it. My

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18DL to John Washington, 18 December 1858, MDNL, MSS. 120.

19CL – HCL, 5 February 1859, 05/11.

20DL to Kinnaird, 2 March 1859, photocopy in SNMDL.
brother takes them."

In the previous month, Charles had written his friend, Frederick Fitch, requesting that his stock of photographic chemicals and bottles be replenished, and before he left Tete for the Shire he managed to take a photograph of the cliff on the Murrungose where Thornton had been mining coal. At the same time, he mentioned in passing that he had made a basic change in his process: "By the way, I have succeeded in preparing dry plates which makes taking views much easier." 

In spite of the fact that Charles was evidently taking good pictures, David wrote otherwise, in the controversial journal entry of 13 May 1860: "Photography very unsatisfactory." Previously, David had thought well enough of Charles' pictures to send them home to several government officials and personal friends, and he even wrote in his journal: "Ch. L. made some improvement in the dry process and secured very good pictures for the stereoscope on glass."

Once again, the evidence, including David Livingstone's own writing, belies the opinion he expressed when angry, and Kirk called attention to this failing of David's: "Dr. L. although kind and considerate to me, still is not to be

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21 DL to Smith, 31 May 1859, SNMDL, on display.
22 CL to Fitch, 10 April 1859, NARS, L1 3/1/1.
23 CL - HCL, 26 June 1859, G5/18.  
24 Ibid.
depended on and any day, if a misunderstanding should take place, all former services would be lost sight of and performed as less than ought to have been done."26 Certainly Charles was not the perfect photographer - David may have been upset when Charles apparently forgot the silver nitrate when on the first journey to Lake Malawi,27 precluding the recording of the "discovery" in photographs - but this error does not eclipse Charles' previous accomplishments. And indeed, Charles' work continued long after this untruthful judgement was registered by his brother.

There is little indication of how much photography Charles was able to practice in the Shire highlands, and it is almost certain that he took no pictures during either of his two visits to Lake Malawi, nor on the visit to Victoria Falls in 1860. On all three of those occasions, there was little time to spare, and it was seemingly not possible to transport the camera and the required equipment with them. Evidently Charles' camera was rendered disfunctional by the sun - perhaps the extreme heat and dryness warped the wood and permitted light to enter - for on 28 November 1860, he told Harriette: "Mr. Young is sending me a metal camera so the sun won't injure it..."28 He was disappointed

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26FZJK, 29 July 1862, p. 463.

27WZEL, 31 August 1859, p. 246; and John to Alexander Kirk, 29 November 1859, FZJK, p. 535.

28CL - HCL, 28 November 1860, 05/61.
that it did not arrive on the "Pioneer", and after mentioning
that to Fitch, he went on to say: "I have some very good negative
dont try to print any more - can do that at home. We
never had any place for it, and some of the materials got
spoiled."29

Once the new camera had arrived, Charles could again turn
to photography, but it is melancholy to note that one of the
first subjects he photographed with it was the grave of Mary
Livingstone under the baobab tree near Shupanga House.30

Beyond this, there is little to indicate exactly what
photographic work Charles did during his last two years in
south-central Africa, but that he continued to take pictures is
almost beyond doubt, for he did not come home empty-handed.

When in London late in 1863, Charles wrote the Foreign
Office:

I have... been engaged in making arrangements for printing
about 40 different stereoscopic photographs of the natives
in their various occupations and amusements, some remark-
able trees, rocks, etc. for the use of Sir Roderick Murch-
ison and Professor Owen. The printing of these photo-
graphic specimens will cost about £6.31

Charles spent the last three weeks of November, 1863 in Hamilton,
where he had the prints made while he was recovering from an
attack of fever. Richard Owen evidently examined the results,

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29 CL to Pitch, 28 Feb. 1861 (dated in error as 1860), NARS,
Li 3/1/1. The brass camera arrived with Mary Livingstone a year
later: CL - HCL, 28 Feb. 1862, 05/79.

30 CL - HCL, 24 June 1862, 05/81.

31 CL to Austin Layard, n.d. [rec'd by the F.O. on 8 Dec.,
1863] PO 97/322, f. 156.
for at this time he wrote to Charles Spring-Rice:

> With respect to the photographs, as these are most useful + faithful records of the physical characters of the native tribes, I suggested the desirability of their being printed, in the interest of Ethnology. I have no doubt that the photographs of the rocks would thereby be made equally useful to the Geologist and of the trees to the Botanist... I am of opinion that the services which Mr. C. L... has rendered in England are such as to call for remuneration.

Evidently the Foreign Office concurred, for on 11 December Charles was advised that he would receive his regular Expedition salary up to 4 December, 1863, plus the expenses incurred in the printing of the photographs.

The Lost Photographs. During the following year, most of which Charles spent in the United States, his photographs were circulating around London. No doubt Murchison, Owen and perhaps the Hookers saw them, and when he arrived home, David saw them also. In October (1864) David took a set of them to Captain Need, along with sketches to be used in illustrating the Narrative, and a month later, David wrote to John Murray: "I send all the photographs made by my brother as the Artist may get hints from them." Horace Waller, Lay Superintendent of

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32. Owen to Spring-Rice, 9 December 1863, FO 97/322, f. 158.

33. FO to CD, draft, in FO 97/322, ff. 160-1. At £350 per annum, Charles' salary for working on the Zambezi Expedition from 1 Feb. 1858 to 4 Dec. 1863 would have been just under £2050. It seems that neither the PROL, BLL, BM(NH), nor the RGSIL have retained copies of these photographs.

34. Journal, 7 Oct. 1864, Wilson Family Archives. Capt. Need aided David with the illustrations for LDMT as well as LNEZ.

35. DL to JM, 27 Nov. 1864, JMPL. These archives evidently have none of Charles' photographs either.
of the U.M.C.A. probably saw them, because he wanted a set, and wrote toward this end to James Stewart:

Will you be so kind as to get for me the address of the Photographer at Hamilton who has Charles Livingstone's negatives in hand: I want to write him for a set, but perhaps you are looking after a set for yourself.36

And in the Preface to the Narrative, David gave Charles credit for his work: the "photographs by Charles Livingstone and Dr. Kirk, have materially assisted in the illustrations."37

These photographs may have been the best investment the Government made with regards to the Zambezi Expedition, for apparently for a mere £6, they received some 40 stereoscopic photographs of Central Africa and its people. There was no expense for training a photographer, nor for cameras, film, chemicals, or other materials. The pictures were taken by a man receiving a modest salary of £550 per year, who had a great many tasks to occupy his time. He was not the "Official Expedition Photographer," (and one wonders why David bothered to write a paragraph on photography in his instructions), but

36 Waller to Stewart, 13 November 1864, copy in Stewart's journal, NARS, ST 1/1/1, unpublished. The photographer in Hamilton was undoubtedly Thomas Annan, who lived adjacent to the Livingstone's sisters and mother on Burmbank Road, and who took what is generally regarded as the premier photograph of David. Waller repeated his request to Stewart on 26 Feb. 1865, WZJE 2, p. 236.

rather he was working in a private capacity, as was Kirk, and for a great deal of effort received little or no remuneration.

Thus Baines was wrong in writing:

I painted Sr. Manoei and afterward at the suggestion of Dr. Kirk\(^3\) and the approval of Dr. Livingstone I attempted that of Major Sicard but did not succeed very well. I was then asked by everyone for portraits among others Sr. Pascoal. I referred him to the Dr., who told me to 'do as I liked' or words to that effect. The officer in charge [Charles] knew what I was doing but made no objection to it and was in fact himself engaged in taking photographic likenesses of the same and other persons.\(^3\)

While it is true that both Baines and Charles were working on Expedition time, Baines was using official property in his capacity as Expedition Artist; Charles was using his own materials in a non-official capacity.

In summing up, it is clear that Charles accomplished far more in his photography than anyone has yet given him credit for doing, and his brother's rash opinion written in early 1860 (p. 254 above) is not to be considered as definitive. No doubt only a small portion of his work is discussed here: how much he failed to mention in his letters may only be discovered with time. Nevertheless, enough records survive to indicate beyond a doubt that Charles' work with photography on the Zambezi was a success, which made a contribution to the understanding of Africa in his day.

\(^3\)This seems very unlike the circumspect Kirk, and seems to contradict his journal entry of 18 November 1858, (p. 160 above).

\(^3\)Baines to Lord John Russell, 19 January 1860, FO 65/871, ff. 214 - 222.
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6, 7, and 18, and perhaps all, were taken for a stereoscope.

3 and 16 may have been taken by John Kirk.

Page number under "Source" refers to this thesis, where a more detailed reference may be found.
PHOTOGRAPHIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NARRATIVE

The following is a list of illustrations in the Narrative which may have been based upon Charles Livingstone's photographs. It has been noted above (p. 258) that David gave Charles credit for contributing to the book's illustrations, but whereas he listed specifically those done by Baines, he did not do the same with his brother. Following each entry is the number of the corresponding photograph, taken from the table on the preceding page.

5. The Grave of Mrs. Livingstone under the Baobab-tree, near to Shupanga House 17.
10. Women with Water-pots, listening to the music of the Marimba, Sansa, and Pan's Pipes 10.
23. Bellows and other tools 3, 11.
30. Females Hoeing 10.

The number of musically-oriented subjects reminds one that it is obvious from the letters Charles wrote his wife, that he was more interested by far in music than were any of the other original European members of the Zambezi Expedition.
He shot the buntin o the bush,
The linnet o the brier.  Child, 98

Origins. While enduring the privations of service on the Zam¬
bezi Expedition, Charles consistently exhibited at least one
admireable character trait which has been completely overlooked
by both his critics and his brother’s biographers, and that was
his personal flexibility. As a result of the dismissal of
three of the seven original members of the expedition, plus the
revision of priorities which is always necessary once an explor¬
ing party is in the field, Charles was obligated to take on
several tasks which were completely unanticipated, and for
which he had experienced no previous training. One such task
was the forming of a collection of birds.

Exactly when and why Charles began collecting birds is
difficult to say, for there seems to be no record of his having
been ordered to do so by any of his superior officers. 1 When
in the throes of fever on Nyika Island, he managed to shoot a
bird on the wing, but he confessed to Kirk that he missed the
bird for which he was aiming. 2 Perhaps this incident provided

1 No mention is made of bird collecting in David’s letter
of instruction to Charles, (10 May 1858, WZEL, pp. 431-2,
original in “Autographs,” OCLCO); this task is specifically
given to Kirk in paragraph 6 of his instructions (18 March 1858,
WZEL, p. 422), but of course Bedingfeld's untimely exit added
many responsibilities to Kirk's shoulders, and in the early days
he had little time for birds.

2 FZJK, 16 July 1858, pp. 53-4. Incidentally, this candor
belies the arrogance of which Charles is often accused.
Charles with the requisite inspiration, although he may not have begun collecting in earnest until a few months later, when he was settled in Tete. In his journal entry for 7–9 March, 1859, David notes simply: "C.L. collecting birds." At this time, Charles informed his wife: "I have lately been doing a little as a naturalist. Mean to get a good collection of insects and birds. Have skinned a number of birds."  

The first recognition that Charles was accomplishing something worthwhile comes from none other than John Kirk, the Expedition Naturalist, who wrote in his journal upon his return to Tete on 23 June 1859: "He has made a good collection of birds of which I am right glad, as Botany keeps me well occupied." Over the ensuing four years, Charles consistently added to the collection he had begun. Kirk wrote: "Two very handsome birds have been added to the collection by Mr. C.L. One a weaver [finch], the other I cannot say what it is." On 13 January 1860 he shot "a large parrot [with] orange-red shoulders and legs...", which had "powerful jaws" and was "the first shot here." Again on 27 July 1861: "Several specimens of a new kind of Lorie secured by C.L." Another important contribution

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3 WZEL, p. 85. 4 CL - HCL, 10 March 1859, G5/14.
5 FZJK, p. 214. 6 Ibid., 19 August 1859, p. 233.
7 WZEL, p. 147.
8 FZJK, p. 279.
9 WZEL, p. 186.
was made on 16 August 1861 in the Upper Shire valley: "A mara-
bou stork shot by C.L.: from tip of wings 106 inches,"¹⁰ and
"Mr. C.L. shot a marabout from which fine feathers are obtained
from under the tail."¹¹ In one final example, it should be
noted that in early 1862 Charles sent to his friend Frederick
Fitch a box of various items, including "A stuffed crowned
crane [Balearica regulorum] for you."¹²

What is potentially a most important comment on Charles'
collecting is found in a letter from David to his daughter
Agnes, dated 18 December 1862. On 30 October of that year,
Kirk and the Livingstones visited Lake Isialanza, a small
crater lake on Anjouan ("Johanna"), in the Comoro Islands.
Here they saw a species of grebe which was incapable of flight.
Considered sacred by the island's indigenous peoples, these
birds were worshipped at regular intervals.¹³ This primitive
species had very small feet, which were set far back on the
body, with "each toe with a web sideways," all of which con-
vinced David that they could not have walked up to the lake.
"After various wise conjectures we had to say we don't know how
they got up there. But there they are, and Uncle Charles shot
and stuffed two."¹⁴

¹⁰WZEL, p. 190. ¹¹FZJK, p. 361.
¹²CL to Fitch, 4 February 1862, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
¹³P.L. Sclater, "On the Birds of the Comoro Islands," The
Ibis, vol. iv (1864), pp. 296-7 and p. 301. Hereafter SBCI.
This passage is fascinating because it provides a glimpse of the kind of situation which had led Darwin (and Wallace) to revolutionize natural science (and in time most serious Western thought) subsequent to the publication of his *Origin of Species* only three years previously, and it is noteworthy as one of the very few instances in which David Livingstone could not offer an explanation for a natural phenomenon. It may also be significant to note in passing that today the same or a closely-related species of grebe (*Podiceps*) is approaching extinction in the mountain lakes of Guatemala, and any notes Charles may have made or the specimens he collected might prove valuable in this context.

As Kirk and others also collected birds while on the expedition, it is difficult to evaluate the exact extent of Charles' contributions to this branch of zoology. While it does appear that the collection was largely the result of Charles' inspiration and labour, Kirk's article on the birds of the region gives not a word of credit to Charles.\(^{15}\) Bosazza notes that two aviary species have been named after a Livingstone, and he raises the telling question if they were so named in Charles' honour.\(^{16}\) Let us now attempt to discover what became of Charles' collection, and what recognition he received.

Charles' Collection. The Bird Room Register of the British Museum entry for 31 December 1860 shows the receipt of 194 birds presented by Lord John Russell, which were collected by Dr. Livingstone's expedition. As all of the specimens were of course exotic, and many were previously unknown, the scribe listed them by generic name only. Without the specific name, it is almost impossible to tell where (and hence when) they were collected. In the case of previously unrecorded species, the more detailed and descriptive name could only have been added after comparisons were made with other specimens, and further research carried out.

Only one clue is given as to the identity of the collector, and that is the word "Tette" which appears opposite the name of the first bird listed. This is where Charles began the work while David and Kirk were off making the explorations in the Shire valley which led to the visits to Lakes Shirwa and Malawi. No doubt Kirk and others contributed many of the specimens listed, but it seems a fair assumption that the lion's share of this collection was made by Charles Livingstone.

The next relevant entry to appear in the B.M. Register is dated 8 December 1863, again presented by Russell, with the note that it was made by the Rev'd Mr. Charles Livingstone. The entire Register is in the British Museum (Natural History), Sub-department of Ornithology, Tring, Hertfordshire. This complete entry, along with annotations and comments, may be found in Appendix D.
Forty-three birds are listed here, some of which had specific names assigned at the time of recording, and some of which had such detail added later. No place of collection is listed, and the species themselves range widely throughout south-eastern Africa, including the Comoro Islands.

Leaving this collection for the moment, let us consider the third relevant entry in the B.M. Bird Room Register. Dated 30 December 1863, this collection was presented as always by Russell, and lists 39 birds collected by John Kirk. These were the birds Kirk brought home with him, and they form the nucleus of his article. It is worth noting that in said article Kirk describes 150 species, while his collection consisted of only 39, hence he could not have avoided referring to the two collections previously received by the museum from the Zambezi Expedition.  

Certainly it was Kirk's position as Expedition Naturalist to write the definitive work on the birds collected, and he was more qualified than Charles to do so. But in spite of the fact that Kirk gave Charles no credit, the latter's contribution to Kirk's article was undoubtedly significant. It is worth noting that the collection of reptiles and fishes made by Kirk was written up for publication by Dr. Albert Günther of the British Museum, who notes in the introduction: "In the

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19 Kirk's obituary in *PROSL* (1923) indicates that Kirk contributed 350 bird skins to the Natural History Museum, (xv), but many of these date from his period at Zanzibar.

20 Livingstone acknowledged this in the introduction to *INEZ*, where he also credited Charles with collecting "a large number of birds, insects, and other objects of interest," p. 11.
determination of several of the species, I have been aided by a less complete series of duplicate specimens which had been sent home by Mr. C. Livingstone..."21 This is a rare reference to Charles' having collected fish and reptiles, and while the contribution was slight, the leading specialist of the British Museum felt it was worth acknowledging in print. In the light of this, Charles' ornithology seems even more worthy of recognition.

When one considers that Kirk and Charles were in the Zambezi region for over five years, and were collecting birds for over four of them, the total of 276 skins (the total contained in the three collections referred to above), many of which were duplicates, seems a paltry number indeed. Yet there was more to making a collection than merely shooting and skinning birds: they had to get the specimens safely to London, and hazards along the way were legion. The damp caused by leakage from both above and below which plagued every vessel the men worked on destroyed more specimens of all kinds than today's researchers can imagine. Twice at least Charles had his specimens stolen by Africans; Kirk lost his once by theft and once when his canoe overturned and he barely escaped with his life; and many items were lost or mishandled by well-meaning African bearers. Then there was the damage caused by heat, and there was always the

danger of shipwreck, as Rae discovered vividly while en route home in 1860. As Kirk wrote in his journal on 11 January, 1860, before the men had been struck by theft, shipwreck, and the canoe accident: "People at home have no idea of the thousand obstacles to making a collection and getting it safely home." 22 To his wife two years later, Charles wrote that he had shot, collected and skinned hundreds of birds which were destroyed by cockroaches and other insects. 23 He suspected that the boxes had been opened by suspicious Portuguese in Quelimane - another hazard - which allowed the insects to enter. And there were still other possibilities.

In March, 1860, George Rae left the expedition to return to Britain in order to supervise the building of the "Lady Nyassa" for Livingstone, and he had in his charge between 12 and 15 boxes of miscellania, several of which contained birds collected by Kirk and Charles. Rae was forced to part with some of the cases - 4 were seen in Mozambique several months later - and in time all were recovered except four. As far as all except Kirk were concerned, these were forever lost. However, on 8 October 1883, eighteen years after Rae's death and a decade after the two Livingstone brothers died, these four boxes arrived at the Kew Botanical Gardens from Portsmouth, where they had been deposited on 1 April 1870. The contents

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22 FZJK, p. 278.
23 CL - HCL, 4 February 1862 (postscript to a letter begun on 24 January 1862), G5/78.
were immediately examined by Dr. Günther: the four cases contained 69 parcels, 54 of which contained bird specimens. Günther, who no doubt remembered Kirk the Naturalist but forgot Charles Livingstone the amateur, listed them all as having been collected by Kirk.24 However, David had written to Joseph Hooker on 9 December 1861, that one of the lost boxes contained birds collected by his brother,25 and in a letter to his friend Fitch, written a few days later, Charles complained that 2 of the lost boxes contained birds he had collected.26 By the time they arrived, their importance was decreased by the fact that in the intervening years many birds had been collected by persons passing through these regions, and there were no new specimens among the late arrivals. With all of these pitfalls and more, it is perhaps fortunate that any specimens ever reached Britain at all.

Thus in spite of all the difficulties Kirk faced in making a contribution to ornithology, Charles faced one additional bulwark: his superior officer was in a position to receive, by accident or design, credit for work done by Charles. Nevertheless, as we shall now discover, his work in this field did not go completely unrewarded.

24 Günther's notes in RBGK, Book 1900-4/27, f. 47.
25 DL to J. Hooker, RBGK, African Letters, 1859-1865, vol. lx, no. 179. The younger Hooker was the Gardens' Assistant Director.
26 CL to Fitch, 21 December 1861, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
Rewards at Last. On 30 November 1863 Sir William Hooker, Director of the Kew Gardens, wrote to Lord John Russell, acknowledging the receipt of collections of Kirk and Charles Livingstone, and adding: "They prove, as might be expected, extremely interesting, and both numerous and well preserved, considering the difficulties and the dangers which the Expedition had throughout to contend with." It was roughly a week later that Charles wrote the Foreign Office, requesting his salary be extended and that remuneration be granted him for the photographs he had had printed (p. 257 above), and he further commented that he had since his arrival home been working in the British Museum with the "birds, beasts, fish and insects" he brought with him from Africa, advising the department heads about the skins, their habitats, etc. When his pay was granted, Charles immediately sailed for New York, and perhaps his immediate removal from the scene contributed to the lack of credit he received for his work.

The Foreign Office notified Kirk on 21 January 1864 that 3 cases had arrived from the Zambezi, of which two had been sent to the Kew Gardens, and the third to a friend of Charles', as it contained his personal property. Again, on 25 February 1864, the British Museum thanked Russell for the gift of "Fish, Mammalia, and Birds etc." collected by Dr. Livingstone and

27 FO 97/322, ff. 151-2.
28 Ibid., f. 156.
29 Ibid., f. 180.
recently received. These and subsequent deliveries may well have contained items prepared by Charles, and in fairness to Kirk, they may have contained further specimens of his which were described in his article, unfortunately, the Bird Room Register seems to have no further record of birds received from the Zambezi Expedition at this time. That the British Museum was not thanking Russell belatedly for the collections received from Charles and Kirk the previous December is evident by a letter from the Principal Librarian of the museum to Russell doing just that, dated 7 January, 1864. At any rate, Owen, Hooker and Günther thought well of Charles' work, and less importantly to us but perhaps more so to him, the Government rewarded him with extra pay for his services. He cannot have been less than satisfied.

Before concluding this discussion, let us return our attention to the sole unquestionably documented contribution Charles made to ornithology, the collection of 43 specimens he presented to the British Museum in Russell's name late in 1863, for thereupon hangs a tale.

The first two entries in this list give simply the generic name "Turacus," although at a later date the specific designation "Livingstonei" was added. Kirk wrote of this bird, which

30 FO 97/322, f. 203.

31 Ibid., ff. 166-7. The Principal Librarian's signature seems to read "A. Panmire," but unfortunately, queries directed to the museum both in person and in writing failed to produce the librarian's real name.
he called "Corythaix Livingstonei," as follows:

This species... is peculiar to the mountains south of Lake Nyanza [Malawi], where it was seen by Dr. Livingstone and myself in 1859, when passing to Lake Shirwa. On that occasion we noticed it in the ravine at the foot of the hills within a few miles of the river, but on no subsequent occasion was it seen so low down. It is most common near a hill called Sochi, and in the wooded river-banks of the region near the late Bishop Mackenzie's mission station.32

It is worth noting that while Kirk mentions having seen the bird, he does not claim to have collected it. Much later, Roberts gives a more thorough description of this bird, for which he gives the scientific name "Turacus livingstonii livingstonii," or in English, "Livingstone's Lourie:"

Originally described from Manganja, Nyasaland, it is now known to extend eastwards to the littoral in Boror and southwards to the forests of eastern Southern Rhodesia, with another subspecies in Tanganyika Territory. It frequents the evergreen forests of the mountains and galleries along the rivers below, feeding on berries and fruit and uttering a loud harsh call-note, like a saw operating on split wood, and a purring alarm-note when disturbed.33

The English word "lourie" is significant, for it provides the clue needed to determine the date the bird was collected.

David wrote in his journal on 27 July 1861: "Several specimens of a new kind of lourie secured by C.L."34 While not mentioning Charles, Lovell Procter noted in his journal five days earlier:


34WZBL, p. 186.
"We find a new kind of lorie here. It has [a] red bill, black tail & legs, but the rest of the body bright green together with the topknot along the back of which is a fringe of white feathers, the centre of the wing bright red like the others."\textsuperscript{35} Since David, Charles and Procter were at that time crossing the Shire highlands from the river to the eventual mission site at Magomero, passing the while through Soche's village, there can be no doubt that all sources refer to the same species.

The question remains: for whom was the bird named? In the major work to date on the names of the birds of the world, O.E. Wynne in 1969 derived the name from David Livingstone,\textsuperscript{36} and this has generally been assumed the case by those who pondered the question both before and since. However, Finsch and Hartlaub, who published the first known plate of this bird (see illustration opposite p. 275), and who also refer to it as "Corythaix Livingstonei," note that the first published description of the species was written by G.R. Gray.\textsuperscript{37}


\textsuperscript{36}\textsuperscript{36}O.E. Wynne, \textit{Biographical Key - Names of Birds of the World - to Authors and those Commemorated}, (Fordingbridge, 1969). Not examined; the present writer is grateful to Mr. I.C.J. Galbraith, BM(NH), Tring, for this information.

\textsuperscript{37}\textsuperscript{37}Finsch and G. Hartlaub, \textit{Die Vögel Ost-Afrikas}, (Leipzig und Heidelberg, 1870), pp. 476-7; hereafter \textit{FHVA}. The authors note that 20 years earlier a specimen was brought back from southern Africa and deposited in the Museum of Bologna. Evidently, no one at that time knew African birds well enough to describe it accurately; time has revealed the existence of a number of sub-species, and the earlier specimen may have been such.
As far as Charles is concerned, Gray's description of the bird is monumental:

A new species of the interesting genus Turacus has just been brought by the Rev. C. Livingstone from the Manganja Highlands of East Africa, where it was obtained at an elevation of 3000 or 4000 feet above the sea.

It approaches the Turacus albocristatus in its general appearance, but the crest differs in form, being as it were bicrested; viz. the plumes from the crown are long and narrow, thus forming a crest pointed posteriorly, while those on the occiput are very short and closely set upon it. All the plumes of both parts are tipped with white. The rest of the plumage is very similar to that of Turacus albocristatus; but the feathers of the back and wings are margined with shining golden green instead of bluish green, as is seen on the latter-mentioned species.

I propose the name of Turacus livingstonii, as a slight acknowledgement of that gentleman's merit in adding so interesting a species to our knowledge of this showy genus.38

The reason Roberts repeats "livingstonii" in the bird's name is significant (p. 273 above), for it indicates that subsequently other related species or sub-species were collected, and Peters' Check-list contains five additional "Tauraco livingstonii ——s," which, by implication, owe their scientific names, blissfully unaware though they may be, to Charles Livingstone.39 Peters' name for the bird indicates that Gray was correct in originally ascribing the species to the genus "Turacus," as opposed to "Corythaix," which Kirk and Finsch and Hart-


39 James Lee Peters, Check-list of the Birds of the World, vol. iv, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940), p. 4. The correct spelling of "livingstonii" is such; those using the form with "ei" for an ending are incorrect. Peters' Check-list is a monumental work of several volumes only now nearing completion.
laub preferred. All six subspecies, indeed all eighteen members of the family, are found in Africa south of the Sahara.

To avoid being carried away by the fact that men have named this magnificent bird after one of their own, let us digress a moment to pay further homage to the bird itself. Since its discovery, it has been ascertained that the lourie's range of incidence extends from the mountains east of Lake Malawi through the Shire highlands and on to the mountains dividing Rhodesia from Moçambique. It cannot be seen throughout this entire region, however, as the habitat it prefers is the evergreen forest at relatively high altitudes, and like the majority of tropical birds, it is non-migratory.

However, its many sub-species occupy various habitats within a rough triangle across southern Africa, the apices of which would be near Nairobi, São Paulo do Luanda, and Maputo. Of imposing size at eighteen inches in length and distinctly marked with an unusual crest, this is a creature worthy of human contemplation. After considering such a specimen of wildlife, one can perhaps better appreciate the custom in many pre-literate societies of naming humans after natural phenomena, as opposed to the Western practice of naming natural wonders after themselves.

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The complete scientific name of this species, omitting Kingdom and Phylum, is as follows: Aves (Class), Cuculiformes (Order), Musophagidae (Sub-order), Musophagidae (Family), Tauraco (Genus), Livingstonii (Species), Livingstonii (Sub-species).
Space will not permit the thorough examination of every bird in Charles' list, but one further species deserves our attention. This is the last one on said list, named "Erythrocerus livingstonei," or "Livingstone's Flycatcher." Although both the generic and specific names were added to the list at a later date, we can be certain that this bird was collected by Charles Livingstone.\textsuperscript{41}

The first published description of this species of flycatcher was made by Finsch and Hartlaub in 1870; they credit G.R. Gray with having suspected it to be a distinct species, and having planned to name it accordingly.\textsuperscript{42} Sharpe, however, in his Catalogue, mentions that Finsch and Hartlaub named the bird from a manuscript of Gray's in the British Museum, and this is echoed by Warren and Harrison.\textsuperscript{43} However, a careful


\textsuperscript{42}FHVA, pp. 303-4. When one considers that Livingstone frequently railed against Germans for trying to publish his maps and findings before he himself could do so, it is refreshing to see how careful these men were to honour the hunch of their British colleague. G.R. Gray, \textit{Hand-list of Genera and Species of Birds}, (London, 1869), p. 323, no. 4854 indicates that Gray was still pondering this specimen in 1869.

\textsuperscript{43}R. Bowdler Sharpe, \textit{Catalogue of the Passeriformes}, vol. iv (London, 1879), pp. 298-9; Plate 9, figure 2 of this volume is a colour engraving of this species. Warren and Harrison, note 41 above, p. 305. Enquiries to the British Museum sections in Bloomsbury, Knightsbridge, and Tring failed to produce this Gray manuscript, and it is remotely possible that all are referring to the entry of Charles collection in the Bird Room Register (Appendix D), where the scientific name of the species was added later in another hand.
reading of Finsch and Hartlaub's description reveals no mention of a specific manuscript, but merely indicates that Gray was planning to name the bird thusly. Anyway, the bird was probably named for Charles also, since he collected it, but at this point the issue is merely academic. It may have been named for David, and an extract of its description by Roberts deserves our attention: it is "A very active and restless bird that is continually flitting about in small parties..." 44 Can a more fitting human name than "Livingstone" be bequeathed to such a bird?

Finally, let us add to the record one other species named for a Livingstone, in case the serious ornithologist wishes to pursue this avenue further. In 1867, the Rev. H.B. Tristam proposed the name "Campicola livingstonii" for a species which Kirk in his article referred to as "Campicola pileata." 45 This is the only member of the chat family (Turdidae) Kirk observed in the entire region, and it was seen among the rocks in the Shire rapids.

Two years later, in his hand-list, Gray renamed this bird "Saxicola livingstonii," apparently feeling that both Kirk and Tristam erred in placing it within the genus Campicola.

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44 A subspecies of this bird is named "Erythrocercus livingstonii livingstonii." C.W. Benson, et al., The Birds of Zambia, (London, 1971), p. 275, no. 532; BEJ.

neither name is apparently listed in Peters' massive Check-list, it seems likely that in time this bird was once again renamed, and this time without reference to Livingstone. Although evidence is lacking, we may speculate that it was finally named "Saxicola torquata," the Stonechat seen locally in areas above 3000 feet in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi, and at lower levels in Rhodesia.

By way of conclusion, let it be repeated that Charles Livingstone made a significant contribution to ornithology, which field he apparently took up on his own in the early days of the expedition, and which he stuck with after his work in south-central Africa was completed. The evidence indicates that he was rewarded for his work during his lifetime, and we a century later may now realize that such rewards as he received were entirely justified.
The Trip Home. On 26 April 1863, over five years after he had begun his two-year hitch with the Zambezi Expedition, Charles asked his brother to let him go home. He had long been convinced that the proposed road around the cataracts of the Shire would not be completed, and that the recall of the expedition was forthcoming. Furthermore, conditions in the Shire valley were incredibly depressing: drought, famine and warfare had combined to fill the surrounding hills with desperate refugees, and the river literally ran with dead bodies. Death beckoned: on New Year's Day Henry Scudamore of the U.M.C.A. had died; on 17 March John Dickenson, Medical Officer of that mission died; and on 21 April, Richard Thornton died on board the "Pioneer." And this was not all: Dr. Charles Meller of the "Pioneer" was labouring under a complication of diseases from which he would never recover; Richard Wilson, Abraham Pearce, and Thomas Ma- grath of that ship were all three gravely ill; and blacksmith William Macleod had left the Expedition on 27 February, choosing to go down to the sea alone rather than watch his health further deteriorate. This was the valley of the shadow of death and no mistake, and for Charles, it was time to go home.

He was not well, but suffered from fever and dysentery. Kirk, who had requested to be sent home when on Anjouan the
previous October, was also seriously ill, and David, realizing that his scheme had failed, gave Kirk his leave to go also. The two men packed their personal property and the specimens they had collected, received their final written instructions, and were about to depart, when a final delay intervened. David Livingstone, that absolute paragon of physical strength, took ill on 2 May, and Kirk would not leave while his leader was incapacitated. It took 16 days for David to come around - next day, 19 May 1863, Charles Livingstone and John Kirk began the long trip home. It was to be, at least the first half of it, a nightmare.

They were not alone. Pearce, Magrath, William Saunders and Charles Newell of the "Pioneer" were all invalided home, as was Richard Clark, the shoemaker/tanner of the U.M.C.A. Also in the party were Ali and Mabruki, two Zanzibari men hired by Richard Thornton as his personal servants, who were returning to their island. An unknown number of paddlers and bearers completed the party.

Virtually all of the white men were seriously ill, and Livingstone later wrote: "If a party were all soaked full of malaria at once, the life of the leader of the expedition would be made a burden to him."¹ This is the situation in which John Kirk now found himself, and in addition he was gravely ill himself - in fact, this may have been the most severe attack of malaria, with complications, that Kirk had suffered when on the

¹LNEZ, p. 74.
expedition.

En route down the Shire, the men were plagued by mosquitoes\(^2\) and rain, and rather than attempt to sleep in wet
clothing under a wet tent pitched on wet ground, they chose on
at least one occasion to travel all night long.\(^3\) Upon entering
the Zambezi, they found Shupanga deserted, and at Vianna's they
found everyone drunk, and learned of the deaths of many Portu-
guese from Sena to Quelimane. From the Zambezi they made a
three-mile portage and entered the Kwakwa River (also known as
the Quelimane River or the Mutu Canal). By this time, both Kirk
and Livingstone had improved somewhat in health.

After experiencing delays caused by a shortage of canoes,
the small party made its way toward the sea. It was the first
time Kirk or Charles had ever travelled on this river, and we
can be certain that neither ever wished to repeat the experi-
ence. Pearce, the "Pioneer's" Quartermaster, had an epileptic
fit and became delirious - he had to be forcibly held in the
bottom of the canoe thereafter, and nights for all were sleep-
less. One person had to watch the Quartermaster at all times.
When on land, he rolled about on the wet grass naked, as he
refused to allow himself to be dressed.

\(^2\)A most graphic account of the horror caused by mosquitoes
is found in a short article from the journal of Henry Sewell,
Paymaster, H.M.S. "Gorgon." Written in Feb. - March, 1662, on
the lower Shire River, he tells of men nearly driven mad by the
torture, with the faces of the victims hardly recognizable next

\(^3\)F.Z.J.K., 22 May, 1863, p. 521. Further details in this sec-
tion are also taken from Kirk's journal.
The harried band reached Quelimane on 3 June, and learned that the expedition had been recalled. As there was no money in Livingstone's account with José Nuñes (his Vice-Consul and general agent), Kirk was low on funds, with sick men to house and feed until a British ship came along. Meanwhile, fever broke out anew in Kirk and Charles, and on 4 June Pearce died. In the days that followed, Kirk was confined to bed, Magrath almost died, and Charles' condition is unknown.

On 4 July they left Quelimane with no regrets at parting, and in a small boat reached Moçambique (City) four days later, where the unusual prolongation of the rainy season continued. Here quarters were better, but the disease lingered – Kirk and Charles both developed a quotidian fever, which came intermitently but at regular intervals (Charles' was tertian, thus occurring every three days), and was characterized by a greatly enlarged spleen.

Not until 13 August could they leave Moçambique, and at last they were truly on their way home. After brief visits to Anjouan, Zanzibar, the Seychelles and Aden, they landed at Suez on 24 September. 4 After taking the train across Egypt to Alexandria, they departed that ancient city on the 27th, stopped briefly in Malta, and reached Southampton on 9 October 1863. 5

4 Brief notes on the trip from Moçambique to Zanzibar, covering the period from 12 to 26 August, may be found in Captain Alan Henry Gardner's logbook of H.M.S. "Orestes," on display, SNMDL.

5 Neither Kirk nor Charles mentions having crossed France.
The ordeal of almost 6 months - indeed, of almost 6 years - was over. On the day he arrived in Great Britain, Charles wrote to his wife, saying: "My spleen, which was swollen so as to look like a lady in the interesting state, is now gone down nearly to its natural size." Evidently shipboard food, cabins, and better weather served the men well.

**Accomplishments of the Expedition.** So much has been written about the results of the Zambezi Expedition that a complete discussion would require a full-length study in itself, and we are here concerned with Charles' individual contributions as a member of that team. Nevertheless, the following brief review may prove helpful to those wishing to pursue the matter further.

Politically, the Expedition drew the attention of Britain and much of the Western world to south-central Africa, and intervention in various forms was bound to follow. This was especially true with regards to the Cape Colony, and as such was monumental in determining the recent history of Zambia, Botswana, Rhodesia (which may in time be renamed "Zimbabwe"), and adjacent areas. Even more direct was its influence on Malawi, to which missionaries, traders and settlers came in the wake of Livingstone's wanderings. Portugal's attention was

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6 CL - HCL, undated fragment (9 October 1863), 05/4.
7 CKoz, pp. 260 et passim.
8 PNHO, pp. 54-56; see also Pachai's other works on the history of Malawi and/or David Livingstone.
again drawn to the vast corridor separating Angola from Mozambique, and although this region eventually fell prey to Cecil Rhodes, Portugal's reforms in these two southern colonies were not instigated in vain. Finally, the Expedition and Livingstone's later travels had a profound effect on Zanzibar and adjacent regions to the northeast, for here Great Britain emerged as the "most favoured nation," and the Consulship of John Kirk presided over the decline of the east branch of the African slave trade.

The scientific accomplishments of the expedition are also noteworthy. In addition to the work by Charles discussed at length above, Kirk of course made major contributions to botany and to several branches of zoology, and Thornton's work with mapmaking and geology was not completely unproductive. The men made many reports on the peoples they visited, plus the flora, fauna, and avifauna of the region, and these were all contributions to man's understanding of his fellow man and his world. And while Baines apparently did not write a great deal while on the Expedition, his paintings, drawings and sketches provide a massive statement of Tete and its environs as he found them.

In his own day, Livingstone was convinced that his expedition was a failure, and of course by his standards, it was. He saw no station established beyond the Xafue, no road built

9Bosazza (BLPN, Chapter xvii) discusses the mapmaking and other scientific accomplishments of the expedition.
around the Shire cataracts, no permanent mission station founded in the Shire highlands, and no British colony taking shape in any of the new regions he visited. He could only have hoped that someday, some of these would come to pass; he could not have known that all of this and more would eventually be realized, as a direct result of his vast personal influence.

In at least two ways, however, Livingstone was content, and even proud. When on this expedition, he and his men had "discovered" the upper Shire valley, Lake Shirwa and Lake Malawi; had explored a considerable portion of the latter lake and its hinterland; and had ascended the Ruvuma River well further than any Briton (at least) had done previously. In addition, he carried out the first systematic measurement of the Victoria Falls, one of the Earth's natural wonders. These were major contributions to geography, and Livingstone knew it.

True to his original calling, however, Livingstone was proudest of the medical knowledge he advanced in conjunction with John Kirk. Among other things, they showed erroneous the widespread belief (held in the very highest British medical circles) that quinine was an effective preventative of malaria, but further indicated that it was a necessary element in the cure. They recorded a number of previously unknown tropical diseases, including blackwater fever, and dealt with an incalculable number of rashes, irritations, and other epidermitological ills.

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Like the great Darwin before him, Livingstone did not hesitate to expose a bared limb to the bite of an unknown insect, in an effort to evaluate the effect of the venom on the human system. While undoubtedly far from being one of the great figures in the history of medicine, Livingstone's medical research in Africa was significant; and unlike some other medically-oriented explorers, he used his skills to benefit Africans as well as Europeans.\textsuperscript{11} Livingstone's pride in the medical record of his expedition, which showed a much lower mortality rate than that of several previous British expeditions to Africa,\textsuperscript{12} was entirely justified. All in all, the time spent in Africa by the men on the Zambezi Expedition was not spent in vain.

\textbf{Charles' Duties: Fulfilled or Not?} As he was approaching the end of his edition of Livingstone's Zambezi journals, Wallis could not forbear a final remark defaming Charles Livingstone:

\begin{quote}
The contrast between his responsibilities, as set out with marked emphasis in the letter of instructions, and his complete failure to come anywhere near the fulfilment of them is strikingly manifest in later pages in the journals and elsewhere.\textsuperscript{13}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{12}\textemdash An excellent summary of the mortality rates of previous British expeditions to Africa is in GLTD, Appendix C, pp. 297-303 (reprinted from the Lancet, 24 August 1861). Mortality rates for the Zambezi Expedition and the U.M.C.A. are in Gelfand's article in \textit{ELMA} (note 10 above), p. 187.

\textsuperscript{13}WZKL, p. 412.
In the version of Charles' instructions which appear 19 pages later, there are five paragraphs instructing Charles to perform specific duties, and they are, respectively; to keep the chronometers running, make observations on Terrestrial magnetism, purchase buaze and cotton, take photographs of people and natural phenomena, and "take the greatest care of your health."\(^{14}\) We have seen above that his work with magnetism, cotton and photography was in each case performed conscientiously and as well as the vicissitudes of time and space would allow, and that although he was accused by Bedingfeld of negligence with regard to the chronometers, the final verdict was "not proven." Thereafter, Charles did not have the absolute control of these sensitive timepieces: Kirk mentions that Rae was left in Tete to keep them running,\(^{15}\) and at other times this duty was probably shared by any of the seamen who were from time to time attached to the Expedition.

In addition to the tasks assigned, we have also seen that Charles did a great deal of work with ornithology for which he was totally unprepared; no doubt he learned his basic taxidermy from Kirk in the field. Much of his time was taken up by more mundane tasks: the journals are rife with reports of his hunting for the common pot, and one visitor mentions his bartering

\(^{14}\) *WZEL*, pp. 431-2, which is essentially no different from the original in OCL00. In paragraph 3 of David's instructions from the Foreign Office, Charles was only ordered to work with cotton and be David's "general assistant;" FO 63/842, ff. 204-20.

\(^{15}\) *FEJK*, 17 March 1859, p. 157.
for food with the Africans. He also did a great deal of copying of his brother’s papers, and he found time to write a number of original reports which remain valuable today for their record of the first contact between European and African.

There were other ways he occupied his time: Kirk refers to him, albeit sarcastically, as being "Minister, teacher, tailor, and perhaps a few other things." As a clergyman, he took an interest in the spiritual lives of the Europeans which David refused to show, and in addition to holding Sabbath services he also at time led the men at vespers.

In the line of teaching, he "tried to teach some of the Makololu Do, Re, Mi, etc.," and for the past week he had been teaching them "The Campbells are coming" (which they liked!) and the Lord’s Prayer, plus Genesis chapters 1-3 in SeTswana. And later, when writing in reference to the 50-odd Kololo who were led home in 1660, he wrote:

They had been taught some religious truths, had often heard of the Redeemer of mankind and the way of Salvation through him. All could repeat the Lord’s prayer in their own language, and some knew the creed too.

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Evidently Charles had some satisfaction with his teaching. As far as his work as tailor is concerned, no further details are available, but it can be imagined that he repaired clothes, sails, canvas, etc. as required.

Thus the evidence indicates that he fulfilled the duties enumerated in his instructions, and accomplished more besides, and perhaps the remark quoted from Wallis at the beginning of this section may fairly be deemed due for revision.

**The Moral Agent.** Many writers have abused Charles for not having functioned as a "moral agent" while on the Expedition (although we have just seen that he did some proselytizing when he had the chance), and as always, we find Wallis in the vanguard of the critics. With reference to David's written instructions to Charles, Wallis wrote:

> Notable, too, is the fact that no mention is made of Charles as 'moral agent,' as if this were an after-thought invented for the published Narrative to warrant his presence in the Expedition.\(^1\)

Another critic, this one usually more reliable, wrote that David listened to what Charles the Moral Agent told him, accepted his often inaccurate and sometimes unbalanced judgements on persons and situations, took note of his gossip about the crew; and thereby committed some of his mistakes.\(^2\)

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\(^{1}\)WZEL, p. 412. The present writer has found no reference to Charles the "moral agent" in said Narrative.

\(^{2}\)COWG, p. 26. To this charge but in another context, Livingstone replied: "I am just the weakling to be so led."
Several other writers take a similar viewpoint, but further repetition of the point is hardly necessary.

The phrase "moral agent" is very overworked, and requires closer examination. Evidently, it was used only once in the official papers of the day: when David Livingstone originally recommended his brother for a position on the expedition, he suggested to Lord Clarendon that Charles serve as "general assistant and moral agent."23 The implication was that once the Expedition headquarters and trading post was established in the Batoka highlands, Charles would act as a Christian missionary toward whatever Africans were in the region, whether settled peoples or itinerant traders.

However, when Clarendon replied with David's instructions, he merely mentioned Charles' role as "general assistant."24 Evidently, Clarendon did not think the phrase "moral agent" as appropriate for describing a member of a government expedition.25 And in his address to the R.G.S., Murchison refers to Charles' position as "secretary and superintendent," and indicates that he would serve his brother as required and take charge of the central depot.26

23 7 January 1858, FO 63/842, ff. 60-68.

24 20 February 1858, FO 63/842, ff. 204-220. Incidentally, these instructions are addressed to "Andrew Livingstone, Esq."

25 The vagueness of the phrase is attested in a memo by John Washington estimating various costs of the venture: he refers to Charles as "General Assistant and Mail Agent:" FO 63/842, f. 113, 29 January 1858.

Wallis is indeed correct in noting that David's instructions to Charles make no mention of his functioning in that particular capacity, because long before the expedition sailed, that phrase had been dropped from the official paperwork. However, Coupland noted the phrase when preparing his work on Kirk - and perhaps David used it in private letters - and since Coupland took Charles to task for this "failing," most writers since seemed to have assumed that Charles was supposed to be a "Moral Agent" on the Zambezi, and because he did not, he was derelict, etc. Of course the Kafue, for all practical purposes, was never reached by the Expedition, so Charles could have been excused on those grounds, but he wasn't. In the final analysis, since neither David's nor Charles' instructions exhorted the latter to act as a moral agent (whatever that implies), Charles cannot be blamed for failing to do so.

Health. This brings the discussion to the final paragraph of Charles' instructions, which enjoined him to exercise judgement with regards to his health. Blaikie referred to Charles as having been "always delicate,"\(^\text{27}\) and we have seen that when in Ohio he contracted pleurisy, which almost took his life, and left a permanent mark on his lungs. In addition, he had been long troubled by a nervous insomnia, and indeed a main reason for his going to Africa was to regain his health; to Harriette he wrote: "You need not dread the fever - where we go there is

\(^{27}\text{HWGL, p. 89.}\)
none - not even a headache."28 After his first round with malaria on Nyika Island, which his brother dismissed as a common cold, Charles looked sharp to his health whenever possible, and avoided the terrible mistake made repeatedly by Baines of pushing himself beyond his physical limits.

David no doubt realized that the pleurisy had weakened Charles, and after leaving him on Nyika Island as long as was practical,29 David took him up to Tete immediately and deposed him there. Thus while the others had to make several trips to and from on the river, loading and unloading the ship, heaving her over sandbanks, etc., Charles had the less strenuous tasks of taking magnetic observations and photographs in the base camps. Kirk certainly resented this, and branded Charles "lazy."

In his first really strenuous effort, the exploration of Cabora Bassa in late November 1858 - the roughest piece of travelling his pedestrian brother ever experienced (to date, at least) - Charles quickly succumbed to exhaustion and fever. Unlike Thornton, who gave up and had to return, Charles dragged himself along, and could inform his wife (after continually telling her of his failure to keep up): "Terribly rough

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28 GL - HGL, 26 July 1857, 65/34. Had he gone to the Kala-hari fringes David knew so well, his health probably would have improved, but the Zambezi-Shire system is a different climate.

29 He was there from 18 June to 13 August 1858 (except for 23-25 June, when he was on board the "Pearl"), more than any other member of the Expedition, with the possible exception of Kruman Tom Will.
travelling - my shoes are done for... [but] I begin to get used to travelling - suffered fearfully the first 2 days, but each day after less + less." Still weak but improving, he went as far into this wilderness as anyone, until when on the return trip David decided to go back and examine further and Kirk volunteered to accompany him. By the time Charles "toughened up" and became acclimatized, Kirk's journal was already rank with comments on Charles' laziness and weakness.

After this effort, Charles remained in Tete over six months, with the exception of the two week trip he and Baines made back to Cabora Bassa in January, 1859, which trip ruined the health of both men temporarily. In August and September of that year, Charles accompanied David, Kirk and Rae across the Shire highlands to Lake Malawi and back, and was totally exhausted by the time they reached Mt. Zomba. He was also suffering from malaria, and had to rest in a village while David and Kirk tried to attain the summit, and at this time Kirk wrote: "Mr. C.L., not being accustomed to such work, was often sick for several days." Some have chosen to assume that this indicates that Charles was not accustomed to any work, but Kirk is saying that Charles was unused to long periods of tramping over rough terrain, which, when compared to Kirk, he was.

Up to this time, Kirk had enjoyed almost perfect health, but at this very juncture he caught malaria for the first time.

30 CL - KCL, jnl/letter G5/10, entry for 28 November 1858.
31 John to Alex. Kirk, 29 November 1859, FZJK, pp. 537-8.
and for the rest of his tenure in the region was susceptible to serious bouts of illness. Also, for the remainder of their time together, Kirk's opinion of Charles improved. David's first major attack came the following Spring, and thereafter he was not as spry as he had been, and on the remaining jaunts made by the men, each had his chance to delay progress by virtue of illness. Nevertheless, it does seem that Charles was more prone to malaria than his two stronger companions - due to the pleurisy perhaps - but what he lacked physically he made up for with determination, for he almost always went where they did. Of the thirty-five men who served on the Expedition, plus the personnel of the U.M.C.A., only one person - the indomitable David Livingstone himself - served in the region longer than he did.32 Like his brother, Charles was made of tough fibre, and all things considered, he cannot be faulted for failing to carry out the final paragraph of his instructions, or any of the previous paragraphs for that matter.

Compassion. There are other phases of Charles Livingstone's experience on this Expedition which warrant inclusion at this time, because they were contributions to the work of the enterprise, but more importantly because they reveal something about the nature of the man. The following three sections fall into this category.

David Livingstone frequently said "Depend on it, a kind

32To the day, Kirk and Charles drew for second in this category.
word or deed is never lost [upon Africans]," and no doubt as a clergyman Charles was aware of this himself: at any rate, the following anecdote throws that statement into dramatic relief.

In the Narrative, David wrote:

While Charles Livingstone was at Kebrabasa during the rainy season, a hungry, shivering native traveller was made a comrade for life... by some food and a small piece of cloth. Eighteen months later, while on our journey to the interior, a man came into our camp, bringing a liberal present of rice, meal, beer and a fowl, and reminding us of what had been done for him (which Charles Livingstone had entirely forgotten), said that now seeing us travelling, he 'did not like to see us sleep hungry or thirsty.'

Charles himself wrote an account of the incident, which took place on 27 or 28 January, 1859:

> I found three fishermen in a cave, made friends with them by giving them some of the dinner my men cooked for me... [they] told me when the river is full there is no cataract - all is smooth.

At a time when Thornton, like E.D. Young a few years later, was gaining a reputation for cruelty to Africans, Charles was sharing his food with them, in a section of Africa where food was often scarce.

It is unfortunate that Charles made no mention of the sequel in his letters to Harriette, and curious that David apparently failed to mention it in his journal. There is

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33. Inez, p. 149.

34. CL - HCL, 5 Feb. 1859, 05/11. He adds that the men shared their catch with him, and their opinion of the river may explain why he at first thought the river navigable, while Baines did not. He later changed his mind: CL-HCL, 28 Nov. 1860, 05/61.

35. See SDLR, p. 108, and DL to Gardiner, 15 Oct. 1862, UCL.

36. He may have omitted it as he was upset with Charles in mid-1860.
always the possibility that it occurred on the trip from - rather than to - Sesheke; the Narrative contains a host of inaccuracies, and there is apparently no contemporary record, but if so, it was a timely gesture, for in late October and early November, 1860, the men were truly starving. One sentence of Kirk's illustrates their plight all too graphically: "I felt considerably refreshed by sucking the husk of the motunda fruit which someone had eaten before us."  

And while commending Charles for his virtue, let us not neglect this unnamed African fisherman. In a European literature filled with reference to and examples of the supposedly universal lack of gratitude among Africans, his example to the contrary stands out, after which he vanished into the landscape and out of history.

Wooding. It frequently became Charles' lot, especially after 1859, to lead the wooding parties which were required to fell and cut the fuel needed to keep the steam vessels running. A rugged work it was - it usually took 1½ days work to cut enough wood to supply the steamer with fuel for 1 day's sailing, and in a land where wood was often at a premium, it frequently had to be dragged a mile or more to reach the ship. In writing

37 FZJK, 17 November 1860, p. 306.

38 "gratitude, as white men know it, is not a general trait in natives." Wallis, introducing WJLS, x.

39 DC16, 19-23 Feb. 1862, pp. 220-228 tells of such a party.

40 DL to José Nuñes, 17 August 1858, NARS, LI 1/1/1, p. 870.
to a friend, David said that their time was spent in cutting
wood,\textsuperscript{41} and surprising though: that may seem, it was no exag¬
geration.

On at least one such occasion, Charles was called upon to
exercise decisive leadership. This occurred during the exped¬
tion's first attempt to ascend the Ruvuma River, on 14 March
1861, when the party was approximately 25 miles from Ruvuma
Bay. The wooding party consisted of Charles, the Engineer of
the "Pioneer" Charles Hardesty, and an undetermined number of
Kalolo, of whom Mobita was present headman.\textsuperscript{42} While the men
were procuring fuel, a party of Afro-Arabs arrived, armed with
muskets and spears,\textsuperscript{43} and offered vegetables for sale. On the
spur of the moment, they demanded payment for the wood being
cut, and Charles "offered to give it provided that they the Afro-Arabs] should cut the wood."\textsuperscript{44} When the local people
became forceful and unruly, and began to take the wood from his
men, Charles "sent off [Hardesty in] a boat to the ship to
bring his revolver, and the muskets of the Makololo."\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{41}DL to E. Gabriel, 7 October 1858, BLJS, Book no. 6745.

\textsuperscript{42}Mobita had accompanied David from Linyanti to Loanda and
back in 1853-55.

\textsuperscript{43}DL to Wm. Logan, 22 April 1861, The Christian News (Glas¬
gow), 20 July 1861, p. 3. The present writer is grateful to Mr.
Richard A.G. Dupuis, of London, for this reference.

\textsuperscript{44}DL to Sir George Gray, 4 April 1861, AuPL.

\textsuperscript{45}Henry Rowley, The Story of the Universities' Mission to
Realizing that Charles was no pushover, and that the Kololo were not to be taken lightly, the aggressors fled precipitately, even leaving behind the food they had brought to sell. Mobita was inclined to maintain pursuit with a boarding pike, and desisted only after Charles called him back. In time, the Afro-Arabs returned, thoroughly chastened and pacified, and were duly paid for the food. They discreetly made no mention of the wood.

This was probably Charles' first brush with "action" in Africa, and while hardly a major confrontation, it does illustrate that he could lead effectively when called upon to do so. The show of force had some significance:

But for this little show of pluck we should have had the company of those half-castes at every village, fines levied on every possible pretext, and the word passed beyond their beat that we were a herd of she asses to be milked for the public benefit.

And perhaps more importantly, Charles undoubtedly learned a few things that served him well a few short months later.

Fighting the Slave Trade. The Livingstone brothers had encountered a number of slaving parties prior to the major confrontation which took place in the Shire highlands - they had met and traded souvenirs with one such group when visiting Lake

46 CL to F. Pitch, 18 April 1861, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
47 Rowley gives the most complete account of this incident; Kirk mentions it very sketchily, with no reference to Charles; David mentions it neither in his journal nor the Narrative.
48 DL to Sir George Gray, 4 April 1861, AUFL.
Malawi in September, 1859, and had seen groups of African women sold at Tete being led off into the interior. However, in July 1861, for the first time, David — perhaps partly out of personal frustration at the way his dreams were not materializing — lashed out physically at what he later called "this trade of hell." This reflexive action was so sudden that Bishop MacKenzie and two members of his mission, who were bathing in a nearby stream, were unaware of what had taken place until after the dust had settled. In the brief skirmish, the men of the Expedition and their auxiliaries had freed 84 Africans who had been chained and bound for the markets of Kilwa and Zanzibar, or perhaps the island of Bourbon (Réunion). As one of those involved, Charles no doubt had his share of the action. In a lesser-publicized incident two days later, Charles was instrumental in the freeing of at least six persons who were being held in Mongazi's village, pending sale. According to Chadwick,

Charles Livingstone seized 6 more slaves (three women and three boys) at Mongazi's village, and told the tipsy old chieftain that if they found him selling his people they would burn his village and drive him from the land.

Bishop MacKenzie in his journal shed more light on this action:

49 LNEZ, p. 392.
50 BLJP, 16 July 1861, p. 82.
51 Procter lists 56 in all, and he fails to mention Rowley, Alfred Adams and Samuel Gamble: BLJP, 15 July 1861, p. 81.
52 CONG, p. 49; SGD, p. 390 credits David Livingstone and Bishop MacKenzie with freeing these six Africans.
"Oh. Liv. + Waller had surprised 2 slave drivers [with] 4 guns + freed three boys, three women, and perhaps two [more] besides."\textsuperscript{53}

Charles has little to say about this incident, but he opens the topic with a melodramatic phrase better suited to Tombstone, Arizona than the Shire highlands: "I walked into Mongazi's at the head of my party with a loaded six-shooter in my hand..."\textsuperscript{54} Waller wrote a more detailed account in his journal, recording that he and Charles "headed one division and pushed on hard through the beautiful pass of Bangue and Pengue," approaching Mongazi's at 4, and "marched straight in." A group of 300 men in the open space quickly fell silent, + in searching the huts Charles and Waller found three women tied together. They put the slave dealers into a guarded hut, and later found 3 more slaves hiding among the trees.\textsuperscript{55}

Obviously, there is no reason to believe that Charles acted either single-handedly or heroically - Waller was a capable man and they would have been accompanied by a strong contingent of Africans - but he did help free at least six more people, and that is significant.

What followed is indeed intriguing. By this time, the party of explorers and missionaries had split into several smaller groups and were moving in all directions chasing

\textsuperscript{53}18 July 1861, USPG.
\textsuperscript{54}CL-HCL, 15-23 July 1861, entry for 18 July, 05/75.
\textsuperscript{55}18 July 1861, in journal 6 (15 July–12 November 1861), entry for 18 July, Waller Papers, MSS. Afr. s. 16, vol. iv, RHLQ.
Of the next encounter, Charles wrote in much greater detail:

On Monday [22 July] we left Chigunda's and met crowds of fugitives fleeing from the war. While breakfasting at Rongwe's we heard of a large slave party a few miles west. So some of us went to take them. We came on them just after they had entered a village. All their goods, guns etc. lay at the foot of a large fig tree and the slaves some 50 or 60 seated in front of them. I went up to the dealers and could easily have secured them but the cowardly Makololo and Senna men who were only thinking of plunder made a dash at the goods. The slaves rose up in a panic and fled to the woods. Two or three of our greatest cowards fired. Knocking some over and punching the ears of others with my revolver, I stopped the plundering and firing as speedily as possible. Most of the slaves came back. We took a good deal of cloth, "Lowell Sheetig," beads, brass rings, some guns and powder. I took the cloth and gave each slave woman a large fathom, clothed the girls, boys, and men. We transferred two of the slave forked sticks from the necks of two poor fellows to the necks of two of the slave drivers. They gave two fathoms of cloth for a man, 1 1/2 for a woman, and 1 or less for a boy or girl. We returned with our captives to Rongwe's.

Coming as it did six days after the first foray in which 84 persons were freed, this event was evidently regarded as anti-climatic by those concerned as well as posterity, yet it resulted in the freeing of a substantial number of people.

David Livingstone was there, and his comment is indeed brief:

56 Kirk, for example was back on the Shire, chasing slavers in the "Pioneer," and William Rowe, a stoker loaned the expedition by H.M.S. "Lynx," was in another part of the highlands, where he and his companions were instrumental in liberating eight more would-be slaves.

57 OL - HCL, 15-23 July 1861, entry of 22 July, 05/75. Coming from Massachusetts, Harriette would have been amused to learn of the "Lowell Sheetig." The Senna men had been loaned to the expedition by Anselmo Henrique Ferrão, Livingstone's friend in Sena. The reading of the word "ears" is dubious.
22nd [July, 1861] Left Chigunda's and in three hours came to Murongue's at Manyanga and were informed that a party of Tette people [slave traders] had passed that morning; followed. We got them 4 miles west and liberated about 43 captives.\(^5^8\)

Another version was recorded by Procter, who only learned what transpired several days later:

Shortly before arriving at the place they (the Dr., Bishop and the rest) captured one, who told them that in it [the village] were three of his companions with a band of about 50 slaves. These they succeeded in taking with the three others, but some of the Senna men foolishly beginning to fire on entering the village, a good number of the slaves being frightened, escaped into the bush, 43 or 44 taken.\(^5^9\)

Mackenzie’s journal gives no additional details of this incident.

Charles’ account reads almost like a one-man effort, and is unusual in that he was not in the habit of bragging to his wife. In fact, Rowley’s published version of the encounter while wooding on the Ruvuma was longer and more detailed than the version Charles wrote home, and also, Charles’ story of his freeing six slaves with Waller was sketchy at best. This time he wrote in unusual detail, and it seems reasonable to believe what he says. Certainly he implies that he was not acting single-handedly, and it may be that in the mêlée David subdued the guards while Mackenzie rounded up the slaves cowering in the woods, or whatever – under those circumstances, who played which role might well have depended upon whom was standing where with what in his hands when the action began. Whatever may have been the case, Charles, both figuratively and literally struck another blow at the inhuman traffic in humans, with conviction.

\(^{58}\) \textit{WZEL}, p. 185. \quad \(^{59}\) \textit{BLJP}, 30 July 1861, p. 92.
General Observations. From these specific examples of Charles' adventures, let us turn once again to general considerations of his Zambezi-Shire experience. Although it has been averred above that Charles probably argued vehemently with no member of the expedition except his brother, the conclusion that he was unpopular with the others is inescapable. Certainly he had very little in common with the rest of them, and Chadwick has written:

More than anyone on the river-steamer he longed for home, for his wife and family. He would brood over photographs of his wife and children with an intensity of homesickness, he dreamt of them at night, their images kept recurring to him in the day.60

Chadwick failed to point out, however, that of Charles' six original fellow expedition members, four were single, one was recently married (Bedingfeld), and only the Commander had a wife and children. By this time David had lived apart from his family for over four years, yet his journals still indicate occasional loneliness for his wife and children.61 Kirk of course frequently wished he could go home to his brothers and mother: indeed, such sentiments are not unusual, they are in fact normal. There is nothing in the available evidence to indicate that Charles' longing for home was either abnormal or

60 Comg., p. 26. Similar thoughts are repeated in RLLN, pp. 85-6 and JTHi, p. 199.

61 In a letter to Miss Coutts, David wrote of the "bitter parting ceremonies" with his children, his efforts to make them smile, and he mentioned that when the railway carriage did not move away promptly, the tears came in spite of his efforts to restrain them; 4 March 1858: the present writer is grateful to Mrs. Edna Healey of London for this reference.
distracted him from his duties - and it could be that he simply felt freer than the others to mention his emotions in letters.

While the highly expurgated version of James Stewart's journal indicates a strong dislike for Charles, it fails to show what the original makes very clear: Charles was perhaps the victim of Rae's loose tongue. Before ever seeing the Zambezi, Stewart heard Rae's version of the series of quarrels between the brothers in 1860, and Stewart resolved in his journal "Let me keep all this in mind when I meet him [i.e. Charles]."62 Stewart did, and it is hardly surprising that he and Charles clashed immediately. Only two days after his arrival on the Zambezi, Stewart wrote: "At noon through, I fancy, the meddlesome interference of C. Livingstone, I was sent to remove some of my boxes ashore."63

Of course Stewart's hasty conclusion may have been in error, but in time Charles does lodge a complaint against Stewart which is seemingly relevant. When discussing the problems caused by the arrival of the missionaries, he wrote: "They take care of their own boxes as this Stewart tried to do by turning our boxes out into the rain."64 Having seen too much

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62 Journal, 17 January 1862, NARS, ST 1/2/1. It is very curious that Stewart complained all the way from Cape Town about Rae's gossip behind his back, yet on this and subsequent occasions (30 Mar; 5 Apr. 1862, WZJS, pp. 39-40 and 43-48) he believed Rae's words about Charles completely.

63 WZJS, 3 Feb. 1862, p. 3. Evidently Stewart travelled heavily: "Mrs. L. gave me a note referring to my bulk of luggage. I was asked to reduce it to two packages." jnl, 14 Apr. 1862.

64 CL to F. Fitch, 16 March 1862, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
Expedition and personal property destroyed by rain and damp, Charles was protecting Government property. Stewart was not very appreciative, and he seems never to have said or written a kind or gentle word about Charles. What Wallis in his poor edition of Stewart's journal failed to indicate (by a staggering amount of censorship), was that the journal as written is filled with invective against just about everyone, including Mary Livingstone. To have been unpopular with James Stewart is no distinction.

It has also been written that Charles did not like the men of the U.M.C.A.: Stewart wrote that Procter "Mentioned the universal dislike of everyone to Charles Livingstone. Even the Bishop, who tried to like every one, was obliged to confess that he failed in that case, even after trying."65 While one would have expected Charles to befriend the men of the U.M.C.A., as he was mission-oriented, he withheld his unqualified admiration: "We have no room [in our ship] for these missionaries. They eat up all our nice things, and we can't get them replaced."66

To his wife, Charles complained: "An exploring ship is not a place for missionaries real or false. We have no room and they always contrive to get their own things out of the rain, even if our things are exposed."67 He goes on in this letter

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65 WZJS, 8 Sep. 1862, p. 120; not mentioned in BLJP, p. 333.
66 CL to F. Pitch, 16 March 1862, NARS, LI 3/1/1.
67 CL-HCL, 17 March 1862, G5/80; in Feb., 1862 David began referring to his ship as "H.M. Exploring Ship Pioneer."
to decry how the mission people wrote from Magomero that they were dangerously low on provisions, but when Captain John Wilson (of H.M.S. "Gorgon") and John Kirk completed a grueling journey to bring relief — on which trip Wilson very nearly died, and Kirk was too ill to crawl — they found the missionaries fat, and well provided with tea, coffee, preserved meats, goats, fowls, native meal, etc. And Charles writes on:

If they [the missionaries] had been with us on Lake Nyassa they would have known what hunger really was. That trip was the most trying we ever had. It made the white hairs start in my whiskers and beard.

And the men of the Expedition had other reasons to resent the missionaries. For example, upon examining the gear the missionary ladies brought on the "Hetty Ellen," Devereux wrote: "I never saw people so superficially provided," adding that they were "gorged with luxuries regardless of expense," and he suspected that many of their goods, including two lounge chairs for the yet-to-be-constructed "Lady Nyassa," would have to be abandoned. Anne Mackenzie, the chief offender in this case, thought otherwise: "Dr. Liv. I was told opened his eyes at the quantity [of gear] but I thought I had been moderate."

68 Kirk's opinion is found in FZJK, 5 March 1862, p. 423, and he and Charles were not alone in condemning the missionaries: "I have never yet [heard] a good word from any member of the Expedition on behalf of the Mission party or of any member of it." W3JS, 29 June 1862, p. 77.


70 DC1G, p. 182. Devereux was the "Gorgon's" Asst. Paymaster.

71 Journal, 7 February 1862, USPG.
Indeed, one can hardly avoid getting the impression that the mission party which arrived in January, 1862 was of a completely different nature from the vanguard who were with Charles Mackenzie during the previous year, and it seems that the guiding influence of the later arrivals was the bishop's own sister Anne. Apparently she carried with her an arrogant and snobbish frame of mind, buttressed by the conviction that she was bound to convene Christ's court in deepest dark Africa, as the right hand of her semi-divine brother - a contrast not only with Mackenzie himself, but also with the quiet compassion and extraordinary patience radiated by Emily Unwin Moffat at this very time in the lair of Mzilikazi far to the southwest. Little wonder that both the Livingstone brothers were offended by this brash and presumptuous intrusion. Even Kirk wrote: "The bishop's men have been very inconsiderate in some of their doings."\(^ {72} \)

But Charles had been offended by the missionaries even prior to the arrival of this second wave, for on 9 January 1862 he wrote to Mrs. Frederick Fitch, telling how late one night while the rest slept, Procter was caught "in the jampots" by the officer of the watch, and they all suspected that he surreptitiously ate the supply of dates in the Expedition's stores. Kirk went so far as to set a trap for the culprit.\(^ {73} \)

\(^ {72} \)John to Alex. Kirk, 5 February 1862, FJK, p. 567.

\(^ {73} \)NARS, LI 3/1/1. This incident probably took place during the voyage from Johanna to Chibisa's, between 8 April and 8 July 1861. Mrs. Fitch's given name is unknown.
If Charles himself was the officer of the watch, there is no doubt Procter would have failed to appreciate his reaction, and even if not, Charles may well have confronted Procter for his behavior. Thus Procter's remark on Charles' unpopularity must be taken with a generous grain of salt. Furthermore, Charles' letters show he was very fond of both Mackenzie and Henry Scudamore, and he evidently thought well of both Rowley and Waller.74

Charles' greatest drawback seems to have been a bad temper. He certainly lost control at Sinamani's in 1860, with near-fatal consequences: an African raised his spear against Charles but did not strike, causing Kirk to remark: "I never expected so much moderation among savages."75 Surprisingly, there is nothing to indicate that Charles lost his composure so drastically at any other time during the Expedition - certainly he was frequently impatient and irritated, but if he ever acted so rashly on another occasion, no one bothered to record it. Perhaps one of the most accurate of statements ever written about Charles Livingstone is from the pen of none other than Richard Thornton, who wrote, after he had known Charles for about six months: "Mr. Charles Livingstone is 6 feet of worn out pepper and salt clothes, with a long face which does suit the natives, but quiet when nothing crosses him and works well at odd jobs."76 It may well be that the phrase "quiet when

74COMG, p. 41.  75FZJK, 27 November 1860, p. 310.

76Thornton to his sister Kitty, 27 September 1858, BLPN, Chapter 3, p. 3.
nothing crosses him” provides a significant key to the understanding of his character.

Among the many other things which set him apart from his companions was the seventeen years he had spent in the United States - a longer period than his brother (up to that time) had spent in Africa. During his first visit ever to London, he wrote to his wife: "Everyone takes me for a Yankee. Isn't it rather trying to be regarded as a Scotchman in America and a Yankee in my native land. Why it seems as if I had no country at all."77 It seems as though his speech had changed in America, for brother John told him that their mother could not understand half of what Charles said.78 It seems hardly disputable that when in the United States Charles learned many new ways of thinking and behaving that his Zambezi Expedition partners would have found distasteful, and from both David's and Kirk's journals it is unmistakably clear that after 1860 Charles withdrew from the others, and kept to himself. Often he would "wander in the bush" or walk along the shore while the others made progress in the boat.

When Charles lived in Massachusetts, the two most influential resident philosophers were the great Ralph Waldo Emerson and the even greater Henry David Thoreau, and their effort to introduce elements of oriental thinking which stressed

77 CL - HCL, 7 May 1857, 05/23.
78 CL - HCL, 17 June 1857, 06/29.
simplicity and tranquillity into the main stream of American thought earned for them and their followers the sobriquet "transcendentalists." Charles was assuredly not of their school, but he may have been influenced by it. In the most monumental work produced by either of the two men, Thoreau wrote: "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away." 79 Charles may have listened to a different drum.

There were of course other reasons why the men of the Expedition did not get on well. Before the "Pearl" even left Birkenhead, David wrote to his brother-in-law: "Coop men up in a miserable tub and then 'alas they quarrel.' Of course they do, and ought to do. The only fault I can find with them is that they don't abuse the right persons but each other." 80 And so it came to pass; the "Ma-Robert" leaked from all directions, and no one could find a tear when it finally sank.

And Fate is not always cooperative. In a speech before the R.G.S., Livingstone said: "I would also say with our Scotch

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79 H.D. Thoreau, Walden, (Boston, 1854). Only four years Charles' senior, Thoreau lectured throughout eastern Mass., and Charles may have met him or heard him speak. In a like manner, it may be of interest that nearby lived Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose monumental Uncle Tom's Cabin (Boston, 1852) may well have influenced the thinking of both Charles and his wife.

poet Burns: 'The best laid schemes o' mice an' men, gang aft-a-gley.' There may be some little hitch; we may meet with some misfortune, with something we do not expect. But we mean to do our best, and we are determined to do our duty." Many of the hitches were not so little.

And along with the physical problems came the psychological ones:

Isolation in the midst of tribalism created serious psychological problems for these early pioneers. Relations among Europeans and between the races were beset with petty hatreds, personal animosities, and suspicion. In part this was due to malaria. When an attack of fever was coming on, claimed Dr. Robert Laws, 'things look black and gloomy, the actions of companions are sure to appear distorted and their motives apt to be misconstrued. It was doubtless this aspect of malaria which produced what the veteran missionary W.P. Johnson called a 'very trying' and 'fairly common' illness - an abnormal degree of sensitivity and suspicion among whites who became 'firmly convinced' that others were plotting against them. In addition, there was the loneliness, the frustration, and the frequent irritability evoked by working with people of a different culture. The result was almost endemic quarrelling among these standard-bearers of civilization. The squabbles and misunderstandings among whites which marred Livingstone's leadership of the Zambezi Expedition were far from being unique.83

Indeed they were, and only in more recent times, after the results of the various polar expeditions of the early twentieth


82 At this point it is well to recall that while we have a good idea of what Charles' companions thought of him and his actions, we know relatively little about what he thought of them. This is, of course, because his journals are still missing, but if he did anything like the complaining about them that they did about him, his journal will someday make lively reading indeed!

83 CPlI, p. 63.
century were in, has it become realized that small groups of men in unusual environments all too often fall victim to the "endemic quarrelling" spoken of above. A modern behavioral scientist comments on the

so-called polar disease, also known as expedition choler, [which] attacks small groups of men who are completely dependent upon one another and are thus prevented from quarrelling with strangers or people outside their own circle of friends. From this it will be clear that the damming up of aggression will be the more dangerous, the better the members of the group know, understand and like each other. In such a situation, as I know from personal experience, all aggression and intra-specific fight behavior undergo an extreme lowering of their threshold values. Subjectively, this is expressed by the fact that one reacts to small mannerisms of one's best friends - such as the way in which they clear their throats or sneeze - in a way that would normally be adequate only if one had been hit by a drunkard.84

Such concepts throw the behavior of the men of the Zambezi Expedition into an entirely new light, and while it is both impossible and superficial to attempt to psychoanalyze these men through their letters and other papers, which only reveal a small portion of a man's total being, it is instructive to be aware of the various types of stress under which they were forced to operate, and to be cognizant of the behavior of other men in similar circumstances. When all of these things are taken into consideration, the record of the Zambezi Expedition is satisfactory, and the record of Charles Livingstone is more admirable than has heretofore been supposed.

David's Final Verdict. Although David was momentarily convinced of his brother's worthlessness early in 1860, we have seen that by the end of the year the two brothers had patched up their differences, and that to a large extent David's negative opinion was based more on the emotion of the moment than upon disinterested and rational evaluation. For the remainder of their time together, Charles apparently did little to alienate his brother and Commander.

Yet according to Wallis, David later confessed: "the one mistake of the expedition has been bringing Charles into it."\(^{85}\) Apart from the fact that the statement itself is patently false, the circumstances under which Livingstone allegedly made this statement would indeed prove interesting, but for the moment they must unfortunately remain unknown. On the other hand, Livingstone at one time wrote: "All the exploration effected would have been better done alone, or with my brother alone."\(^{86}\) Six months after writing this, Livingstone was thinking of Charles in more negative terms: David's statements, especially about Charles, are tenuous at best if taken out of context.

With this in mind, let attention be directed to David's opinion of his brother's service on the Zambezi at the time that service was coming to an end. To Lord John Russell, David

\(^{85}\) *WZJS*, xiv. This quote is repeated in *RLLN*, p. 85, but neither Wallis nor Ransford gives the source of the quote. The present writer has been unable to find where Livingstone either wrote or made that statement.

\(^{86}\) *WZEL*, 1 December 1859, p. 136.
Livingstone wrote of Charles and Kirk: "they have faithfully and honourably fulfilled their agreement. They have frequently performed their duties under great privations and borne hard toil with cheerfulness. Their moral conduct has been uniformly very good."^37 Hardly the greatest of praise, and Livingstone (who was disgruntled at this time) does neither man justice by lumping them together. Furthermore, one really can't expect that Livingstone would have given a negative report on his brother to Britain's Foreign Secretary.

However, by this time David and Waller had established a very close friendship, and we can expect that Livingstone would not have felt obligated to say anything to Waller merely for the sake of form. To his missionary friend, David wrote: "I am sorry to part with my brother and Kirk but they have honourably served their time and more."^38 Again, this is not the most remarkable of praise, but in the absence of anything else, it must suffice.

This conclusion is supported by relations between the brothers in 1864, when David supported his brother's application for another government post, and they worked together on the Narrative. After all was said and done, David realized that Charles had served well when on the Zambezi Expedition, and gave him credit for so doing.

^37 Incl. 1 of Dis. 2, 28 Apr. 1863, journal, SNMCL.

CHAPTER XI

1864 - A YEAR OF UNCERTAINTY

It was long or seven years had an end
She longd fu sair her love to see; Child, 53

Reunion in Massachusetts. It has been indicated earlier
(pp. 256-7; 271) that Charles remained in Great Britain for
over two months after his arrival from the Zambezi. During
that time he visited Hamilton, where prints were made of the
photographs he had taken, and he worked in the British Museum
(Natural History) aiding in the classification of the birds,
insects, reptiles and mammals he brought home with him. On
11 December 1863 the Foreign Office advised him that his pay
was to be extended to the 4th of that month, and his work com¬
pleted, he had no further reason for remaining in London.

After spending a few days collecting his pay and packing
his bags, Charles set sail for the United States, happily
anticipating the long-overdue reunion with his wife and children.
Exactly when or where he embarked is not known, but an idea of
the date can be found in a letter from W. Soule, who wrote:

I called upon Mrs. Livingston this evening, they are all
well. She is expecting Mr. Livingston this week, as he is
on his way home, he is coming to N. York in the Steamer
New York or City of New York. She could not tell exactly
which, you may perhaps see his arrival. I shall call upon
him as soon as convenient.¹

¹ Wm. Soule, jr., to his father, 5 Jan. 1864, E. Camb[ridge
Mass?], "Soule Collection," SNMDL. It will be remembered that
the Livingstons lived with the Soules in the early years of their
marriage at Plympton; and it may be that Harriette had not yet
added the final "e" to their name.
Very little is known about Charles' activities in the United States in 1864, but no doubt it was a period of considerable uncertainty. He had survived almost six grueling years as a member of the Zambezi Expedition, but had failed in his attempt to return with either a fortune or a steady income. Now he was unemployed, and while he probably could have obtained a post as a minister - especially in the light of his African experience - he had long ago given up the pulpit, and probably gave little serious thought to returning. His health continued to bother him, and he wrote his niece about a month after his arrival: "I have had some touches of African fever since I came here." 3

It may be that Charles did not seriously seek employment in Massachusetts, for when still in Britain he had written: "I wish there was some vacancy in the Consulships of Boston, New York or Portland as I should then apply for the situation." 4 Two weeks later, he wrote that he would speak to Murchison and Owen and apply for a Consulship, adding "when perhaps if D. returns next March he may find something for me." 5 Having laid such groundwork as was necessary when in London, and perhaps

2DNB (1964) indicates that at this period of his life, "His health would not allow him to resume his ministerial duties..." but this may be only half true.

3CL to Agnes Livingstone 3, 14 Feb. 1864, Wilson Collection.
4CL - HCL, 27 October 1863, 05/3.
5CL - HCL, 12 November 1863, 05/6.
buoyed by confidential assurances from influential quarters, Charles upon arrival in the United States may have felt free to turn to writing.

In the first half of the year, Charles must have spent a great deal of time at his desk, for he wrote four volumes of memoirs of his experiences in Africa. Unfortunately, they were not written in the form of a journal, but rather a narrative, and indeed, they seem to comprise the earliest version of the Narrative. As volume 4 is dated "July 14, 1864" in Charles' own hand, we can surmise that he spent most of Spring and Summer that year engaged in this task. The very existence of such a work causes one to consider the possibility that it was agreed even before he left the Shire valley that Charles would write the basis of a book that the brothers would publish jointly. All of those on the Shire at the time expressed surprise at Charles' departure, and the Livingstones had seen Missionary Travels enjoy a wide success in the United States and Canada, for which David received not one penny. While not the shrewdest of businessmen, it seems likely that they would strive to avoid such a situation a second time, and although there is not a shred of evidence to indicate that this was in fact the plan, it does seem feasible.

6 Volumes 1, 3 and 4 are in OCLC, 091.916 L763; volume 2 was at one time in this library but is now missing.

7 See John to Alex. Kirk, 14 July 1863, E2JK, p. 595; and BLJP, 30 April 1863, p. 423.
Return to Great Britain. On 3 September, 1864 Charles left the United States to return to Britain, and when David arrived in London following his address to the British Association's annual meeting in Bristol, he wrote in his journal: "Find Charles well & at Mr. Pitches." In two days David began working on the Narrative, and before a month was out, he noted:

I use Charles' Journal as a groundwork because his impressions were new. Many things attracted his attention which gained from me only a passing notice. This may be interesting to the public. Many parts I leave out and insert others. His name is on the title page in order that he may have all the American profits.

Earlier that month, David recorded in his journal an event of much greater significance to his brother Charles, for it determined the course of the final decade of his life: "Hear that Sir Roderick has got the Consulship for Charles of Fernando Po." As was the case throughout most of the nineteenth century, the appointment of H.M. Consuls was at this time at the discretion of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Charles' appointment was made by Lord John Russell at Murchison's request, with of course the shadow of David Livingstone in the background. On 11 October, Charles wrote to Murchison:

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8 Charles to John Livingstone, 18 December 1864, privately owned.
9 28 September 1864, Wilson Family Archives.
10 Ibid., 29 October 1864. David did not see Charles' "Journal," but rather the four volumes Charles wrote from his journals. This is evident, as the four volumes are heavily edited in David's hand.
11 Ibid., 9 October 1864. David wrote that very day to thank Murchison: NARS, LI 1/1/1, pp. 1909-1912.
66 Cheapsage St, within London
Oct 17, 1864

Dear Sir Murchison,

I have taken the liberty of leaving at 16 Belgrave Sq. one of my African curiosities, a snuff-box made from the horn of the white rhinoceros.

It belonged to a chief, and as Africans seem to think it the proper box for a chief I must have it in the end of the silence.

I hope you will kindly indulge an African idea of propriety, as far as to accept it, and oblige,

Yours truly,

Charles Livingstone
acknowledging the appointment,\(^\text{12}\) and on 17 October, the official date of his appointment, he out of gratitude to Murchison left a letter of thanks and a walking stick made from the horn of a white rhinoceros at Murchison's home in Belgravia.\(^\text{13}\)

Charles' first commission named him as H.M. Consul at Fernando Po; on 3 December 1864 it was amended so as to include the area on the mainland between Cape Fermoiso and Cape St. John, within the Bight of Biafra.\(^\text{14}\)

Final Weeks and Departure. While preparing to assume his new position, Charles enjoyed a month with his wife, who evidently came to Britain for the first time. Her first impressions can hardly have been favourable:

When they arrived in Hamilton, the harried couple began a restful period of about two weeks' duration, during which time they visited Glasgow and Edinburgh.

Meanwhile, David had established contact with John Kirk,

\(^{12}\) GL to Murchison, 11 October 1864, BLL Add. Mss. 46127, f. 66.

\(^{13}\) NLS, MS. 2522, f. 68; see illustration opposite.

\(^{14}\) The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Hand Book, July, 1873, p. 130.

\(^{15}\) GL to Agnes Livingstone 3, 27 November 1864, Wilson Family Archives.
and to him he wrote: "My brother & his Yankee wife are invited to save me the trouble of going down to Scotland. He enjoys everything African. He is much troubled with one or two bits of cartilage floating about in his knee joint. I have objected strongly to any operation being attempted."  

Thus the Webbs invited Charles and Harriette to visit Newstead Abbey so that David would not have to abandon his writing to visit them in Hamilton.

On 8 December David again wrote to Kirk: "C.L. comes on Monday [12 December] and goes off in a day or two," and on the 16th he wrote: "C & Mrs. Livingstone leave us this morning, the first for Fernando Po and the second for America. God bless them and preserve & make them useful." Prior to going their separate ways, the couple spent a few days in London together.

The three days spent at Newstead represent the only time the brothers were together when the *Narrative* was being written, and during this time David was engaged in writing the description of the Victoria Falls. Having seen the Niagara twenty years earlier, Charles was able to contribute a comparison.

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16 30 November 1864, R. Foskett, *The Zambesi Doctors*, (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 85; hereafter **FRED**. Thanks are due to Mr. I.C. Cunningham for pointing out that date of 3 November as published is incorrect. The last three sentences of the quote apply not to Charles but to W. P. Webb: either a page is missing from the manuscript at this point, or Livingstone had a mental lapse.

17 **FRED**, p. 94.  
18 Journal, Wilson Family Archives.

19 "Between ourselves, my brother says Victoria throws Niagara quite into the shade, chiefly from its strangeness. The smoke is wonderful." DL to Thomas Maclear, 17 August 1860, (from Sesheke), SNMDL. See also **LNEZ**, p. 257.
his brief visit also marked the only time David ever saw his American sister-in-law, and in fact he never saw Charles again either, for two days after Christmas he wrote in his journal: "C.L. sailed from Liverpool on 24th and Mrs. L. for Boston." It was not a happy Christmas for Charles and Harriette Livingstone.

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20 Journal, Wilson Family Archives.
CHAPTER XII
THE FINAL YEARS – FERNANDO PO

O little did my mither ken, the day she cradled me,
The roads I'd hae to travel in, or what death I suld dee!
Child, 173

The Setting. After having hoped for a posting in New York,
Boston or Portland, Charles' appointment to Fernando Po must
have been disappointing, but it was a post, and Charles could
always hope that good service would result in a transfer. He
was doubtless well aware of its reputation as one of the more
unsavoury spots on the notorious Guinea Coast, parts of which
had been known for centuries as the "white man's grave." Such
couplets as "Beware and take care of the Bight of Benin, where
few come out though many go in," were hardly harbingers of
happiness, and that a consulate anywhere on the West Coast of
Africa was defined as "A corrugated iron case with a dead consul
inside" ¹ would not have lifted his spirits very much.

These were not exaggerations: the regional reputation was
well deserved. From the time the first Consul at Fernando Po
was appointed in 1849 until Charles was appointed, there had
been four consuls, serving 4½, 1, 6, and 3½ years respectively;
the first two died in office and the others were transferred.
The third consul, T.J. Hutchinson, was removed for accepting
bribes from Liverpool traders at Bonny.² At Lagos, on the

¹D.C.M. Platt, The Cinderella Service: British Consuls
since 1822, (London, 1971), p. 28; hereafter FBCS.
²K. Onwuka Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta,
mainland far to the west, in the same time period there had been five consuls; the first four died in office, the incumbent died in 1865, and the longest term by far was served by the second consul, Benjamin Campbell, who performed his duties for 6 years and 2 months. Europeans neither had nor deserved a reputation for longevity in this part of the world.

Situated at the junction of 2 N. Latitude and 9 E. Longitude, the island of Fernando Po is nestled close to the African continent near the point where the long coastline turns south after having extended eastward from Sierra Leone. Only 30 miles from the continent, the island is in fact a continuation of the Cameroon mountain chain. Discovered by the Portuguese navigator Fernão do Po (from whom it obviously took its name) in 1469, the island remained nominally Portuguese until ceded to Spain in 1778. Neither of the Iberian overlords made any serious attempt at colonization, and from 1827 to 1834 it was occupied by the British, who used it as a base from which to contest the slave trade. When Charles arrived it was once again controlled by Spain, who regularly provided a resident Governor. Today it is a part of Equatorial Guinea.

Although this was to be Charles’ headquarters, the bulk of his work concerned the Oil Rivers of the Niger Delta region, which included the Benin, the Nun, Brass, New Calabar, Bonny, Old Calabar and the Cross River settlements, Cameroon, and later, Gpobo. As the map opposite p. 325 indicates, the actual number

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3 Statistics compiled from several editions of the Foreign Office List.
of "rivers" in the region seemingly approaches infinity. It was in this labyrinthine system of waterways, choked with clutching mangrove and rank with malaria and yet-to-be-named afflictions that Livingstone was to do most of his work. Indeed, as he wrote after he had been there only a short time: "Verily, this is the lean end of creation and no mistake." 4

And if the natural conditions were not formidable enough, the human element was truly staggering. The Africans on the coast were organized into city-state/trading house corporations, and the same men who were excellent entrepreneurs, imbued with an economic savvy which enabled them to match and often surpass the skill of the traders who came to them from Liverpool and elsewhere, would also on occasion indulge in cannibalistic practices, and would without hesitation order the entire destruction of a village and all of its inhabitants regardless of age or sex, if they felt it necessary to protect or enhance their position or prestige. Some had studied in Sierra Leone or even Britain herself, and their decorative script still adorns the official papers as mute witness to their abilities. Indeed, these coastal traders presented one of the most fascinating and incongruous studies of humanity which could be found anywhere in the world in the nineteenth century.

Further inland were their suppliers and middlemen, who had far less contact with the invaders from across the ocean, but who possessed not a whit less understanding of the ins and outs

4CL - HCL, undated [August, 1865], 65/88.
of capitalism than their coastal cousins. To these groups of Africans, who spoke different dialects and even languages, were added European traders, whose goal was of course to realize maximum profits with a minimum of effort; European (and some African) missionaries, whose goal was to replace African traditions and religious beliefs with their own, while hoping to do the same with the European traders; and sailors of the Royal Navy, who came to enforce a myriad of treaties between Her Majesty and various groups of Africans, as well as to protect British "property and interests."

To further complicate affairs, each of these groups were in one way or another affected by a steady supply of gin, firearms and African women. Into this seething maelstrom of humanity was thrust the unsuspecting Consul, who had many duties petty and noble, among them the preserving of peace between rival African trading houses, (who considered it a breach of peace and an insult if other house members even sang their own theme song, or anthem); maintaining fair practices which would keep trade moving smoothly; and supporting policies which would not arouse the wrath of the missionaries. The Consul who survived the post with his health intact, or merely his life, was to be congratulated; if he maintained also his sanity, he was a creature upon which to marvel. Such was the nature of the district of Charles Livingstone, H.M. Consul, Fernando Po.

5CL to his daughter Hattie, 17 Jan. 1873, KMLZ, 05/193.

6Although many items were exported from this region, the most important by far was the oil produced by the oil palm.
Arrival and Orientation: the Consular Residence. Charles arrived at Santa Isabel, the only European settlement on the island and the site of his consular residence, on 28 January 1865, and could not have been overly impressed by the site which greeted him. His plight was set down in his third dispatch to the Foreign Office:

The Consulate is in sad need of repairs. Eight panes of glass are broken; some of the wooden posts are nearly eaten through by the white Ants. The corrugated iron of the frame has a most disreputable appearance from rust, and grievously requires another coat of white wash. The palm leaf thatch is worn and should be renewed before the rains set in. A tornado visited us yesterday and the rain poured into the house in all directions, making an umbrella absolutely necessary indoors. The boat belonging to the consulate, which was not new when brought here, is worn out and useless.

Having received his baptism into life on the Guinea Coast, Charles was now to learn a few things about governmental bureaucracy. While attending to his normal duties he continued to request permission to repair his residence. This topic is pursued further as it says much about the position in which Charles found himself.

Local conditions caused the building to deteriorate even further. In mid-May, 1865, a tornado "blew so many of the palm leaf mats off the roof of the Consulate that, with the exception of one room it is now uninhabitable." He went on to request

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7 Actually, the consulate was on Clarence Island, offshore.
8 31 January 1865, FO 2/46, item 4. The residence stood vacant since March, 1864, when Consul Burton was transferred.
9 CL to the Foreign Office, 3 June 1865, FO 2/46, item 12.
permission to repair. Two months later he advised his superiors that as the rains would come soon, and believing that under the circumstances Your Lordship would approve of my getting this done without taking the usual and proper course of first asking Your Lordship's permission, which could not have been received in less than three months, I had the work done as economically as if it had been my own private property. 10

He requested a reimbursement of £21 13 3.

Late in November Charles filed another request for repairs: the wooden stairs of the Consulate were rotten and dangerous, and the Commander of one of Her Majesty's Cruizers fell through the back stairs before dinner (implying that he was sober at the time) but fortunately escaped without breaking any of his limbs, and that stair can no longer be used.

The picket fence was also falling down: Livingstone got a repair estimate from a white man for £40, then found a black carpenter who would do "the whole of the carpenter work for £7." Wood and paint for the job were to cost an additional £20 4 0. 11

During the hiatus between Burton's and Livingstone's tenure, Acting Consul Wilson collected £19 2/ in fees, and Livingstone suggested that this money be applied to the repairs of the building. The tenor of the reply (unfortunately not confined to either British bureaucracy or the nineteenth century) was stiffly official: Livingstone was advised that his request was improper, that he must fill out the correct forms in the

10 CL to Russell, 1 August 1865, FO 2/46, item 21. Livingstone paid for this out of his own pocket, and protested over 15 months later that his London agent had yet to be reimbursed for this roof repair: CL to the Foreign Office, 3 November 1866, FO 2/46, dispatch marked "Separate."

11 CL to the Foreign Office, 29 November 1865, FO 2/46, item 28.
proscribed manner, and stick to official procedures in future, and this was written over a year after Livingstone had first requested permission to repair his residence! Shortly thereafter his requests were finally approved.

Nevertheless, due to the unsuitability of the building, Livingstone in early November 1866 advised the Foreign Office: "I am now obliged to lock up the house and live elsewhere." Later that month he received permission to effect further repairs, and presumably he was able to move back into the Consulate early in the new year. It had taken two years to make it habitable.

We can imagine the frustration Charles must have felt - and the few documents quoted from constitute only a fraction of the volume of correspondence which flowed to and fro on the subject of the consular residence and its repairs. What are less easily imagined are the difficulties he endured attempting to reside in and attend to his duties in a house apparently on the verge of collapse, and open to all the elements of nature and some of its less desirable creatures as well.

12 Foreign Office to CL, 20 February 1866, FO 2/47, item 1.

13 The apparent callousness of the Foreign Office is indicated in a memo in an unknown hand wondering why Charles did not draw his salary to pay for whatever repairs he wanted, as if he had no family nor better things to do with his salary than repair government property! Ibid., undated and unnumbered.

14 CL to the Foreign Office, 3 November 1866, FO 2/47, dispatch marked "Separate."

15 CL to the Foreign Office, 26 November 1866, FO 2/47.
It does indeed seem astonishing that the Empire upon which the very sun itself was reluctant to set could not simply send £100 to the Queen's representative stationed at the end of the earth for the purpose of repairing his abode and her property, yet so it was. Simple economy seems not the complete answer, nor does the Government's general policy to retard expansion and even pull back in some cases provide the solution, for expansion into Nigeria was the order of the day at this time. Certainly the British government of the day deserves no special reputation for either callousness or inefficiency, for when compared with previous empires or contemporary governments, its record is reasonably admirable. It may be, however, that the position of the Consular Service with respect to the Diplomatic Service and the overall functions of the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office did not count much for attention or credit.

According to a recent student of the Consular Service:

The members of the Consular Service suffered more than most from the snobberies of government service. Certainly for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when high social position was regarded as indispensable for diplomacy, the social gulf between the diplomats and consuls was enormous, practically unbridgeable.16

As a result, Consuls were:

Treated as second class citizens within their own Department, [and] ... without a friend in Parliament or in the Press, they fell victim to the Victorian obsession with economy in government expenditure.17

Livingstone's experience does seem to be a case in point, although conditions may have been better in Constantinople,

16 Pagrs, ix. 17 Ibid., p. 3.
Boston, Marseilles, etc. In addition to having become acquainted with the geographical conditions of his post, Livingstone by now had an idea of the Government's interest in responding to his needs.

Consular Duties, 1865 - 1867. Prior to his arrival at Santa Isabel, Charles had visited Bonny, and had become somewhat familiar with the nature of normal affairs in his consular district. His predecessor, Richard Burton, had imposed a fine upon King Pepple18 of Bonny, and this fine had yet to be collected. Pepple refused to pay, and in this he was evidently supported by members of the rival trading houses, to whom he was usually opposed. The Commander of H.M.S. "Lee" had ordered all trade suspended - the severest penalty short of bombardment - until the fine was paid, and British traders wanted the fine collected by mid-March, when the main trading season began.

Livingstone immediately informed the Foreign Office of this situation, and requested permission to go inland to open trading relations with the people away from the coast.19 Not long thereafter the dispute was settled when the fine was reduced by one-half and immediately paid. As Livingstone was stranded in Santa Isabel with no regular means of transportation to the

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18 Pepple was a dynastic name; this individual was William Dappa Pepple.

19 To the Foreign Office, 30 January 1865, FO 84/1249, ff. 15-17. To this request an official noted that when Laird went up the river, his men were shot at and some killed, and it was not recommended that Livingstone make the trip.
mainland, he was not instrumental in the settlement, but he received his first practical lesson in delta politics.

For most of the year 1865, Livingstone was on his island, and he used the time well. He spent days studying the volumes of regulations regarding his duties and conduct, as well as the papers left behind by previous consuls, which were of obvious practical importance. He even found time to collect a new [to him] species of turaco, which he forwarded to Richard Owen.

Several times in 1866 Livingstone visited the Oil Rivers because Bonny and New Calabar were on the verge of war. This was nothing unusual: "It had always been the policy of the Pepples [of Bonny] to conquer and annex New Calabar," and this was merely another renewal of hostilities. Bonny's inland suppliers, the Okrika, were also disgruntled with the trading houses of New Calabar, and added a third dimension to the problem. In July, Livingstone arranged several meetings between the parties, and although he was successful in settling (for the moment) the differences between Bonny and New Calabar, the latter was unwilling to cease hostilities until Bonny applied sufficient leverage to restrain the Okrika. To the British,

20 It was settled by Capt. Ruxton, of H.M.S. "Pandora."

21 OL to the Foreign Office, 29 January 1866, F0 2/47; GL-HCL, same date, 05/93. No record of receipt is in BM(NH), and as the island had long been visited by Europeans, it was probably not a new species.

22 DPND, p. 92; Bonny also resisted British authority ever since the Consulate was established in 1849: Ibid., p. 131. "Bonny" and "Calabar" are European corruptions of "Ibani" and "Kalabari."
the Okrika were an unknown people who overtly partook of can-
nibalistic rites, and had never successfully been visited by
white men before.\textsuperscript{23} Such a visit would have been a violation of
"Ju-ju," for which life was readily forfeited.\textsuperscript{24} On 21 July
1866, Livingstone wrote from Bonny to Captain Douglas of H.M.S.
"Torch," that he and the Bonny chiefs were leaving on the mor-
row for the Okrika country.\textsuperscript{25}

He was their guest for a few days,\textsuperscript{26} and was successful in
persuading the Okrika leaders to send back to the coast repre-
sentatives to "palaver" with New Calabar. Representatives of
the three peoples met on H.M.S. "Oberon" on 8 September, but no
permanent settlement was reached, due to the intractibility of
the Bonny chiefs. However, Commander Edmund Verney of the
"Oberon" sent Livingstone a note which indicated that although
an agreement was not reached, the influence of the Consul's
action and the conference were such that a tacit understanding
was made that would at least prevent the outbreak of hostilities
and allow trade to flow smoothly.\textsuperscript{27}

\textsuperscript{23} Statement made by Sir Bartle Frere to the R.G.S., 22 June

\textsuperscript{24} "Ju-ju" was a multifaceted concept for which of course
there was no European equivalent. It was akin to the Polynes-
ian "tabu," which was not to be broken; it applied to the steps
followed in various rituals and ceremonies - to be out of order
was contrary to "Ju-ju" - and it could be applied to a person:
W.D. Pepple was "Ju-ju" (not the "Ju-ju"), and as such had a
constitutional authority all other local kings lacked.

\textsuperscript{25} FO 84/1265, f. 258.

\textsuperscript{26} See his report in Appendix E.

\textsuperscript{27} CL to the Foreign Office, 28 September 1866, FO 84/1265,
ff. 258-60.
From Bonny he went eastward to the Cameroons, where he sought to settle amicably a dispute between King Acqua and King Bell, which was originally instigated by the injudicious actions of two traders from Bristol. Evidently he arrived just in time to prevent war: "warriors of one of the parties had actually embarked in their war canoes, when they heard that the consul was coming up the river in a man of war." 28 Certainly the latter had as much influence with the warriors as did the former; nevertheless, Consul Livingstone convened two conferences, and with his next dispatch he enclosed the text of the treaty to which the parties agreed. 29

Livingstone spent most of the remainder of the year back on Fernando Po, giving attention to more routine consular duties, which included preparing annual reports, etc. Early in the next year (1867), he went back to Bonny to attempt to improve the fragile truce with New Calabar. In approving his progress, H.M. Government instructed him to try to induce the Okrika to desist in cannibalism, an assignment few consuls no doubt ever had to contemplate. 30

28 CL to the F.O., 1 October 1866, FO 84/1265, f. 304.

29 Ibid., f. 306. Of course, both Livingstone and Verney negotiated and signed the treaty.

30 F.O. to CL, 10 June 1867, FO 84/1277, ff. 11-12. Livingstone's visiting the Okrika in violation of "Ju-ju," and his subsequent attempt to interfere with their rites and rituals, causes one to question Ayandele's opinion that Livingstone always made decisions in favour of local "religious traditionalists;" E.A. Ayandele, The Missionary Impact on Modern Nigeria, 1842-1914, (New York, 1967), p. 74; hereafter AMIN.
While so engaged, Livingstone's consular district was enlarged westwards; the consular post for the Bight of Benin, which had been combined with the Governorship of Lagos, was abolished, and Livingstone's jurisdiction was extended to the eastern boundary of Lagos, excluding the mouths of the Niger. 31 A month later, the exclusion was itself excluded, so that the western mouths of that great river (the most important of which were the Forcados and the Nun) were also added to his district. 32 When his new commission finally arrived, it delineated his region as the coastline extending from Cape St. Paul on the west to Cape St. John on the east, including the mouths of the Niger and the water communications between it and the Brass River. 33

In July, 1867, Livingstone was ordered to the Nun River, where the African Steam Ship Company's "Inkerman" had been plundered the previous May. He was to inquire immediately, get the chiefs to restore the stolen property, confer with the Senior Naval Officer in demanding just compensation to prevent

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31 F.O. to CL, 23 May 1867, FO 84/1277, ff. 7-9.
32 F.O. to CL, 24 June 1867, FO 84/1277, ff. 21-24.
33 F.O. to CL, 7 November 1867, FO 84/1277, item 14. Livingstone had originally been granted a salary of £500 plus an additional £200 for office expenses (Burton's salary was £750), and he now applied for a salary increase of £200 per annum. On 24 July, 1868, 13 months after his district had been enlarged the second time, he was informed of a pay increase of £100 salary per annum, and an additional £100 allowance for expenses, which was to be retroactive only to 1 April 1868, ten months after his district was enlarged. This could hardly have given Livingstone an improved opinion of the Foreign Office. F.O. to CL, 24 July 1868, FO 84/1290, f. 92.
similar "outrages" in future, and conclude a treaty with the chiefs concerned which would protect British traders and their property.  

The year 1867 saw open hostility between Bonny and New Calabar, and Livingstone made several visits to the region to restrain the recalcitrant chiefs. Late in 1866 William Dappa Pepple died, and was replaced by Prince George Pepple, his son. George had spent about 6 years abroad when his father was in exile, and as a result he had little of his father's former power. In fact all he inherited were titles and debts. Thus in addition to the problem posed by New Calabar, George Pepple was involved in a struggle to preserve his succession.

During one of Livingstone's visits, George accused the New Calabar chiefs of invading Bonny waters, insulting the Bonny flag, and killing one person while making others hostages. He only refrained from making war, he said, because the Consul had previously told them to keep the peace. Livingstone went immediately to New Calabar, where Prince Will claimed that his people

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34 F.G. to CL, 31 July 1867, FO 84/1277, ff. 29-31. He did so. This incident is just one of a myriad of such disputes he was called to act upon; space does not permit an examination of all in this work. As the Bonny-New Calabar and its offspring the Bonny-Gpobo difficulties were the most important with which Livingstone had to deal, they are given top priority.

35 Wm. Dappa Pepple was deposed and exiled in 1854, at the instigation of the first Consul of Fernando Po, John Beecroft. By the time of his restoration, in 1861, his political and economic bases had been destroyed, and even his being "Ju-ju" was in question: DPPN, p. 164.

36 Ibid.
had kept the peace, but that the Okrika had waylaid one of his canoes, and had executed, cooked and eaten seven New Calabar men. In retaliation, New Calabar burned an Okrika fishing station, returning with five captives, who were promptly executed. Prince Will promised not to invade either Bonny or Okrika waters (which implied infringement on their trading prerogatives), but would continue to capture any Okrika who ventured into New Calabar waters. They then challenged Bonny to a confrontation before the "long Ju-ju."

What Europeans referred to as the "long Ju-ju" was to Africans the Chaku Oracle, situated inland at Aro, among the Ibo peoples. Here "Ju-ju" interpreters were imbued with semi-divine powers, and their pronouncements were agreed to by Africans throughout the delta region and its hinterlands. All tribes believed that here one spoke solemn truth or would instantly suffer death at the hands of incensed deity, and the name of the town was always spoken with great respect. Thus the oracle served as a kind of court of appeals.\(^{37}\)

\(^{37}\) Dike discusses the Oracle (DPND, pp. 37-41), noting that the Aro, who were middlemen in the trade in slaves and oil, used their position as interpreter to become "the economic dictators of the hinterland," achieving both wealth and political influence. The oracle was destroyed by the British in 1900.

Livingstone returned to Bonny, well aware that Bonny's purpose, as it had been for many years, was to oust New Calabar from its lucrative Obiatibo oil market. He chastised George for acting on rumours and hearsay, and remonstrated with him for not condemning the Okrika for eating the seven unfortunate New Calabarese. George shrewdly asked Livingstone if the "long Ju-ju" were to pronounce New Calabar guilty, would he allow Bonny to pillage New Calabar, to which Charles of course had to answer in the negative. Before leaving Bonny, he told George Peppie that if he continued to keep the country in a state of war, "some other employment would be provided for him where he could not injure British interests." Of this action, an unidentified F.O. official wrote: "I think Consul Livingstone acted with judgement and firmness in this affair, and that his conduct should be approved."

Again, Livingstone hastened to the Cameroons, where he collected a fine of three goats and three puncheons from King Bell for an outrage committed by his people on a boat's crew, wisely lowering the fine from seven puncheons in the light of Bell's past adherence to treaties.

The list of such incidents is seemingly endless - the district was wide, and the competition for profits was sharp. Human life did not have a high priority. British traders were

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38 This and preceding information on this series of visits is from CL to F.O., 25 April 1867, FO 84/1277, item 15.
39 F.O. memo, 3 June 1867, ibid., item 16.
frequently the cause of the strife (Livingstone later wrote that they became roaring drunk, while the Africans did not40), and Charles submitted to his superiors a four-page report on the problems he had with traders' continually cheating the Africans, and thus causing the disruption of order.41 In it, among other things, he reports unfavourably on the case of one Nathan Lyons of the Brass River, with whom he had had a strong disagreement.

In a memorandum on that report, an official commented:

The cases reported in this dispatch show the necessity for a constant supervision of the proceedings of British Traders in the Oil Rivers, and also the necessity for our Consuls being armed with Magistrial Powers. I have no hesitation in stating that in nine cases out of ten the disputes occurring in the African Rivers which often lead to a stoppage of free trade and occasionally to bloodshed, have their origin in the high-handed and illegal proceedings of British or other European traders... and although Mr. Livingstone may not have been legally justified in threatening to detain Mr. Lyons [of the Company of African merchants] as a prisoner if he did not pay his debt, I think under the circumstances we shall be borne out in approving his proceedings.42

The traders protested: the Court of Equity, Brass, accused Livingstone of "unnecessary and abusive language" toward Mr. Lyons, and complained of receiving "no satisfaction on any one point brought under [his] notice."43 Lyons, the court's Chairman,

41CL to F.O., 21 Dec. 1867, FO 84/1277, ff. 152-155.
42Memo, 5 February 1868, ibid., ff. 156-9.
43Ibid., 20 November 1867, f. 165a. This document was signed by five traders.
wrote to protest against the "uncalled for and insulting lan-
guage you thought fit to apply to me during yesterday's pro-
ceedings." Charles defended himself by suggesting that the
Liverpool Association and their Brass agents failed to tell the
whole truth, distorted what little truth they told, and he added:

If I had not intervened with King Okea against the injust-
tice of Mr. Lyons, the ensuing war would have stopped the
trade for many months and the Liverpool African Associa-
tion would really have made deep groans. Evidently the Foreign Office agreed with Livingstone, for there
the matter seems to have rested.

Meanwhile, problems arose in Old Calabar, when King Archi-
bong of Duke Town sent a party to massacre all the people of a
nearby village. Livingstone fined him the stiff fee of 20 pun-
ceons of oil (worth about 215 each) for breach of treaty, and
all, including the F.O., agreed that the action was just, and
wisely done. The merchants and missionaries of Old Calabar sent
Livingstone a warm testimony of approval, complimenting his
prompt action, his service to humanity, and his sound judgement
in levying an appropriate fee. One of the missionaries pre-
sent recorded in his journal: "The slaughter of prisoners in
cold blood by the native authorities was clearly established,
and was declared by the Consul to be a breach of treaty with the

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44 Lyons to Livingstone, 20 November 1867, FO 84/1277, f. 166. This is reminiscent of David Livingstone's treatment of Bedingfeld and William Gedye, to name only two.

45 CL to F.O., 24 February 1868, FO 84/1290, f. 114.

46 FO 84/1277, 6 December 1867, f. 198.
English government. He imposed a fine of twenty puncheons of palm oil as the penalty. This is the best lesson – at least the most effective – that King A. has ever got, and, as a precedent, is invaluable.”

The year was not to end without further reference to the enduring animosity between Bonny and New Calabar. In an earlier dispatch, Livingstone had referred to a split in the house of Pepple: George's Manilla branch (of which Oko Jumbo was real leader, as George was merely nominal leader) was being challenged for supremacy by the Anna Pepple branch, which was being led by Jaja. George's position was so precarious that he requested Livingstone bring a man of war and compel the other Bonny chiefs to do whatever Livingstone desired, but the Consul refrained on the grounds that H.M. Government did not like to interfere in the affairs of any nation. This scenario was repeated in late December, and this time Livingstone once again reprimanded Donny for not restraining Okrika, and now Brass, from their continual harassment of New Calabar.

By this time, Livingstone's patience with George Pepple and his fellow Bonny chiefs was running low, and they wrote a bitter

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47 Wm. Anderson, journal, 3 December 1867: Wm. Warwick, Wm. and Louisa Anderson, (Edinburgh, 1897), p. 427. On 11 Feb., 1868, Anderson notes that the fine has been collected; ibid., p. 428.

48 Jaja's election to lead this branch is discussed in Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, pp. 369-71, as written by de Cardi.

49 13 July 1867, FO 84/1277, f. 105. 50 24 Dec. 1867, ibid.
complaint to the Foreign Office. They denied Livingstone's charge that they had supplied Okrika and Brass with arms and ammunition with which to attack New Calabar, and complained of the threats used by [him] against themselves and particularly against their King, and generally of the discourteous terms in which they allege that you address them.

Noting that similar allegations had been raised by "some of the English traders... His Lordship wishes to impress upon you the necessity of being conciliatory but firm."51

Evidently, a lack of firmness was not Livingstone's problem, and if a Consul were to make any headway in the Oil Rivers, he had to behave differently than he would have at one of the innumerable and seemingly perpetual Paris conventions. In reply, Charles pointed out that the language he used when addressing the Bonny chiefs was taken directly from the instructions he received from the F.O., and added:

The English agents in Bonny have frequently remarked that they thought I treated the Kings and Chiefs with overmuch courtesy, and it is singular too that the Kings + Chiefs invariably apply to me for assistance directly they get into trouble.52

To further complicate this round of accusation and counter-accusation, the Foreign Office informed Livingstone that they had expressed regret to the African Association of Liverpool that their agents had failed to abide by treaty obligations with African chiefs, and that H.M. Government could not force

51 F.O. to CL, 23 January 1868, FO 84/1290, ff. 62-64.
52 CL to F.O., 24 February 1868, FO 84/1290, f. 112.
Africans to honour treaty engagements unless British subjects observe them. As Charles himself later wrote with regard to British traders: "Loud is the call for the immediate presence of the consul in a man-of-war to punish the lawlessness of the black goose, but not the lawlessness of the white gander."

By this time, Livingstone had endured enough of the petty politics of the Niger delta, and in requesting a leave of absence, he noted that it was the first time in nine years of African service he had done so. It was approved, and on 1 April 1868 he left Fernando Po, passing out of his district on the twelfth. By 4 May he was in Hamilton. He was to have only two months leave with pay, but due to illness and perhaps indecision, he did not resume his duties until 21 June 1869. It may very well be that he seriously considered leaving the Service, for earlier he advised his wife that he was now in his second year of service, and that soon the last half of his tenure would begin.

53 F.O. to CL, 13 April 1868, FO 84/1290, ff. 83-84.


55 In his absence, John Holt was Acting Consul from 12 April to 29 Sep., 1868, and John Wilson filled this post from 30 Sep., 1868 to 20 June, 1869. During this time, Livingstone's salary was docked £307 8 4, of which £50 5 6 was to be returned if he took no further leave: Memo, 12 Aug., 1869, FO 84/1308, f. 45.

56 CL - HCL, 29 January 1866, G5/93: the implication is that he would serve at his post for three years. In another letter, he wrote that as he had been there over a year, his time was 1/3 completed: CL - HCL, n.d. (early 1866), G5/101.
Little had changed in Livingstone's absence. The split in the house of Pepple was wider, and Oko Jumbo and Jaja were now implacable enemies. There had been no improvement in Bonny—New Calabar relations, and things were no better in the other haunts of Livingstone's domain. While he was on leave, a Royal Navy officer brought to the attention of the Admiralty the problems of administration on the Oil Rivers as he saw them, pointing out: a) trading has increased quicker than the Consul could cope with it;\(^57\) b) the extension of the district made it impossible for the Consul to cover the entire area—only Old Calabar and the Benin River had been visited in the previous 12 months; c) a Vice-Consul should be appointed; d) the Consul should visit all of the rivers periodically, and should have a Cruiser at his service to enable him to do so; e) implementation of these [and other measures not reproduced here] measures would do much to prevent the frequent disputes and difficulties which continually occur in the Oil Rivers.\(^58\) And the tenuous situation was further complicated by the arrival into the region of American and German traders, which made punitive steps taken against African offenders "a delicate affair."\(^59\)

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\(^57\) In 1866 there were 16 British and 1 Dutch firms at Old Calabar; by 1872 there were 24 British, 1 Dutch and 1 German, an increase of over 50%. Livingstone's Report, p. 339 above.

\(^58\) Commodore W.M. Dowell, H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," to the Admiralty, 1869, FO 84/1308, ff. 76-8.

\(^59\) CL to the F.O., 28 August 1869, FO 84/1308, f. 187.
For the remainder of 1869, Livingstone was very busy keeping peace between Brass and New Calabar, while finding time to settle another outbreak in the Cameroons, about the latter of which he noted in a classic understatement: "It is difficult for these chiefs to control their sons + slaves." 60

However, momentous events were taking place in Bonny - events which were to have a significant effect upon the future state of Nigeria. Civil War had again broken out between Jaja and Oko Jumbo, and Jaja was forced to leave the port of Bonny for the interior. 61 Apparently the victor, Oko Jumbo was not bent on the bloody revenge which so often followed local disagreements, but more upon bringing peace to Bonny at last. Jaja, who has been called the greatest Ibo of the last century, 62 was neither vanquished nor defeated, but instead proclaimed the existence of a new state named Opobo (after an early leader of the house of Pepple), with of course himself as king. 63 Opobo was strategically situated astride the inland waterways leading to Bonny, and Jaja was in a position to cut off Bonny's oil supply and send the greatest of the Oil River city-states into eclipse. In February, 1870, Jaja presented

60CL to the F.O., 29 November 1869, F0 84/1308, f. 248.


62DPND, p. 185.

63De Cardi's account of the creation of Opobo is reprinted in Hodgkin, Nigerian Perspectives, pp. 371 - 373.
Livingstone with a fait accompli, and requested recognition by Great Britain. 64 Meanwhile Bonny, of course, went to war.

What followed was an incredibly intricate series of battles, skirmishes, visits and negotiations between and among all parties concerned. 65 In order to keep the trade flowing, Livingstone considered it absolutely necessary that Bonny be maintained as a viable entity, and his efforts were designed to restrain Jaja and limit his success to reasonable proportions. 66

On 22 August 1870, Livingstone proclaimed a truce between Oko Jumbo and Jaja, 67 but during the following months he received letters from both sides accusing the other of breaking the terms. He immediately returned, renegotiated the truce, and on 15 November could report that the fragile peace still prevailed, and that as a result of the development of the Okrika trade, the flow of oil through Bonny had increased from 100 to 600 puncheons per month. 68 In another dispatch of the same date, Livingstone requested another leave of absence, for physical reasons. 69

64 Jaja to CL, 15 February 1870, FO 84/1326.
65 The best treatment of this is in DPNL, pp. 187 - 198.
66 Nevertheless, Ayandele sees Livingstone has having been almost solely for Jaja's success: AMIN, p. 76.
67 Chiefs of Manilla House to CL, 3 September 1870, FO 84/1326, ff. 300 - 301.
68 CL to the F.O., 15 November 1870, FO 84/1326, f. 296.
69 Ibid., f. 326.
During 1870, Livingstone spent a great deal of time and effort working with the belligerents in and around Bonny. In addition, he worked very hard trying to revive the Courts of Equity in Bonny, the Cameroons and New Calabar. These courts were made up of traders, chiefs and headmen, and the occasional missionary, and during his visits the Consul presided over the Court, and heard cases beyond their jurisdiction. At this time, British traders wanted the Consul invested with "more absolute power," mainly to strengthen their own position vis à vis the Efik middlemen, and the supercargoes "often exaggerated [their fears] in order to convince the home government of the strength of their case."\(^70\)

Over the next two years, H.M. Government instituted reforms which reorganized the courts, investing the Consul with "magisterial powers and jurisdiction over British subjects in the Consular district," which of course gave the Consul greater discretionary powers.\(^71\) As his reports testify, Livingstone did a great deal of work in bringing this reform to a successful conclusion.\(^72\)

\(^70\) *NPSM*, pp. 147-9; see p. 339 above. \(^71\) *Ibid.*

\(^72\) See Charles Livingstone, "Suggestions Toward removal of difficulties in way of granting Consul Magisterial Powers, etc," 19 May 1871, FO 84/1343, ff. 96-97; "Rules and Regulations framed under Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 21st day of February, 1872, by Her Majesty's Consul at Old Calabar," 29 April 1872, FO 84/1356, ff. 162-169, (printed version is in ff. 154-161); and "Rules for the Courts of Equity," FO 84/1356, ff. 173-175 (printed version, f. 172).
In addition to requesting a leave of absence, Livingstone requested permission to remove the Consular Residence from Fernando Po to Breaker Island, at the mouth of the Bonny and New Calabar Rivers. His reasons were that the island was being abandoned by the Spanish government and English merchants alike: all of the latter save one had already sold out at a loss and relocated on the mainland. The development of the Cameroons trade increased the volume of trade conducted on the Cross River, and when this trade began being shipped directly to Britain instead of going via Fernando Po as formerly, traders left the island in droves. Furthermore, Charles saw clearly that his main work was to be done at Bonny, where great changes were taking place. Breaker Island was healthier than Fernando Po, and certainly healthier than Bonny itself; (besides being a kind of neutral ground between the two traditional antagonists), and as it was centrally located it would reduce transportation costs. To clinch his argument, Livingstone noted that he had a rare offer of £150 for the Consulate from a Methodist missionary.

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73*NPSH*, p. 143.

74At Bonny and throughout the coastal settlements, Europeans rarely lived on the mainland (Old Calabar is a notable exception), but found it far healthier to live in ships permanently anchored in the river, where ocean breezes laundered the air, and thus kept fever at bay.

76*CL* to the F.O., 2 September 1870, FO 84/1308, f. 262. Two years later he informed the F.O. that a Baptist missionary offered £50 for the materials in the building, adding that it would probably be blown over before it could be sold. *CL* to the F.O., 29 October 1872, FO 84/1356, f. 266.
OLD CALABAR and THE CROSS RIVER SETTLEMENTS

1 Creek Town
2 Henshaw Town
3 Great Kwa Town
The trying period spent attempting to restore order in the Bonny civil war had so reduced the state of Livingstone's health that he was unable to stay at his post to learn if his leave request (of 15 November) was granted, and on 27 December 1870 he left Fernando Po for Madeira. As lodging was completely unavailable on that island, he continued on to Hamilton. Livingstone did not return to his post until 1 April 1872.

Consular Duties, 1872 - 1873. Throughout Livingstone's second period of leave, he maintained a regular correspondence with Foreign Office officials, and during this time he compiled several statistical reports as well as various suggestions designed to improve the effectiveness of the Consul. Upon arriving back in his district he took up residence in Old Calabar with William Anderson, a missionary living in Duke Town.

The most important item for his consideration was, of course, the continuing dispute between George Pepple and Oko Jumbo on the one hand, and Jaja on the other. During Livingstone's absence, Jaja's strategic position began to have its effect, and the trade of Bonny slowly became paralyzed. When in early 1873 Livingstone reported that Liverpool trade with Bonny and Opobo had fallen by £500,000 during the past two years, it became obvious that Jaja's victory was being felt far beyond the coast.

76 CL - HCL, 31 January 1871, 65/122.
77 DFND, p. 197; Memo, 8 February 1873, FO 84/1377, f. 81.
During 1872 the Consul was once again engaged in making innumerable visits to Bonny and Opobo, and evidently his personal disagreement with George Pepple did not abate. In October he regretted Foreign Office disapproval of his dealings with King George, observing that during Pepple's recent visit to Great Britain, he must have succeeded in convincing H.M. Government that he was far more important than he really was.78

In the last month of the year, Livingstone and John Commerell, Commander, H.M.S. "Pioneer," combined their utmost efforts to preside over a lasting peace between Bonny and Opobo. Their efforts were rewarded on 3 January, 1873 when a treaty was agreed to by all, and was signed by both Commerell and Livingstone.79 On the next day he negotiated the first commercial treaty between Opobo and Great Britain,80 which recognized Jaja as King of Opobo and ended three centuries of domination on the Biafran coast by Bonny.

78CL to the F.O., 29 October 1872, FO 84/1356, f. 264.

79Livingstone's copy in NMLZ, G5/229; text in JSQR, Appendix B, item 8, pp. 237-239. Of the Consul, Commerell wrote: "During the settlement of the Jaja and Oko Jumbo dispute nothing could exceed his energy and tact with the natives. To this and their confidence in him I consider the settlement so advantageous to British commerce is due." Commerell to Hariette Livingstone, quoted by the latter in a letter to Susannah Braithwaite, 5 June 1874, Wilson Family Archives.

80Livingstone's copy in NMLZ, G5/230; text in DPHD, Appendix C, p. 223. Although David Livingstone's "Pioneer" was later detailed for service in West African waters, and although these two documents were signed on Commerell's "Pioneer," it seems they were two separate vessels.
Unfortunately, Livingstone's problems were far from over. Henshaw Town was at war with Duke Town in Old Calabar, and, as might be expected, both sides in the Bonny-Opobo difficulty accused the other of violating the treaty. One if its clauses called for the return of one Oko Epella\(^{81}\) (who agreed with the proceedings) from Bonny to Opobo, and in the months that followed, George Pepple refused to cooperate in this matter. After one procrastination too many, Livingstone threatened to stop the Bonny trade altogether until the conditions of the treaty were respected.\(^{82}\)

For his part, Jaja was not to be placated. He declared that if Oko Epella did not return, he would go to Bonny and get him himself, and that as far as he was concerned, the whites could stop the trade, and take all of their ships and depart if they deemed it necessary, but he was going to see Oko Epella returned.\(^{83}\) When George Pepple and Oko Jumbo failed to take action, Livingstone declared the Bonny trade suspended as of 1 April, justifying his action on the grounds that it forestalled for the moment an invasion of Bonny by Jaja, and pointing out that it would not harm the British importation of oil, as the oil which would have gone through Bonny would now be diverted to New Calabar and Opobo.\(^{84}\)

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\(^{81}\)Oko Epella claimed his branch of the Anna Pepple house was independent of Jaja, but the latter did not agree.

\(^{82}\)CL to the F.O., 31 Mar. 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 167-8.

\(^{83}\)B. Stephens to CL, 23 Mar. 1873, ibid., ff. 169-171.

\(^{84}\)CL to the F.O., 2 April 1873, ibid., ff. 174-5.
Of course this was small consolation for the Liverpool traders at Bonny, who had watched their volume dwindle steadily for at least two years, and now, just at the beginning of the season, when hopes were high for heavy trading in spite of the existence of Opobo, their business was closed down altogether. The vendetta between Pepple and Livingstone continued: the Consul referred to a note from the king dated 1 April as "an appropriate production for All Fools's Day," which neither Pepple nor the Foreign Office thought an appropriate reply.85

To underscore their plight, a delegation from Liverpool went to London and complained bitterly against Livingstone's action. On 3 May, an official in the F.O. wrote:

I cannot but think that Mr. Livingstone has acted most unwisely in taking the strong measure of stopping the whole trade of the river without first referring home for instructions. There was no occasion for his doing so, and I would propose to disapprove of his proceedings, and to instruct him to reopen the trade at once if the affair has not been settled when he receives our Dispatch.... we should take measures at once to disapprove Mr. Livingstone's proceedings, for we already have all the Liverpool Merchants and others interested in the Afr. Trade on our backs.86

85 CL to the F.O., 2 April 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 185 and 182.

86 Memo, 3 May 1873, ibid., ff. 154-8. Nevertheless, another F.O. memo, with reference to "the petty bickerings between the rival chiefs in the neighborhood of the Bonny" [which statement reveals a total lack of understanding of the significance of the Bonny civil war], says, "A competent Consul would settle them without referring them home." 26 July 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 248-267. One gets the impression that Consul Livingstone was condemned if he did and condemned if he didn't; and the final sentence of the above quotation makes it clear that the disapproval was perhaps based less on Charles' action than upon the activities of the interest group which applied pressure in London.
Meanwhile, Livingstone sent further dispatches to the Foreign Office, giving further relevant details and reporting on the day-by-day progress of the dispute, but his elaborations did little to soften the official viewpoint. When Livingstone persuaded Jaja to refrain from open warfare as long as the matter was in the Consul's hands, Livingstone lifted the trade ban (14 April) and imposed a fine of 25 puncheons on George Pepple for continuing to harbour Oko Epelia. 87

For unknown reasons, the Foreign Office thought the fine was 150 puncheons (in spite of several references to it in Livingstone's hand which clearly read "25"), thus considered it to be unenforceable, and resolved to disapprove either his collecting the fine or closing the trade again, and this position was made clear to the Liverpool African Association. 88

Complications and misunderstandings in this case continued: the Acting Chairman of the Court of Equity of Bonny told Livingstone, after trade had been resumed, that the Court would rather see trade stopped again until every point of the treaty was settled, rather than see the fine of 25 puncheons collected. When Livingstone expressed reluctance to stop the trade again, the Acting Chairman (Henry Cotterell, of Irwin & Woodward, Liverpool) handed Livingstone a letter, dated over a week earlier, which protested the stoppage of trade (which had already been 

87 CL to the F.O., 14 April 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 202-3.
88 F.O. to CL, 17 May 1873, ff. 204-5.
lifted), which stoppage the traders wanted reinstated!  

In time conditions settled down - in May Jaja was pacified by the return of Oko Epella, and since Bonny and even Old Calabar to the east were suffering from a fever epidemic, Livingstone was reluctant to request that the Royal Navy collect the fine, out of consideration for the health of the seamen. For the time being, Livingstone left the fine to be collected "as your Lordship may determine."  

Unfortunately, this period proved to be the calm before the storm, and it was ended by what has to be the most startling letter Charles Livingstone ever wrote. Along with this letter, he enclosed a document "purporting to be a Foreign Office dispatch," noting that the name and the watermark differed from known F.O. paper, and adding that the contents made it clear that it could not have emanated from that office. At great length, Livingstone quoted from earlier documents, revealing inconsistencies of form and fact, which indicated to him that the document in question must have been forged.  

A slightly different tack follows: he pointed out that in July, 1871, the Acting Consul (David Hopkins, a trader at Bonny) stopped trade not in one but four of the Oil Rivers "without previous consultation with H.M. Government," and this action was approved; in August, 1870, the Consul stopped the trade of one river without similar consultation, and this  

89CL to the F.O., 17 April 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 217-8.  
action was also approved. Livingstone continued on and on in this vein, noting that an item in a Liverpool paper reported that a delegation from that city had gone to London to protest his action, but he remembered:

At the Foreign Office a few years ago, the Consul was assured that, while for selfish purposes, traders frequently contradicted official reports of proceedings, 'We always stick [with] our own officers...,' and it is hoped that the forger may be detected.91

The result was a foregone conclusion, and in late September 1873 Charles Livingstone received a letter of recall, which made it clear that the Foreign Office did not believe that Livingstone really thought the document to have been forged.92 His reply to the recall was gentle but forthright: it seemed "more respectful to your Lordship" to regard the document as a forgery, which in censuring the Consul for prompt obedience to a Foreign Office Standing Order, and careful conformity to approved precedents, necessarily censured the late Earl of Clarendon and even your lordship as the Authors of the Standing Order and the Approved Precedents, and I may add, censured also the Lords of the Admiralty who had just approved the very act censured in the Dispatch, viz. the mutual act of the Commodore and the Consul in stopping the Bonny trade for a few days, and thereby preventing a war which must have been deadly to the British interests represented by Her Majesty's Naval Service inasmuch as H.M. Govt. had pledged its word to stop the was by force if necessary.93

On 15 October 1873, Consul Livingstone handed over his duties

91 CL to the F.O., 10 June 1873, FO 84/1377, ff. 237-41; received on 26 July and replied to on 5 August.

92 Memo, 26 July 1873, ibid., ff. 242-3.

to George Hartley, and prepared to go home for the last time.

The tone of Livingstone's letter of 10 June 1873 seems to make it clear that he did not really consider the censure a forgery (although he makes a good case for it), and in his letter replying to his removal from office, he points out that "the Commodore" also thought it a forgery. He may well have:

writing to Susannah Braithwaite almost a year later, Harriette Livingstone quoted from a letter which Commodore Commerell had written to her:

Perhaps Livingstone knew it was not a forgery, but upset with the accumulation of wrongs he felt had emanating from the Foreign Office, from its lack of sympathy with his residence problems, to its support of King George Pepple and finally the Liverpool African Association, he may have felt like Conrad's Fresleven, and had had the last straw: "he had been a couple of years already out there engaged in the noble cause, you know, and he probably felt the need at last of asserting his self-respect in some way."95 His requests for a transfer had not

945 June 1874, Wilson Family Archives. The date of Commerell's letter is unknown.

materialized, his health had continued to deteriorate, and the lack of confidence from above was the straw that broke the camel's back.

Clearly, he was called upon to appease a myriad of parties whose appeasement was beyond his ability, somewhat due to events beyond control. Dike's assessment that "Consul Livingstone was in an unenviable position,"96 is an understatement. Obviously, the Liverpool merchants had their way with the Foreign Office, and their interests were recognized. This was not lost upon Commerell, who wrote to Harriette Livingstone:

I think the wrong began when that Liverpool clique rushed to the Foreign Office and they censured a tried and faithful servant without inquiry. The clerk, whoever he was, should have pacified them and promised [an] inquiry.97 Whatever, Charles Livingstone's public career came to an end.

An Evaluation of his Work as H.M. Consul. In spite of the fact that Livingstone was removed from his post for making a politically unpopular decision which was compounded by a rather insolent letter to his superiors, it does seem that overall, his service was of a high caliber, and like many another civil servant both before and since, he gave more to his government than he received in return.

The attempt to bring order into the Oil Rivers was an almost insuperable task. As we have seen, there was a veritable stew of opposing factions, each fiercely dedicated to the realization of its own particularist goals, at the expense of any

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96DPND, p. 190. 97See n. 94 above.
and all of the others, if necessary. The closest British administrative center was far to the west, in Lagos - the chance for the creation of a formal British administrative center in Fernando Po, with its code of law and organized courts, etc., surfaced briefly in the 1830's and was lost, and thereby the region was itself sentenced to two more generations of disorder. The atrocities committed by African and European alike were both heinous and innumerable; often it was the Consul's duty to bring such perpetrators of evil to "justice." Indeed, a more thankless job can hardly be imagined: the ways in which the Consul could err were legion, and the pitfalls were dark and deep. Rewards were few, and the ways in which the Consul could improve his lot were two: paradise was a transfer to a metropolitan area in a healthy, friendly climate; a decent alternative was a healthy retirement to that cottage with a garden surrounded by a white picket fence, complete with geraniums in the window-box and a regular pension cheque in the post box. The government failed to award Livingstone the former, and, as we shall see, fate was to deny him the latter.

The number of wars he was influential in preventing, and the number of treaties he either negotiated or co-negotiated, are not known, nor is the statistic vital; but if the Biblical injunction with regard to the peacemakers has yet substance, then Livingstone is in for his share.\textsuperscript{98} For most of his tenure

\textsuperscript{98}Many treaties he helped to organize and to write were finalized by Acting Consuls in his absence.
he was "on his own" so to speak, with nothing other than Her Majesty's reputation - which was considerable, to be sure - to lend influence to his pronouncements. Frequently he had no vessel of his own for transportation, and as at that time the West Coast Squadron consisted of only 13 ships and 2 river gunboats, charged with patrolling the coast from Cape Verde to far south of the Zaire/Congo River mouth,99 he could not rely upon a regular show of force to enforce his opinions. Livingstone must have possessed some diplomatic ability: during his first 6 years on the coast, he only had to impose fines on two occasions; when he was on leave, his replacement (Hopkins) imposed three fines within the space of six months.100 Almost invariably his initiative and solutions were approved by his government; on the one occasion they were not, his service was speedily ended.

From the day he took the post, Livingstone looked forward to the day when he would be transferred,101 preferably, of course, to the eastern half of North America, where he could have set up a home for his family, and provided for them for the remainder of his days. Such contentment and security was the will-o-the-wisp which directed him toward Africa in the first place, back in 1857. His chance came in 1870, when the British

99 "Report from the Select Committee on Africa (West Coast)," Parliamentary Papers, 1865, vol. v [412], xii.

100 CL to the F.O., 21 July 1871, FO 84/1343, ff. 161-2.

101 "I should have preferred a Consulship in America but thought it best to accept this as it may lead to something better." Charles to John Livingstone, 18 December 1864, London, privately owned.
Consul in Boston died. Livingstone immediately wrote the Foreign Office, humbly requesting to be transferred, pointing out that he knew the city and its people well as he had lived there, and adding that he had now served in Africa for eleven years.\textsuperscript{102}

The Foreign Office's reply has not yet come to light, but a short memo in the files reveals the tenor of its contents:

If you refer to the Consular Scheme which I gave, you will see I think it was a question which should be promoted, Hay or Livingstone. I believe Ld. Clarendon preferred the former + I think you did too.\textsuperscript{103}

Transfer within the Consular Service was not easy to come by: a Vice-Consul served 50 years in Lisbon before being promoted to Consul, which post he filled for a decade,\textsuperscript{104} and Platt wrote:

If a Victorian consul showed outstanding talent, if he happened to be around at the right place at the right time, and if he had a few friends or admirers well placed at the ear of the Private Secretary of the Secretary of State... then there was a chance that he might find himself promoted. Isobel Burton worked wonders for her husband.\textsuperscript{105}

Of course, Burton was an Army Officer and a veteran of many campaigns, which Livingstone was not. Small wonder that Livingstone, after he had failed to get his transfer, and after the

\textsuperscript{102}CL to the F.O., 8 August 1870, FO 84/1308, f. 235.

\textsuperscript{103}Memo, 10 September 1870, \textit{ibid.}, f. 237.

\textsuperscript{104}PBCS, p. 49. We are not told if the man actually wanted to be transferred.

\textsuperscript{105}\textit{ibid.}, p. 51. Sir Richard Burton served as H.M. Consul in Fernando Po, Santos, Damascus and Trieste before his career in the "Cinderella Service" came to an end.
hard negotiations which marked the turn of 1872 into 1873, (but before he vented his spleen at his superiors) could write: "Seems that I am becoming singularly indifferent about my fate in this life." 106

Few writers have ventured an opinion on the work of Charles Livingstone when serving in the Bights of Benin and Biafra: only one of David Livingstone's major biographers mentions that Charles did good work in this capacity. 107 Sir Bartle Frere wrote that on the coast he was known as "the Settle Man" due to his ability to settle disputes, 108 but it is not known if this title was bestowed upon all consuls due to the nature of their office. When commenting on the subsequent African careers of the Europeans on the Zambezi Expedition, Simpson doesn't even mention Charles Livingstone, although he mentions Edward Young and James Stewart, both of whom spent far less time associated with the expedition than did Charles. 109

Dike, who has much to say (comparatively) about Livingstone's work in the Oil Rivers, writes:

As a Consul he was a failure, being eccentric and strongly individualistic, and was dismissed for his refusal to carry out the orders of the Foreign Office. 110

106 CL - HCL, 21 May 1873, 05/154. 107 RLLN, p. 302.
108 Address to the R.G.S., 22 June 1874, PRGSL, vol. xviii, Session 1873-74, p. 513. When on the Zambezi, Charles was known to the Africans as the "Long One," probably because he was at 6' by far the tallest of the party, or less likely, because he had a long face. 109 SDDC, p. 52. 110 DPND, p. 182, n. 2.
The latter clause, it seems, cannot be borne out by available evidence: Livingstone indeed always executed his orders with dispatch, and was dismissed because he wrote an infamous letter to his superiors. Certainly, in this act he may be considered "eccentric," and like his father and brother(s) before him, he was always individualistic. In some parts of the English-speaking world, individualism is considered admirable, while in others it is quite the opposite, and Charles Livingstone was well acquainted with both. Nevertheless, no government encourages individualism in its citizens and still less in its civil "servants," and perhaps in this sense there is merit in Dike's charges. It is surprising to note, however, that in his treatment of the entire period in which Charles Livingstone served on the Guinea Coast, Dike is much more sympathetic to the man and the position in which he found himself than he is in the brief quotation reproduced above.

In all, it seems that Charles Livingstone served his government and the peoples of Africa well during his tenure on the West Coast, and that the man was recalled in disgrace should not detract overmuch from nine years' faithful and effective service under very trying circumstances.

Charles and David Livingstone, 1865 – 1873. During the final eight years of their lives, the Livingstone brothers never saw one another, and they exchanged very little correspondence. Nevertheless, family correspondence and a steady supply of
newspapers kept Charles au courant of David's travels and the controversies surrounding them, and his views and conjectures as recorded in his letters to his family in New England deserve brief consideration at this time.

When Livingstone sailed for Fernando Po the first time, he was evidently unaware of what the future held for his brother, for in one of his earliest letters to his wife, he wrote:

I saw a paragraph [in a newspaper] that D was soon to renew his exploration in the region north of Lake Nyassa etc. which I presume may be true. I should like that work much better than this though I hope to do something of that sort up some of the rivers on the West Coast.\(^{111}\)

A year later, with reference to David's explorations, he wrote that in spite of what the Quarterly said, "I am satisfied that there is no connexion between Nyassa + Tanganyika."\(^{112}\)

Charles made no further reference to David until it was reported in early 1867 that David was dead, killed by the Nguni near his favourite lake. Surprisingly, when one considers his remoteness from the scene, Charles doubted the story told by the Johannamen from the very beginning:

Everything seems consistent with the idea of these 9 Johannamen deserting him on entering the Maziti [Nguni] country, while there are many inconsistencies in their story. The spear is the Maziti's fighting weapon and not the axe. \(\text{[It was reported that David Livingstone was felled by an axe-blow, directed where the neck joins the shoulder\]}\) At the first moment of an attack these cowardly Johannamen would have fled and never stopped till far from danger. They never for a moment would have returned to bury the dead. Besides, each of the nine would

\(^{111}\) CL - HCL, 20 April 1865, 05/87.

\(^{112}\) CL - HCL, 1 March 1866, 05/89.
Charles closed this discussion by predicting that after "some months" had passed, his brother would be heard from again.

In a later letter, he remembered Musa, the spokesman of the Johanna men: "he was a thief as well as a liar - he used to steal our sugar till one day the mate put a lot of powdered jalap + Rhubarb [in it]. The effect of that cured him of stealing our sugar."\(^{114}\)

This is all that survives of Charles' opinion (at this time) of David's first disappearance when on his last series of explorations, and, of course, time bore Charles out completely. Almost three years later, however, there appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* an excerpt from a strange letter written by Charles to his niece (and David's daughter, Agnes). It said that a Portuguese traveller in the interior was told by Africans in June, 1868, that David met death when "he had to drink the muange, and was cut to pieces by the natives, as some of the poison

\(^{113}\) GL - HCL, 26 April 1867, 05/105. Kirk was one of the chief interrogators of the Johanna men, and he believed their story, as did Thomas Baines (Cf. Baines to John Noble, 7 March 1867, SALC, Noble Papers, Box 4); E.D. Young did not. Incidentally, the above passage reveals Charles to have had a good eye for anthropology/ethnology.

\(^{114}\) GL - HCL, 10 July 1867, 05/108.
showed that it had taken effect on him."

Not until five years had elapsed did David begin to appear regularly again in Charles' letters, when of course David began appearing regularly again in the world's newspapers. Again, it was over a question of his whereabouts. An expedition sent out from the R.G.S. arrived in Zanzibar from Britain at about the same time an expedition previously sent out by a New York newspaper was arriving at Zanzibar from Ujiji, having already provided relief for the great missionary explorer. There was bad feeling between the two parties, and it spread to three continents, and the situation was exacerbated by the fact that David's son had been a member of the R.G.S. party. Instead of going inland to see his father, William O. Livingstone returned to Britain, and published in the Times an ill-advised letter which detracted from Stanley's accomplishment.

Hearing of the situation, Charles spared neither kin nor Society:

The Livingstone Search Expedition [R.G.S.] made a miserable ending. I fear Oswell missed his chance in not going on with the supplies which Stanley forwarded inland to Ujiji upon returning to Zanzibar, as it is not likely he will be sent out again. He was ill-advised in sending his letter to the Times.\(^\text{116}\)

\(^{115}\)Glasgow Herald, 10 February 1870, p. 5, c. 1; date of letter unknown. This information was forwarded to the Foreign Office by Consul Vredenberg of Luanda, who believed it left "little hope of the safety of Dr. L." This reference is due to the kindness of Mr. Richard A.G. Dupuis, of London. "Muange" is a misspelling for "muavi," or ordeal by poison.

\(^{116}\)CL - HCL, 11 September 1872, 05/133.
Nine days later, Charles wrote: "I saw from the papers that Stanley brought me a letter, but it has not yet arrived here. What a contrast between Stanley and our "Search Expedition." I don't like to speak or even to think of the latter." 117

Upon arrival in England, Stanley was astonished, mortified, and insulted to learn that the Royal Geographical Society considered the letters and journals Stanley brought back from Livingstone to be forgeries, implying, of course, that he had never met Livingstone at all. This colossal blunder of judgement as well as courtesy was so widely believed in Britain, that Livingstone's correspondents wrote the Times as well as their local journals to register their opinions in favour of Stanley. Among this group were Robert Moffat, Agnes Livingstone (David's daughter), and J. Bevan Braithwaite. Although Charles had seen none of the documents, he never for a moment doubted Stanley's story:

Stanley is quite a lion, notwithstanding the efforts of some to deprecate him... Mr. Webb of Newstead Abbey takes up strong for Stanley, + most sensible persons do. 118

In other letters from this period, all of which are written to his only son, Charles amplified his views on these subjects.


he wrote:

You will see from the Times that some of the Geographical Carping Crew appear, as a Mr. Fiske writes to the Times, to be sorry that Dr. Livingstone has been found, or at least found by Mr. Stanley; and [he] suggests very properly that they might be better employed in devising some reward for Stanley, who has shown great pluck and perseverance. I am sure that your Uncle was very glad to meet Stanley.119

Charles also recorded his opinion of David's son:

What a thundering Ass your Cousin O. has made of himself! He had one of those golden opportunities so exceeding rare and which never return, but he had not mind enough to seize it, and can now only snap and snarl at Stanley, who has given proof of having the pluck and bravery which O. has proved himself entirely destitute of.120

And again he wrote: Agnes

says Oswell has been acquitted of blame and is going on with his medical studies. Stanley could have been acquitted of blame had he turned back on account of the War at Unyanyembe but he had the pluck to go on.121

The following May, Charles, with keen insight, made one final reference to the whole matter:

119 CL - Charles H. Livingstone, 19 August 1872, NMLZ, G5/214. David was indeed; he wrote: "Here was the Good Samaritan and no mistake," DL to Maclear and Mann, 18 August 1872?, RCSL, Copy Book ii. He also referred to "my good Samaritan Stanley" in a letter to John Livingstone, December 1872, MS Copy in NARS, LI 1/11, pp. 2301 - 2304.

120 CL - Charles H. Livingstone, 8 October 1872, NMLZ, G5/216.

121 CL - Charles H. Livingstone, 22 October 1872, NMLZ, G5/217. These letters to his son are noteworthy in that Charles speaks more candidly to him than he does to either his wife or his daughters. Not only do they indicate that he is trying to give his son advice on the world and its ways, but the letters are also mute testimony to the fact that his son was now approaching maturity, having passed his eighteenth birthday. Thus the letters provide an interesting contrast to those David wrote his sons under similar circumstances.
I see that the Geographical [Society] have given Dr. Kirk a 'massive silver service' for assistance in African discoveries. As Stanley blamed the Society more than he blamed Kirk, perhaps this is a sort of solatium to themselves as well as Kirk.\textsuperscript{122}

Before his time in West Africa had expired, Charles had one further encounter with an expedition seeking his brother. He informed his wife: "The Livingstone Congo Expedition is on board this ship. I don't expect much from them as explorers, and as for their meeting D. it is all moonshine."\textsuperscript{123} Nevertheless, he thought well enough of their prospects (or perhaps he was merely being polite) to give them a letter addressed to David, as it was "barely possible you may meet."\textsuperscript{124}

In this letter, he advises David that the geographers at home had decided that he was actually on the Congo, but out of fraternal loyalty Charles hopes the contrary, as "I should greatly prefer your own opinion that you are on the grand old Nile and will settle its sources for all time." And one of his last sentences expresses the poignant wish: "If you get out of Africa this year we shall I hope meet shortly afterwards in England and I suspect neither of us will ever return to Africa."

Charles' Health in West Africa. As should be obvious by now, Charles' health when in West Africa was no better than it had

\textsuperscript{122} CL to Hattie Livingstone, 16 May 1873, NMLZ, G5/196.

\textsuperscript{123} CL - HCL, 8 January 1873, G5/140. The ship was the Mail Steamer "Africa."

\textsuperscript{124} CL to DL, 9 January 1873, NMLZ, G5/141.
been when he was on the other side of the continent. The climate, of course, was much worse: one traveller, who had visited North America and the West Indies, wrote of Bonny:

> I have never been so thoroughly impressed with the fatal nature of climate to Europeans... Sooner or later the seeds sown during exposure must reap a harvest on the frame of the white man, too often resulting in death...\textsuperscript{125}

In the early years, he seems to have kept tolerably well, noting only in July, 1867: "I have to write and read at night with spectacles which is a sign that one is getting old and that African fever is not good for the eyesight."\textsuperscript{126}

Although his first furlough was to last only two months, it was extended and reextended until the period encompassed over 14 months (12 April 1868 - 21 June 1869). When applying for an extension, he informed Clarendon:

> My system appears to have become so poisoned with malaria that I have still to struggle with African fever..., and he added that for the first five months at home he was obliged to be under a physician's care, and that he suffered constant attacks until the end of the year. During the first two months of 1869 he had no such problems, but had suffered "a number in the past fortnight."\textsuperscript{127} He was correct - his system was indeed poisoned, and while he enjoyed periods

\textsuperscript{125} W. Nicholas Thomas, "On the Gil Rivers of West Africa," PROSL, vol. xvii, Session 1872-73, p. 155.

\textsuperscript{126} CL - HCL, 10 July 1867, 05/108. At this writing, he was four months past his forty-sixth birthday.

\textsuperscript{127} CL to the F.O., 19 March 1869, FO 84/1308, f. 132.
relatively free from disease, he never regained his health again.

His second and final period of leave was also taken due to declining health, and this time his state deteriorated so rapidly that he left his post before he received permission to do so. In his request for another leave of absence, he mentioned how he had suffered severely from asthmatic cough, accompanied by haemorrhage of the bronchial tubes, which he contracted while attending to Consular duties aboard H.M.S. "Pert."

Thinking the dry season in the tropics would benefit him, he expressed a preference to remain at his post until April, 1871, thus avoiding the "English winter."\(^{128}\) However, on 31 December he wrote the Foreign Office that he was leaving immediately for Madeira, due to chronic bronchitis.\(^{129}\)

As Madeira offered no lodging, he continued on to Hamilton, from which he wrote his wife soon after his arrival: "I was never so thoroughly done up in my life."\(^{130}\) On each of the three nights prior to writing, he did not think he'd live until morning, and he requested Harriette sell their house and join him. Another letter only three days later indicates that he was almost invalid, and he wrote: "I don't know whether I shall

\(^{128}\)GL to the F.O., 15 November 1870, FO 84/1326, f. 326.

\(^{129}\)GL to the F.O., 31 December 1870, ibid., f. 340. In a later letter, he told his wife he departed on the 27th (p. 349, n. 76 above): he probably left Fernando Po on the 27th, and wrote the F.O. four days later from Bonny.

\(^{130}\)GL - HCL, 31 January 1871, G5/122.
ever get well again."\textsuperscript{131} 

In June and July of that year he was at Rothesay, Isle of D"ate to take salt water baths, and his health slowly improved. His spirits were no doubt buoyed by the presence of his wife, who had apparently sold their home "lock, stock and barrel" to come and be with him. His daughter Hattie accompanied her mother, and was soon enrolled at school in St. John's Wood with the Fitch's daughter. His son Charles visited him also during this summer of mixed emotions. Only his firstborn, Mary, who seems to have had some debilitating disease since childhood, remained in the United States.

On 13 July 1871, his wife wrote their daughter in London, noting, "Papa seems so cheerful and like himself it is cheering, but that horrid cough still clings closer than a brother."\textsuperscript{132} Very slowly he improved, but he did not return to Africa until the following Spring, while his wife went to live in Switzerland. Back in his district, he took up residence in Old Calabar, which he thought would be slightly healthier than Fernando Po had been. For most of the next eighteen months his health was surprisingly good (all things considered, of course), and to his son he wrote on 9 June 1873 that his health was about as good as ever it would be again.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{131}CL - HCL, 3 February 1871, 05/123.
\textsuperscript{132}Harriette to Hattie Livingstone, 13 July 1871, 05/181.
\textsuperscript{133}CL to Charles H. Livingstone, 9 June 1873, 05/221.
In late February or early March, 1873, Livingstone received a note from his friend Commodore Commerell, now in 
Sierra Leone, advising him to take care as fever was creeping 
down the coast. Charles assumed that the seasonal tornadoes 
would stop it, and anyway he considered the danger season 
past. 134 It was not: two months later the coast raged with 
fever. On four consecutive days (23-26 April 1873) the Captain, 
Chief Engineer, white clerk and owner's son of the steamer "Ant" 
died on board, leaving only 2 whites surviving, 135 and in early 
June Charles reported that 28 whites died in Bonny of yellow 
fever. 136 This was roughly 3/4 of the Europeans living 
there. 137 At a time when Europeans were literally "dropping 
like flies" on the Bights of Benin and Biafra, Charles began 
wrapping up his official duties and preparing for the journey 
home.

He was looking forward to it: dejected by the failure to 
be transferred to Boston is 1870, dispirited by the lack of 
faith exhibited by his government, depressed because he had so 
far been unable to provide a home for his family, and resigned 
to spend the rest of his days in poor health, he was ready to

134 CL - HCL, 5 March 1873, G5/146.
135 CL - HCL, 3 May 1873, G5/153.
136 CL - HCL, 2 June 1873, G5/155. 2½ weeks later he added 
that it was the worst epidemic on the coast in 10 years: CL - 
HCL, 20 June 1873, G5/156.
137 CL to the F.O., 1 July 1873, F0 84/1377, ff. 244-7.
retire: "I shall not be sorry when I turn my back upon the whole pack of palm oil twisters and a coast never created for the residence of white men."\textsuperscript{138} His son Charles, who eventually became a mining engineer, was considering entering the iron business in Pennsylvania, and Charles Sr. advised Harriette:

look out for a place where we might all live, a comfortable, cozy house - not a big chilly one - and having a piece of land for a garden, etc. where we might spend what little of life remains to us. It could be ready when I return next year.\textsuperscript{139}

He added, with more bitter truth than he could have realized, that their daughter Hattie had better find a livelihood, as "Her father may not be able to provide for her long, as life and health are very uncertain."\textsuperscript{140}

When his official duties were handed over to his successor on 15 October 1873 in Old Calabar, Livingstone had already arranged to leave the country. He left Old Calabar on the "Ethiopia" Mail Steamer, which was making her maiden voyage, on the 18th, and in a day the ship put into Bonny. Here it was delayed until the 25th taking on cargo. Adjacent to her berth in Bonny was the "Eboe," a smaller mail steamer which plied the rivers where the larger class of vessels could not venture. The "Eboe" was rife with yellow fever ("the number of deaths that have taken place on board of her during the last two or three

\textsuperscript{138} CL - HCL, 20 June 1873, 05/156.
\textsuperscript{139} CL - HCL, 9 February 1873, 05/144.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
months is truly startling,"¹⁴¹ and shortly after embarking from Bonny on the 25th, four of her passengers died of yellow fever.¹⁴² One of the unfortunate quartet was Captain Croft, "one of the most vigorous men connected with the African coast,"¹⁴³ and also one of the most popular. Another was Charles Livingstone. When the "Ethiopia" landed at Liverpool, it was met by Harriette and Hattie Livingstone, who for the first time learned that husband and father had been buried at sea.¹⁴⁴ Page one of the Times, 27 November 1873, contains the following obituary:

On the 28th Oct., of African fever, on board the "Ethiopia" Mail Steamer, homeward bound, Charles Livingstone, Esq., brother of Dr. Livingstone, and late Her Majesty's Consul, West Africa, aged 52. He leaves a widow and three children, whose anticipated joy is turned into deepest mourning. His death is deeply lamented by all who knew him.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ George Hartley (Livingstone's successor as H.M. Consul, former Vice Consul at Luanda [1877]) to the F.O., 18 November 1873, PO 84/1377, ff. 340 - 343.


¹⁴⁴ The London Times, 24 November 1873, p. 5, c. 5, mentions the death of Captain Croft, plus recent news of David Livingstone, but makes no mention of the fact that Charles Livingstone died on board the ship.

Perhaps not all lamented, but some of those who were cast by fate onto that woebegone shore along with Livingstone recorded their opinions of the man. Henry Roe, a missionary on Fernando Po with whom Livingstone lived for a short time in December, 1870, wrote that Charles was "in all respects, a gentleman that our nation may be proud of... his kindness was great." Roe writes on: "His liberality and kind offers could not all be received, nor mentioned here... and his 'good things' from Scotland greatly helped to keep us longer out of our graves. May his good name be for ever cherished!" 146

John Commerell, Commodore, R.N. wrote that Livingstone died "in the execution of his duty after a long and meritorious service in a pestilential climate." 147 Another naval officer wrote:

I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the valuable services rendered by Mr. Chas. Livingstone, Consul for the Bights of Benin and Biafra during the three and a half years I commanded on the West Coast of Africa and Cape of Good Hope Station. I had always great confidence in Mr. Livingstone and a high opinion of his tact and judgement in the arrangement of the numerous and somewhat intricate questions which were constantly arising in the Oil Rivers with the Native Chiefs. 148

William Anderson, the missionary with whom Livingstone boarded for a time in Old Calabar, referred to the Consul as


147 Commerell to Harriette C. Livingstone, quoted in a letter from HCL to Susannah Braithwaite, 5 June 1874, Wilson Family Archives.

148 W. M. Dowell, Captain, R.N. to Hattie I. Livingstone, 1 April 1874, H.M.S. "Hercules," Portsmouth.
"our good friend," agreed with his handling of his consular duties, appreciated the example Charles set to the rest of the community by attending church service regularly, and in general spoke well of him.\textsuperscript{149}

While perhaps something may be subtracted from each of the above as they were written out of respect for the deceased, they do indicate something about the man's character. The following opinion is noteworthy as it goes into greater detail about Livingstone, and was written by Henry Cotterell (p. 353 above), a Liverpool trader based in Bonny:

Consul Livingstone... had much to do in the settlement which was ultimately arrived at between the belligerents... of the Bonny War; he was frequently my guest, and at times would be a most interesting as well as amusing companion; he had travelled much, and had his mind stored with much that was interesting; his unfortunate failing was a vitriolic temper, which at times was uncontrollable, and often got him into serious trouble; it was in consequence of this that he was recalled.\textsuperscript{150}

Cotterell seems to have evaluated Charles very well, and it is worth remarking that although the two men were at odds in the aftermath of the Bonny - Opobo settlement, the Consul's personal behavior seems to have retained the trader's respect.

If we can believe Livingstone's own testimony, and there seems to be no reason why we cannot, at least one group of

\textsuperscript{149} Wm. Marwick, William and Louisa Anderson, (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 418, 426-8, and 462-3.

\textsuperscript{150} P.N. Davies (ed.), Trading in West Africa, 1840 - 1920, (1976), p. 52. For this reference the present writer is grateful to Mr. D. H. Simpson, of London. Cotterell's "amusing" and harriette's remark on Charles' being "cheerful" indicate another side of Charles which was lacking apparently in his brother.
Africans also thought well of him. In an unfinished letter, seemingly the last personal letter he ever wrote to anyone, Charles informed his son:

The Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar wrote to me when I first came here, telling me they did not want a Consul to live here and requested me to go back to Fernando Po. I took no notice of this. The other day on hearing that I was going away they told Rev. Mr. Anderson that they were sorry I was going off - that I was a very good man and did not trouble them as they had feared...\(^{151}\)

This seems plausible enough, especially when one considers that most of the time his residence was in Old Calabar, he was busy working to solve the Bonny - Opobo War,\(^{152}\) and indeed the praise is simple enough to ring true. Thus we have it from sailor, missionary, European and African traders that the man served well. No doubt many others would not have thought so well of Charles Livingstone, but given the nature of his office and the extent of his duties, it is commendable that upon leaving his post for the last time, there were many persons who thought well of the man and his work. Perhaps no one could have expected anything more.

\(^{151}\) GL to Charles R. Livingstone, 11 October 1873, G5/224.

\(^{152}\) In the Old Calabar area he had to intervene at least once between Duke Town and Henshaw Town, and doubtless there were other problems.
CHAPTER XIII

HIS PLACE IN HISTORY

But now to conclude, an end I will make,
In time, as I think it good. Child, 150

Until recently, Charles Livingstone's place in history
seemed to be little more than a mere footnote on a page of his
famous brother's career, and an unhappy note it was. Unlike
his brother, he was not among the greatest European explorers
of Africa, and while he was a competent administrator, he was
far from being a Lugard or a Johnston.

In a number of ways, his fame suffered - rather than
having been enhanced - as a result of his relationship with
David Livingstone. For almost a century after his death, David
was revered as having been almost semi-divine, and in any com-
parisons between the two, Charles could be expected to come off
second best. Works on David such as those by Jeal and Martelli,
whatever their shortcomings, rendered service by removing
David's halo, so to speak, and with the glory no longer shining
around, Charles could be examined in an entirely different
light. In the past, Charles was subjected to comparisons with
David on all of David's strong points, where few men could hope
to compete; no one noticed that Charles had his positive side.
Apparently, no one compared Baines with Thornton, or Bedingfeld
with Rae, or any of the four with David; but few have resisted
the attempt to compare and contrast David with Charles, always
to the detriment of the latter.
As an explorer, Charles had his moments: he was one of the first Europeans known to have seen Lake Malawi, and to have explored far up its western shore; he was among the first to ascend the Rongwe River and cross the Batoka highlands, and to visit many parts of the Shire highlands as well. Perhaps his only claim to fame as an individual explorer is better placed in a book of African trivia than in a history of exploration, for he was apparently the first person to have seen both the Niagara and the Victoria Falls. Some may wish to consider his visit to the Okrika as a feat of exploration, but this seems an overly generous viewpoint.

It has been indicated in the previous chapter that his accomplishments as an administrator were both numerous and varied, such as preventing wars, negotiating peace, exercising petty judicial responsibility, and the like. While neither of his records as explorer or administrator is remarkable nor outstanding — both had their ups and downs, their sublime and ridiculous moments — the sum total of each and hence both is a job well done.

In addition, he made small but not insignificant contributions to the vast amount of scientific data collected in the nineteenth century. His work in ornithology and geophysics was worthy of notice, and in other fields he made minor contributions. In time, his writings and his photographic efforts may

1 CILW, p. 9. William Cotton Oswell visited Niagara four years before Charles visited the Victoria Falls, and although Oswell was very close to the Victoria Falls in 1851, he never saw them.
similarly add to the societal studies being currently conducted on pre-literate peoples around the globe.

Charles Livingstone was, in at least one way, a product of his times. He was a speck among the masses who left Europe around the middle of the last century, bound for every corner of the earth for every possible reason: they "won the west," "tamed the jungle," preached the gospel, and committed every good and evil imaginable. When considered with his fellow wayfarers, Charles' record places him far closer to the top of the heap than to the bottom. More specifically, he was typical of the many Scots who left home for the New World and Fortune, remaining a while before moving on to Africa, India, Australia or New Zealand, or even elsewhere.

His life may also be seen as analogous to the human condition in general - Man is always searching, yet apparently rarely, if ever, finding, and death more frequently comes at a beginning rather than an end. The irony of Charles Livingstone's "royal road to romance" (a phrase coined by Richard Halliburton) is great: supposedly always in bad health, he survived the rigours of one of the world's most unhealthy climates for longer than any of his predecessors in office, and some of those who followed, only to be cut down by a rare and virulent strain of fever contracted while en route home to his family and retirement. Of such fibre is great literature often weaved.

Finally, although by its very nature this study was made to disassociate (as much as reality permitted) Charles from his
brother David, let the final thought be dedicated to both, for when your elder brother was considered by some to be "the most important European in the history of the continent" [Africa, of course], you can never escape his shadow. So often in the past writers have advanced the idea that David was influenced by Charles in making decisions, an explanation which was all too often used to explain away David's decisions or behavioral patterns which said writers found personally distasteful, that the following should be considered: of the four major decisions Charles made throughout his life, three and perhaps all were largely influenced by his elder brother's opinion. Had David opposed, Charles may well not have gone to Oberlin; had David not so requested, Charles would not have gone on the Zambezi Expedition; and without David's support, Charles may not have entered the Consular Service and gone to Fernando Po. He was able to choose a wife - and apparently a very good one - without David's advice or approval; nevertheless, when the couple wavered during their long period of engagement, David, as we have seen (p. 38 above), firmly recommended that Charles keep his vow, and Charles did so. Furthermore, Charles almost went to China as a missionary, and had he done so, it would have been at David's wish and through his influence. Is short, it seems that David was the most influential person in the adult life of Charles Livingstone, and existing evidence would have to be

stretched tenfold for the contrary to even approach credit-
ability.

This, then, has been a tale of two brothers. Like brothers
everywhere and in all times, they were alike in many ways and
unlike in many others. Each had his strengths and his weak-
nesses—David's strengths made history; Charles' weaknesses
made uncomfortable reading in David's biographies. As time
passes, Charles' strong points may be considered more seriously,
and perhaps some day a special niche may be created in his mem-
ory in the museum which today commemorates his brother's birth-
place, on the bank of the Clyde in Low Blantyre. After all,
Charles was born there too.
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Livingstone, Charles. Journal/letters: to his wife, 14 September - 21 December 1858, NMLZ, O5/10; 15 - 23 July 1861, NMLZ, O5/75; to Frederick Fitch, 15 - 19 July 1861, NARS, LI 3/1/1; three "journals" written in 1864 about his experiences while a member of the Zambezi Expedition, OCL00, 091.916 L 763.

Livingstone, David. Over 80 in number, 1848 - 1873, in various archives and private hands, each described in detail in DLCD.

Mackenzie, Anne. 4 January - 12 May 1862, which includes brief notes from the journal of Dr. David Ramsey (Surgeon, H.M.S. "Gorgon"), 17 February - 15 March 1862, and distances made by the "Hetty Ellen," 26 December 1861 - 3 January 1862, from a log kept by George Rae, USPG.

Mackenzie, Charles. February, 1861 - January 1862, USPG.

Medlycott, Mervyn B. (Mate, H.M.S. "Lynx"), 4 September - 2 October, 1858, privately owned.

Procter, Lovell J. 1 October 1860 - 11 March 1864, USPG.

Rowley, Henry. 27 February - 18 May 1863, RGSL, DL 3/11/4; copy in USPG, Box TC.

Skead, Francis. (Naval Surveyor attached to the Zambezi Expedition), 1 April - 30 June 1858, MDNL.
Stewart, James. 3 July 1861 – 18 May 1863, NARS, ST 1/2/1.

Thornton, Richard. August 1857 – March, 1863, RHLO.

Waller, Horace. October, 1860 – April, 1864, RHLO.

Logbook, H.M.S. "Crestes" (Captain Alan H. Gardner), 1 September 1861 – 31 December 1863, SNMDL.

"Pioneer Precis Book," 11 November 1859 – 8 March 1862, probably kept by John Washington, MDNL.

Storekeeper's Journal, Zambezi Expedition, 1858 – 1859, with later entries, GBSL. At various times, the stores were the charge of Thomas Baines, William Rowe, William Gedye and Edward Young.

B. COLLECTIONS OF LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

Anderson, William. Papers (Old Calabar), NLS, MS.2983.

Baines, Thomas. Small collection of letters to George and Richard Thornton, JoPL; oils and sketches from the Zambezi Expedition, JoPL and RGSL.

Livingstone, Charles. Over 225 letters to his wife and children, 1857 – 1873, NMLZ, G5; assorted family correspondence in the Wilson Family Archives; copies of letters to Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Fitch, 1859 – 1863, NARS, LI 3/1/1; 4 very important letters to Richard Thornton, KMPL; small collection of letters about his family, USLC, AC 6907; the "Soule Collection," misc. documents relevant to the period he spent in Plympton, SNMDL; and hundreds of letters and papers relevant to his work as H.M. Consul in PROL, FO 2/45 – 48; FO 84/1249, 1265, 1277, 1290, 1308, 1326, 1343, 1356, 1377.

Livingstone, David. Over 2000 letters to all correspondents, as described in DLCD, the most important collections of which are to: John Washington, MDNL, MSS. 120; James Young and Wm. C. Oswell, NMLZ; Thomas Maclear, Roderick Murchison, J.M. Nunes and other Portuguese officials (many are copies), Robert Gray, Frederick Fitch and others, NARS, LI 1/1/1, LI 2/1; letters to his family in NLS, Mss.10701, 10704, 10707; Wilson Family Archives; BLL Add. Mss. 50184; J.B. Braithwaite, NLS ACC 6396, and MS.DEP.237; Sir George Gray, AUPL; Edmund Gabriel, BLJS and BLL Add. Mss. 37410; Horace Waller, RHLC; John Murray, JMMPL; Angela Burdett.
Copies of many letters which were used by W.G. Blaikie are in a letter book in NLS, MS. 10773.

Copies of many letters from 1866 to 1873, collected by Sir John Gray are in two copy books in RCLS.


Kirk, John. Letters to Sir William and Dr. Joseph D. Hooker, 1861 - 1863, 1866 RBGK; to Dr. Balfour, RBLE; to David Livingstone in NARS; various papers privately owned, England.

Sá da Bandeira, Latino Coelho a. Letters and papers relevant to the Zambezi Expedition, AHUL, Pasta 2922 - 2927; also Mocambique papers, 1857 - 1866, pasta 15 - 24, which contain many items relevant to Livingstone's time and writings in Angola, and Livingstone letters not found elsewhere, including one to Clarendon dated 26 August 1856.

Stewart, James. Letters and copies to and from many U.M.C.A. and Zambezi Expedition personnel, NARS, ST 1/1/1, ST 13/2/2.

Thornton, Richard. Miscellaneous papers in BLJS, NARS TH 1/1/1, RRLO, and GFFA, the latter of which were reportedly transferred to the University of Fort Hare Library.

Walker, Baldwin. Papers and letters concerned with the affairs of the East Coast Squadron, 1861 - 1864, UCTL, BC 356.

Waller, Horace. Miscellaneous papers and letters, RRLO.

Washington, John. Papers relevant to the Zambezi Expedition, MDNL, MSS. 120.

Young, James. Letter books and other papers, Andersonian Library, University of Strathclyde.

London Missionary Society papers now in SOAS.

UMCA papers now in USPG.
Zambezi Expedition papers, PROL, FO 63/842, 843 (parts i and ii), 871, 894 (parts i and ii), and FO 97/322.

C. UNPUBLISHED REPORTS


----. "Rules and Regulations Framed under Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 21st day of February 1872 by Her Majesty's Consul at Old Calabar," 29 April 1872, FO 84/1356, ff. 162-169.


----------. "Report on Commander Bedingfeld's Resignation of his Appointment to the Zambezi Expedition under Dr. Livingstone," 31 March 1859, fo. 1 - 17, MDNL, MSS. 120.

----------. "Report on the Cases of Thomas Baines, Storekeeper, and Richard Thornton, Geologist." 30 March 1860, PROL, FO 63/871, ff. 293 - 295; also MDNL, MSS. 120.

D. BOOKS


<table>
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<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Author and Title</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>CRJL</td>
<td>Campbell, R.J. <em>Livingstone.</em> London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1929.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DCiG</td>
<td>Devereux, William C. <em>A Cruise in the &quot;Gorgon.&quot;</em> London: Bell and Daldy, 1869.</td>
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</table>


Fraser, A.Z. Livingstone and Newstead. London: John Murray, 1913.


Lacerda, José de. Exame das Viagens do Doutor Livingstone. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1867.


Wilson, Hubert F. *Livingstone, the Master Missionary*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., n.d. (1923?).


3. *Items with neither Author nor Editor.*


*The Life and Explorations of David Livingstone, LLD, carefully compiled from Reliable Sources*. 2 vols. Glasgow: James Semple, n.d. (1875?).

*The Life and Finding of Dr. Livingstone*. London: Dean & Son, n.d. (1873?).
1. Items Abbreviated in the Footnotes.


2. Items not Abbreviated in the Footnotes.


Bosazza, V.L. "Notes for the draft chapter on the Magnetic Observations Made By Charles Livingstone." Unpublished, (February, 1970), RSL.


Brown, S. "David Livingstone's Early Life." Methodist Recorder, 6 March 1913.


Cooley, W.D. "Dr. Livingstone's Discoveries." The Athenaeum, no. 1520, 13 December 1856, p. 1535.

Crombie, J. Brand. "Livingstone's Youth and Early Friends." British Congregationalist, 6 March 1913.


Millar, Dr. "David Livingstone: Some Personal Reflections." Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland, March, 1913.


Scott, J.B. "A Naval Officer's Journal, 1861." (The publication from which this was taken was not identified, CLWJ).


--------. "Livingstone and the Years of Preparation, 1813 - 1857." PLMA, pp. 7 - 28.


3. Items with neither Author nor Editor.


"Dr. Livingstone's Exploration of the Zambesi River." The Illustrated London News, 27 February 1858, pp. 211 - 212.


"South Central Africa and its Explorer, being a report of a meeting held in the Commercial Rooms, Cape Town, 12 November 1856, in Honour of the Rev. Dr. Livingstone." Reprinted from the South African Commercial Advertiser and Cape Town Mail, with notes by the Astronomer Royal. Cape Town, 1856, pp. 1 - 41.

"The Livingstone Letters." Missionary Herald (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), vol. 118, no. 4 (April, 1922), p. 131; ibid., no. 5 (May, 1922), pp. 173 - 178; ibid., no. 6 (June, 1922), pp. 219 - 221; ibid., no. 7 (July, 1922), pp. 262 - 264; all letters were written to Charles Livingstone.

"Visit of the 'Gorgon' to the Zambesi River," (including sketches and text). Illustrated London News, 2 August 1862, pp. 124 - 138. (Sketches, and perhaps text also, by Henry Sewell).

4. Items from the Nyasaland Journal.


--------. "Notes on the Gradient of the Zambesi, on the Level of Lake Nyassa, on the Murchison Rapids, and on Lake Shirwa." Vol. 35 (1865), pp. 167 - 169.


--------. "Explorations to the West of Lake Nyassa in 1863." Vol. 34 (1864), pp. 245 - 251.

--------. "Extracts from the Despatches of Dr. David Livingstone, M.D." Vol. 31, (1861), pp. 256 - 296.


--------. "On the Antiquity of the Physical Geography of Inner Africa." Vol. 34 (1864), pp. 201 - 205.


M'Leod, J. Lyons. "Notes on the Zambesi, from Quillimane to Tete." Vol. ii, Session 1857 - 1858, pp. 82 - 83.

--------. "President's Address." Vol. ii, Session 1857 - 1858, pp. 231 - 234.


8. Items from the PROSL with neither Author nor Editor.


"Notes on the Zambesi Expedition." (From the Journal of Thomas Baines), vol. iii, Session 1858 - 1859, pp. 99 - 106.


F. NEWSPAPERS

1. The Glasgow Herald.


Letter, Thomas Clegg to the Editor of the Manchester Guardian (29 February 1860), 3 March 1860, p. 3.

Letter, Charles Livingstone to Thomas Clegg (4 November 1859), 3 March 1860, p. 3.

Obituary of George Rae, 11 October 1865, p. 5; 12 October 1865, p. 2 and p. 3.

Extract, letter, Charles Livingstone to his niece Agnes Livingstone (n.d.), 10 February 1870, p. 5.

Several letters of David and Charles Livingstone to various correspondents in odd issues, 1858 - 1866.

2. The London Times.

"Farewell Banquet to Dr. Livingstone." 15 February 1858.


Arrival of the "Ethiopia" Mail Steamer, 24 November 1873, p. 5.


Several letters of David Livingstone to various correspondents in odd issues, 1856 - 1873.
3. The Edinburgh Scotsman.

Freedom of Glasgow Awarded to Dr. Livingstone, 17 September 1857, p. 2.

Freedom of Edinburgh Awarded to Dr. Livingstone, 22 September 1857, p. 3.

Dr. Livingstone's Address in the Queen Street Hall, 24 September 1857, p. 4.

"Dr. Livingstone's Africa." (By John Crawford?), 29 September 1857, p. 4.

4. Others.

Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia de Mocambique, 1857 - 1865, which contains many letters from David Livingstone to various correspondents, many of them Portuguese officials, plus many articles about the Zambezi Expedition.

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British Daily Mail (Glasgow), Dr. Livingstone's Arrival and Reception in London, 18 December 1856, p. 1.

Caledonian Mercury (Edinburgh), on a meeting of the Blantyre Works Literary and Scientific Institute, at which David Livingstone spoke; 2 January 1857, p. 3.

Christian News (Glasgow), letter from Charles Livingstone to William Logan (22 April 1861), 20 July 1861, p. 3.


Oberlin Evangelist, 1840 - 1847, which contains information on life at Oberlin, plus reports of Charles Livingstone's and Harriette O. Ingraham's graduation ceremonies.

Scottish Guardian (Glasgow), "David Livingston - University of Glasgow." 22 December 1854, p. 3.
Bird Room Register, British Museum (Natural History), Sub-
department of Ornithology, Tring, Hertfordshire, 1860 - 63.

Booksellers' Catalogues: Maggs Brothers, Sotheby's, Christies,
Sawyer's, Kendall's etc.

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Butt, John. James Young, Scottish Industrialist and Phil-
anthropist. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Econ-
omic History, University of Glasgow, 1963.

"David Livingstone." Address by Dr. Andrew Ross, Department of
Ecclesiastical History, University of Edinburgh, held in the
Chaplaincy Centre, 24 May 1976.

The Foreign Office List and Diplomatic and Consular Hand Book,
1853 - 1875.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Third Series, Commencing with
the Accession of William IV, vol. cxlviii (1857-8) London:
1859.

"The Historiography of David Livingstone." Recorded Tape, the
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, with George Shep-pperson,
Andrew Ross, and Tim Jeal; seminar, Department of History,
the University of Edinburgh, 12 November 1973.

"Livingstone," A Silent Film, made in the mid-1920's, and
described in Wetherell, M.A., David Livingstone, Fifty
Years Later.

"Livingstone, Lost and Found." A film; Producer, Oliver Hun-
kin; Script Associate, Tim Jeal, aired on B.B.C. (Scot-

Map, tracing of Livingstone's map of the Upper Shire valley and
Lake Nyassa, 1861, UGTL.

Minutes of Council of the Royal Society from December 10th, 1846
to November 30th, 1858. London: 1859.

"Report from the Select Committee on Africa." (Western Coast).
Parliamentary Papers, 1865, vol. v, [312]. The Parliamen-
tary Papers, 1852 - 1874 contain several reports and
letters written by both David and Charles Livingstone.

Royal Navy List, 1857 - 1865.

Visram, Rozina. David Livingstone and India. Unpublished
M.Litt. thesis, Department of History, University of Edin-
burgh, 1971.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AHUL</td>
<td>Archivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Portugal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AuPL</td>
<td>Auckland Public Library, Auckland, New Zealand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLJS</td>
<td>Brenthurst Library, Johannesburg, South Africa; the library of Mr. Harry Oppenheimer.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BLL</td>
<td>British Library, London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blox</td>
<td>Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.</td>
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<tr>
<td>BM(NH)</td>
<td>British Museum (Natural History), Knightsbridge and Tring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLWJ</td>
<td>Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSBL</td>
<td>Charles Sawyer Booksellers, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GACT</td>
<td>Government Archives, Cape Town, South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFSA</td>
<td>Gold Fields of South Africa (Pty), Ltd., Johannesburg, South Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JoPL</td>
<td>Johannesburg Public Library (Africana Museum), Johannesburg, South Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCAL</td>
<td>Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of Natal, Durban, South Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>KmPL</td>
<td>Kimberley Public Library, Kimberley, South Africa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDNL</td>
<td>Ministry of Defence Naval Historical Library, London.</td>
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<td>NARS</td>
<td>National Archives of Rhodesia, Salisbury, Rhodesia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCOLO</td>
<td>Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROL</td>
<td>Public Record Office, London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RBGK</td>
<td>Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew.</td>
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<tr>
<td>RBLE</td>
<td>Royal Botanical Gardens Library, Edinburgh.</td>
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<td>Code</td>
<td>Institution</td>
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<tr>
<td>RCGL</td>
<td>Royal Commonwealth Society, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGSL</td>
<td>Royal Geographical Society, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHLG</td>
<td>Rhodes House Library, Oxford University, Oxford.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSL</td>
<td>Royal Society Library, London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SALC</td>
<td>South African Library, Cape Town, South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SNMDL</td>
<td>Scottish National Memorial to David Livingstone, Blantyre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCTL</td>
<td>Jagger Library, University of Cape Town, South Africa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UEdL</td>
<td>Library, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMLL</td>
<td>Library, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, London.</td>
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We have seen above (p. 19, n. 16) that in later years, Bristol recorded a very different version of his meeting with Charles Livingston, and as Bristol was a very important figure in Charles' life while in the United States (the men married sisters, and Bristol officiated at Charles' ordination ceremony), and as his account involved also the great missionary-explorer, it is worth examining in detail at this time.

He wrote that in the Autumn of 1842 while passing through Albany, he heard a "piteous appeal" from a boy who was frightened and backing away from three rough-looking youths, while stretching his hand toward them and begging for something. Upon investigating, Bristol learned that the three had taken a gold dubloon (worth $15 - $16) from the boy on the pretense of procuring for him a ticket to Buffalo on the Erie Canal. Although Bristol could not understand the boy's name, he thought it was "Stone." Bristol manfully scuffled with the youths, finally retrieved the coin, and escorted the boy to the boat, where he saw that he was sold a legitimate ticket. Only in subsequent days on the boat did he learn it was Charles Livingston. After journeying to Cleveland with the boy, they parted ways: Bristol went to Franklin, Ohio (in Portage County), while the boy went on to Oberlin.

Bristol went on to say that when Charles first wrote home from Oberlin, he mentioned Bristol by name, giving "a full account of his trouble in Albany, and the singular deliverance from the roughs..." Three months later, Bristol received letters and a package of books from Scotland, thanking him for his "timely interference in behalf of... [the] brother of their beloved David Livingstone. Some months later a letter written in the wilds of Africa reached me from David Livingstone himself, full of thanks for the risk I took in rescuing his brother
from the Philistines at Albany, and desiring me to be his Amer-
ican correspondent. This was followed by another and another, until communication with the civilized world was well nigh im-
possible."$^{1}$

Many obvious inaccuracies appear in Bristol's account. Not only is the date 1842 incorrect, but Charles' letter home makes it unmistakably clear that he was accompanied all the way to Oberlin by both Bristol and Ingraham, and that Bristol helped him considerably during his first days on campus. Perhaps in 1842, when Bristol was en route to Franklin, a similar event befell him, and in writing 58 years later, he confused the two.

Charles could hardly have had $15, especially after paying for two nights' lodging in New York City, buying his ticket to Albany, and incurring the incidental expenses he would have en-
countered; and even had he had that sum, it seems very un-
likely that it would have been in the form of one gold coin, when Charles' transactions were being conducted in both British and American currency. And if Charles - who was no "boy" but a man of 19 years, and tall at that - had seen through the ruse of two "ticket runners" just two days earlier in New York City, why would he fall for their line a mere two days later in Albany? Furthermore, if Bristol (who first went to Oberlin from Cheshire, Connecticut around 1835 and hence knew well the Erie Canal) helped Charles buy his ticket to Buffalo, how is it possible that Charles might have been seriously overcharged? His letter home does not, as Bristol attests, give a "full account" of this in-
cident: it doesn't even mention it. Yet his letter home does speak well of Bristol, and rightly so.

This letter arrived in Blantyre before David left for Lon-
don and Africa,$^{2}$ and in appreciation David could have written

$^{1}$Sherlock Bristol. The Pioneer Preacher. (New York, 1898), pp. 320 - 324. An earlier edition of this work (1887) makes no mention of Charles or David Livingstone.

$^{2}$DL to Margaret Sewell, 3 August 1840, original unknown, copy in SALC.
Bristol from either Britain or Africa. But as these were very busy days for him (he left Blantyre about a week after Charles' letter arrived), it is more likely that Neil Livingston wrote a letter of thanks and sent Bristol a few religious tracts, and maybe even a book or two. As at this time David was as unknown to the world at large as was the far side of the moon, it seems hardly likely that Neil Livingston would have mentioned him or his relationship to Charles.

Later, when in Africa, David might well have written to Bristol a number of times - David wrote to anyone and (evidently) everyone, and there is some evidence suggesting he wrote people in Oberlin. As David was still unknown, Bristol probably didn't bother to preserve the letters. Nothing in David's papers suggest he ever even heard of Sherlock Bristol, but during his early years in Africa he kept no journal, and relatively few of his letters from this period survive.

It is just possible that in describing this relationship with David, Bristol was "name dropping." The reader of the 1887 edition of his book can hardly escape the conclusion that Bristol was overwhelmed by his own self-importance, and he may have sought to enhance his reputation by connecting himself to the great Livingstone.

On the other hand, Charles' first letter home from Oberlin does have its inconsistencies (most of which are calendar errors), and if the incident occurred in Albany as portrayed by Bristol, he may have wanted to suppress it, but it seems equally plausible that he would have related it in detail and praised Bod for deliverance in the form of Bristol. Thus it seems that Bristol confused his meeting with Charles with another event, and while he may indeed have corresponded with David Livingston, the present writer has seen no evidence of this other than Bristol's own testimony.

3For example, he may have written Mrs. Hamilton Hill: see SLFL, ii, p. 56, n. 22.
LIVINGSTON'S PROGRAM OF STUDY AT OBERLIN

During his 7½ years as a student at Oberlin, Charles Livingston studied in three departments of the Institute. The courses he attended while in the Preparatory Department have been listed above (p. 26); below is the course of study he followed when enrolled in the College and Theological Departments. It is to be remembered that Charles did not complete the Middle Year in the Theological Department, but he completed that and the Senior Year at the Union Theological Seminary. The courses for these two years are listed here anyway on the assumption that they would have been similar to those he attended at Union.¹

College Department

Freshman Year

Davies' Bourdon's Algebra; Davies' Legendre's Geometry and Trigonometry, begun; Cicero de Amicitia et de Senectute; Grotius de Veritate; Cicero de Contemnenda Morte; Xenophon's Cyropaedia, four books; Acts of the Apostles; Practical Lectures on Physiology; General History, begun; English Bible, one lesson a week.

Sophomore Year

Davies' Legendre's Geometry and Trigonometry, finished; History continued; Bridges' Conic Sections; Cicero de Officiis; Xenophon's Memorabilia; AEschines and Demosthenes on the Crown, begun; Whately's Logic; Whately's Rhetoric; Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity; Lectures on Rhetoric and Elocution; English Bible, one lesson a week.

Junior Year

Olmsted's Natural Philosophy; Olmsted's Astronomy; Chemistry; Anatomy and Physiology; AEschines and Demosthenes, finished; Tacitus—the Germania and Agricola; Greek Testament—Epistles; Bush's Hebrew Grammar and a part of Genesis; Cousin's Psychology; English Bible, one lesson a week.

¹Taken from the Catalogue of the Officers and Students in the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, 1846-47, (Oberlin, 1847), pp. 31–32. The present writer is very grateful to Mr. Wm. Bigglestone, Oberlin College Archivist, for bringing this information to his attention.
Senior Year

Hebrew Bible—Genesis and Psalms; the Prometheus Vinctus of Aeschylus; Butler's Analogy; Kames' Elements of Criticism; Lectures on Hebrew Poetry; Lectures on Intellectual and Moral Philosophy; Political Economy; Chemistry reviewed; English Bible, one lesson a week.

Compositions and either Extempore Discussions or Declamations weekly throughout the whole course; and also public original declamations monthly.

Theological Department

Junior Year

Evidences of Divine Revelation; Sacred Canon; Introduction to the Study of the Old and New Testaments; Biblical Archaeology; Principles of Interpretation; Greek and Hebrew Exegesis; Mental and Moral Philosophy; Compositions and Extemporaneous Discussions.

Middle Year

Didactic and Polemic Theology; Greek and Hebrew Exegesis; Compositions and Extemporaneous Discussions.

Senior Year

Pastoral Theology; Sacred Rhetoric; Composition of Sermons; Sacred and Ecclesiastical History, including the History of Theological Opinions; Exegesis, continued; Church Government; Extemporaneous Discussions.

As can be seen from the above, especially the courses listed in the College Department, Charles' education was much broader than is generally assumed.
Above is a facsimile of a paragraph written in Arabic, English and Turkish by John Kirk in his journal on 2 June, 1859. Omitted from the published edition of the journal, which merely notes "Sixteen lines of Turkish follow," (FZJK, p. 208, n. 38), the transcription into modern Turkish and the translation into English which follow were done by Mr. John R. Walsh, Department of Turkish, the University of Edinburgh. The present writer is very grateful indeed to Mr. Walsh for freely and generously sharing his expertise in this matter. The extract occurs on two pages in the original manuscript, which accounts for the gap after line 4. Warm thanks are due the Director, NMLZ, for kindly providing a copy.
When at Senna bir mektub var idi  
kardeșten; çok çok haber verdi.  
Kardeşimiz der [Thornton] raki içer  
uyur, yiyor ve içer-başka yok.  
Baines' [baires] bir käyik yapıyor, amma bir şey bilmez,  
ve her şey fena yapıyor; daha belki raki  
öçer. Kardeş kendiden güzel  
lâkirdi yazar. Hekim bilmez bu adam;  
sevildiğimiz [two words struckover] doğru değil.  
Kendi bir şey bilmez.  
İnşallah, eger ben Nyanzaya gidecek, bu  
şeytan ve kelb boynumu tutmaz.  
Bize bir şey fena yapmadı, amma  
âdettir —

Comment on the Transcription.

The two "words" on line 1 represent Kirk's attempt to form  
in Arabic the equivalent of the Turkish words "valiiali" and  
"billahti," which taken together and loosely translated mean "By  
God" or "God help us." Apparently Kirk could not write Arabic,  
as he fails to join the characters properly. Also, the trans-  
scription is his own, and as it is simple and unidiomatic, it is  
far from perfect Turkish. The present writer regrets that as no  
Turkish typewriter was available at the time this page was pre-  
pared, phonetic symbols had to be added by hand. Furthermore,  
as in some cases in modern Turkish the letter "i" is not dotted,  
such characters have been indicated by underscoring.
"When at Senna, there was a letter from our (or my) [his] brother; it gave a good deal of news. Our [his] brother says: Thornton drinks arrack, sleeps, eats, and drinks, and nothing else. Baines is making a boat, but he knows nothing and does everything wrong. Probably he, too, drinks arrack. (This could also be rendered "He drinks too much arrack," but the former translation seems more likely). Our [his] brother writes amusingly of him. It is not true that he likes us. The Doctor does not really know this man. Please God, if I should go to Nyanza [Lake Malawi] this devil and dog will not get his claws into me. He has done nothing bad to us, but this is the custom (or "this is his way.")."

[Items in parentheses are the Translator's; those in brackets are the present writer's. Arrack is an alcoholic drink made from roots, and is common throughout the Middle East.]

Comment on the Translation.

Exact translation is difficult because Kirk's Turkish was rudimentary, but the gist of what he is saying is clear.

Obviously, Charles is reporting on the conduct of Thornton and Baines (one wonders what he would have said about Rae), but as Kirk records it, the charges are not severe and in fact seem to contain a great deal of truth. Certainly Kirk's comments on Charles are more scathing, and one wonders why Kirk feared going north to the yet unseen Lake Malawi with Charles, when he was the latter's superior officer. Such a severe tone is all the more remarkable when one considers that since their arrival on the Zambezi a year earlier, Kirk had seen relatively little of Charles Livingstone.

A further clue to the letter's contents is recorded in Kirk's journal two days later: "Mr. L. can't prevail upon the Portuguese to sell him grub. There is such famine there but there must be something not going on smoothly, for when there I
found no difficulty in getting any mortal thing, as Skead used to say. The Portuguese don't like us as an expedition and some have a personal dislike also."¹ Evidently, Kirk was unaware of the upcoming famine Charles mentioned in his letter to Thornton of 22 April 1859 (p. 124 above), and, of course, the seasons had changed since Kirk was last in Tete.

Nothing more is definitely known about this letter Charles wrote to his brother, and it can only be hoped that someday the actual document itself will come to light.

¹FZJK, 4 June, 1859, p. 209.
APPENDIX D

BIRD ROOM REGISTER, BM(NH), 8 DECEMBER 1863

Presented by Earl Russell and collected by the Rev'd Mr. Charles Livingstone.

1. Turacus Livingstonei [WBBG, pp. 127-8, 130 includes a sketch. Livingstone's Turaco.]

2. " "

3. Leptosomus afer [SBCI, p. 299, no. 11 lists L. discolor; noting it was previously named L. afer. It is either a roller or a cuckoo.]

4. " "

5. Turacus ? porphyreolophus? [SBCI, p. 298, no. 5; Purple Crested Loerie, HEBI, p. 127, no. 227.]

6. " "

7. Hypsipites Ourovang [SBCI, p. 298, no. 5; English name unknown; also taken by Kirk on Mohilla, SBCI, p. 295.]

8. " "

9. Trichophorus [A bulbul]

10. Spallinago

11. Sycobius

12. Zanclostomus [KBZR, p. 327, no. 84 lists Z. aeneus]

13. Sympleches Faudia

14. " "

15. Vidua (Colostruthus) [KBZR, p. 318, no. 21 lists M. vidua, a wagtail. species of vidua (widows), but no Colostruthus.]

16. Motacilla [KBZR, p. 318, no. 21 lists M. vidua, a wagtail.]

17. Colius [KBZR, p. 329, no. 93 lists C. quiriva, a mousebird.]
18. Tockus [KBLZ, p. 327, nos. 80-2 lists 3 species of Toccus; which are hornbills.]

19. Alamus [KBLZ, p. 316, no. 10 and SBEDD, p. 305, no. 9 list E. melanopterus, a kite.]

20. Euplectes [KBLZ, p. 322, nos. 54-6 lists 3 species of Euplectes, which are bishops or widows.]

21. " "

22. " "

23. Falco vespertinus [PBDI, p. 76, no. 108, Western Red Footed Falcon; PBSA, p. 76, Western Red Footed Kestrel.]

24. Bias musicus [KBLZ, p. 319, no. 32; PBSA, p. 259, Black and White Flycatcher.]

25. " "

26. " "

27. Flatysteria [KBLZ, p. 319, no. 32, lists P. pririt, a flycatcher.]

28. " "

29. Philinopus (Funingus)

30. Francolinus rouvuma [PBSA, p. 89, Kirk's Partridge; WBECC, p. 72, Kirk's Francolin.]

31. Coracopsis comorensis [SBCI, p. 300, no. 13, which Charles collected on Anjouan; ibid., p. 295, a dark parrot.]

32. Alcedo [KBLZ, p. 325, no. 73 lists A. cristata, a king-fisher.]

33. Ketupa Peli

35. " "

36. Athene [KBLZ, p. 317, no. 16 lists A. capensis; SBEDD, p. 307, no. 18 lists A. woodfordi; perhaps a falcon.]

37. Circaetus zonurus [SBEDD, p. 304, no. 5, Snake Eagle.]

38. " "

40. Pratincole \textit{EBDI}, pp. 113-4, nos. 197-9; \textit{WBEO}, pp. 111 and 114; and \textit{PBSA}, pp. 130-1 list a total of three \textit{pratincoles} which may be found in the region.

41. Egretta calocelata \textit{[An egret]}


43. Buceros \textit{KBZK}, pp. 326-7, nos. 78, 79 lists 2 species of \textit{Buceros}.

44. Erythrocercus Livingstonei \textit{EBDI}, p. 275, no. 532; \textit{PBSA}, p. 259; Livingstone's \textit{Fly-catcher}.

The information in brackets is taken from four articles and three bird guides, and is provided in an attempt to identify the specimens whenever possible. Every relevant reference from each of the seven sources is provided here, with priority being given to the articles, which are the most relevant of all contemporary publications. References are made to the modern bird guides only when generic and specific names are retained today. When the sources consulted give no information whatever, the English family name is provided: hence no. 41 is a species of egret. Entries lacking comment do not appear in any of the seven sources, and in time their names may have been changed in the light of subsequent research.

Although in some cases 2 or 3 specimens of the same species are listed, this does not necessarily indicate that Livingstone collected duplicates: almost always the plumage of the sexes differs dramatically, and frequently the plumage of juveniles differs enough to warrant separate description.

The following notes correspond in number with the specimen as listed above:

1."Livingstonei" was added in a different hand at a later
date, as were the specific names for 3, 13, and 30. No explanation can be given for the check marks (✓) which appear opposite this and several other numbers.

30 Although this bird is listed in neither KB2R nor in Kirk's collection registered in the BM(NH) on 30 December, 1863, this bird is known today in English by his name.

34 There is no number 33 in this list; it may have been removed and later added as no. 44.

44 Both generic and specific names were added in a different hand at a later date, probably by either Finsch or Hartlaub.
APPENDIX E

LIVINGSTONE'S VISIT TO THE OKRIKA

The following report describes Charles Livingstone's visit to the Okrika people and country, located inland from Bonny in the Oil Rivers. It is especially interesting since Livingstone was evidently the first white man to visit these people, who engaged in cannibalistic practices.¹ The original is found in the PROL, FO 84/1265, ff. 260 - 263.

Fernando Po
August 2, 1866

My Lord,

At early dawn on the 22d ultimo 3 Bonny chiefs, 4 members of the Court of Equity and myself started in 4 boats and 2 canoes for the Okrika Country. Our course was N.N.W. at first with more of westing as we ascended. The river is fringed with mangroves, and intersected by a number of creeks some 20 miles above Bonny. We turned into one of these and in a short time saw Op'Okrika, the chief town of the Okrika. It is built on a dry ridge, part of which is adorned with majestic [?] trees.

A stockade defends through which peep some guns defends the water point of the town, which seemed longer than Grand Bonny. Dense masses of people crowded the beach at the public landing place. The Bonny Chiefs, Prince George, Banijo, and Calendusi landed, but we remained in the boats until they had seen the King. In 15 minutes they returned and beckoned us to land.

The stench was terrible; all the stinks at the outskirts of all the African villages I ever entered, though mixed and shaken together, would be weak compared to this. After passing through the crowd we met some fellows who tried to stop us. "It was contrary to juju for white men to enter the town."

She Bormy Chiefs scolded, and we pushed on, but soon met a mob of hundreds and further progress became impossible. In vain did Banijo and Calendusi scold, and push and even knock some down, the others pressed closer together shouting, barking and gesticulating frantically.

After looking at the performance till we got tired of it we returned to the boats. A canoe came off with 2 messengers from the King, inviting us to come ashore. Guards armed with long sticks stood at the corners of the streets and the town was quiet. We were conducted to the King's audience chamber, which had no light except what came in by the door. Chairs were brought, and the chiefs and others crowded in. A beating of drums announced that the King had gone to the juju house to consult the spirits before proceeding to business. In half an hour King Libia appeared, a strongly-built man of 45 with a round, good-natured-looking face. He shook hands, and sat down on a low stool in the corner. Apologizing for the rude reception his people had given us, he asked us to remain till the following day as some of his chiefs had not yet arrived from their villages.

A table of native manufacture was brought in; the Queen spread a table cloth over it and "tombo" (unintoxicating Palm wine) was presented. Permission to see the town was given, and we paid a visit to the juju house. A noisy crowd attempted to rush in after us but a vigorous application of the long sticks of the guards drove them back. Masses of human skulls hang from the walls and numerous rows of skulls cover the roof of a sort of altar. In part of the altar sat the juju man, having a footstool of human skulls. The Okrika had eaten the victims whose skulls decorate the juju house. An old man who accompanied us spoke with evident gusto of the different cannibal feasts he had partaken of, and even of those mentioned the

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2 Descriptions of the juju houses in Bonny and New Calabar at this time are in W. Nicholas Thomas, "On the Oil Rivers of West Africa." *BRGSL*, xvii, Session 1872-3, pp. 149-50, and 152-4.
parts of the human body which he considered as the sweetest. We saw men at work tarring ropes; others retailed gin in the streets by the wine glass. We caught a glimpse of the Okrika funeral ceremony. Three young men, facing the same way, had the corpse of a boy, done up in matting placed over on their shoulders. They twisted and tugged and appeared as if wrestling struggling with unseen spirits who wished to drag the body to a shallow open grave by the side of a house. At times the young men had the advantage and brought the body back from the grave, then the spirits prevailed and dragged them forward. A man was kept beating a drum at the time.

The Okrika are well clothed, most of the cloth being made from the Palm leaf. The Okrika They are acquainted with several vegetable dyes. Two, a yellow and a blue, are used to paint their persons.

We slept in Ogolome, a large village which has an oil market, + about 2 miles from the capital. A good dinner was provided, and we were offered a choice of sleeping apartments, close inner rooms or the open veranda. My companions preferred the latter. I was conducted to a neighboring house and found the people very kind. My bed, small boxes of unequal height unluckily, was in the best room, in which was a I found a good fire, 30 Kegs of powder and a considerable quantity of cloth and gin. I managed to sleep tolerably well, but my companions were badly bitten by the sand flies.

A King’s messenger came for us at sunrise and shortly after seven we were seated with the King and his Chiefs. King Fibia remarked that in Bonny the King + Chiefs could settle public affairs by themselves but in Okrika the people always wanted to be present; he thought it would be better to have the interview in a public place so that his people could hear all that was said and not have to pester him with questions after we were gone. We accordingly adjourned to the street.

There was some disturbance at first but nothing like that of an excited political gathering in a civilized country. King
Fibia requested them to be silent and listen to what was said. His Prime Minister Crator, having before him specimens of 2 species of dried fish, a fish trap + piece of net, commenced by remarking that they were glad to see me. They did not understand the customs of the white men; no white man had ever been in their town before, and they hoped I would excuse them if they proceeded in their own way. He then picked up the dried fish, the trap and net and handed them to me, saying:

Bonny and Calabar have ships to trade with, but Okrika has nothing but fish. It is on fish we live. It is with fish we buy the oil we have to sell and this has been so ever since Okrika became a country. It was in the Creeks I saw in coming that they caught their fish, and Calabar men came into these creeks and stole their fish out of their nets and also robbed their canoes.

He then rehearsed in wearisome detail all the wrongs Calabar had inflicted on Okrika for many years; and threw down a small pebble at the close of each tale of outrage. At last he touched on the cause of the present war. Brass men had offered human sacrifices at times, and the Abua Country was the hunting ground where they caught the victims. King Amaeree of Calabar, father of Prince Will, determined to stop this inhuman practice, but the Brass men plead ancient custom and said they should continue to hunt to sacrifice. Amaeree declared war against Brass, and asked Okrika to join him, and on their declining to do so, Calabar men began to rob their canoes + flog their men and this caused the present war. He closed the story of their wrongs by saying that they were glad to see me and to hear that I was trying to have the troubles removed.

He proceeded next to state the conditions of peace with Calabar. I. Calabar men must not come into Okrika fishing grounds. II. Calabar must give up to Okrika the Obiatibo (Isukpo) oil market, + cease to frequent it. I said I thought Calabar would accede to the first condition, and if they would allow Okrika men to trade in the Obiatibo market as they were willing to allow Bonny men to trade in other markets, the
Okrika King + Chiefs ought to be satisfied with that. It was objected that the respective Traders might quarrel with each other, and a fine as a remedy or prevention was suggested. I asked him Fibia to send down two of his chiefs to meet the Chiefs of Bonny + Calabar on Breaker Island and have the differences settled and peace restored to the country; but he proposed wished that I me to go to Calabar with his conditions and come back + tell him if Calabar accepted them.

As he obstinately refused to send his chiefs, I rose, saying if he would not send I could do nothing more for him, and he was to understand distinctly that if he refused to have the difficulties settled, he could have no assistance from Bonny; Her Majesty's Gov't would punish Bonny men severely if they rendered any. I then withdrew, but was sent for in a few minutes and told that they had agreed to send two men to Bonny, but not to Breaker Island, because Calabar had broken the juju they once made there with the Okrika. I said I would try to get the Calabar Chiefs to meet them in Bonny about the middle of August. They promised also not to molest Calabar Canoes in the meantime, provided I could induce Calabar men not to molest their canoes.

The session lasted four hours and a half. Never before in Africa have I seen such powerful-looking men as the Okrika. I could not but admire the physical strength of the men, cannibals though they be.

As they sat before me, chewing bits of "chopstick" to clean their teeth, and gazing earnestly at me the thought occasionally flashed across my mind: "Are these Cannibals wondering how a piece of roast Consul would taste; and which would be the most savoury, Cold Consul or hot?"

On parting, Fibia made me a present of about a cart-load of gigantic yams, 2 goats and a fowl. We returned to Ogolome for breakfast to which we did ample justice, and then started for Bonny.
I have the honour to be
My Lord
Your Lordship's Obedient Servant
Charles Livingstone
H.M. Consul

The Right Honourable
The Earl of Clarendon.

It is interesting to note that in spite of their cannibalism, the Okrika were good hosts, and, all things considered, were very polite. Clearly, the people resented the violation of juju which the white man represented, and force was required to maintain order.

Livingstone described what he experienced rather well - one can easily visualize the setting of the main meeting, with the King's Orator and his symbolic and visual aids. Obviously, the Okrika were not a "primitive" people: their social and political institutions were far from rudimentary, and while they had not been previously visited by Europeans, King Fibia knew enough of them and their customs to shake hands. One wonders what language the Orator used in his address? Livingstone mentions neither language nor translator, and the speech may have been given in the pidgin-English of the coast.

Occasionally, the text has been corrected with regards to punctuation, and all strikeovers are Livingstone's. And it must be remembered that in every case reference is made to Calabar, the town being discussed is New Calabar, and not the old town of that name far to the east in the Cross River estuary.
APPENDIX F

REV. CHARLES LIVINGSTONE
Biographical Sketch

Prepared by Rev. Isaac C. White of Plymouth

The following paper was read at the 200th anniversary of the Second Congregational Church of Plympton [1896].

It is eminently fitting on the 200th anniversary of this church to bring to grateful remembrance the character and work of the devout and godly men who have ministered at this altar; and it gives me great pleasure to speak in precious memory of one with whom I had the good fortune to be associated in study, in preparation for the work of the gospel ministry, and to whom I had the privilege of extending the right [hand] of fellowship when he was ordained and installed pastor of this church.

Charles Livingstone was born in Blantyre, Scotland, a few miles from Glasgow. He was the son of Neil and Agnes Hunter, who were most devoted Christians, and brother of David Livingstone, the distinguished missionary and explorer in Africa. His humble home was pervaded with a missionary spirit which did not fail to impress itself upon the minds of David and Charles, and inspired them to leave the cotton-mills where they worked for a livelihood and pursue a course of study which would fit them for the responsible work of the gospel ministry, and for a most commanding influence in the establishment of the kingdom of God in the world.

The approaching departure of David for missionary work in the dark continent made a deep impression on the mind of Charles, and he determined, although almost insuperable obstacles had to be encountered and overcome, that he would obtain a liberal education. The fame of Oberlin College had reached Scotland as early as 1839, on account of its advanced anti-slavery sentiments and introduction of manual labor whereby students of
limited means could support themselves, so David advised Charles to go to America and avail himself of the rare privileges of this college, and at the same time giving him £5, all the money he could command.

With this scanty sum he left his humble but dear Scotch home, his parents, brothers and sisters, and all the interesting associations of early life, a youth of only 17 summers,¹ and sailed without intimate friend or companion to accompany him for this, to him, foreign country. On landing in New York City his whole stock of cash amounted to £2 13s 6d. Purchasing a loaf of bread and a piece of cheese, he started for Oberlin College, 500 miles away, an immense journey at that period of no railroads and slow coaches, but unaided and alone, with Scotch patience and perseverance until he reached the goal, where he found congregational society and an institution of learning that afforded him the privileges of a liberal education. This unyielding persistency, indomitable energy and dauntless courage reveal a character of inestimable worth, and more frequently found in [his] Scotch nationality than in any other people. He completed the full college course of study, with credit to himself, and with the satisfaction of the faculty, and was graduated with honor in the Class of 1845, the theme of his oration being "Christian Civilization," a subject especially congenial to him on account of his brother's missionary work in Africa.

Having completed his college course of study, he entered the theological department for one year. He then entered Union Theological Seminary, New York City, where he finished his theological studies and was graduated with honor.

His brother's missionary work in Africa had now kindled into flame his early aspirations for the same work, but his native Scotch abomination of the iniquitous system of slavery which had been increased by the anti-slavery sentiments of the college where he studied, would not allow him to receive an appointment from a missionary board sustained by pro-slavery churches, so he made application to the London Missionary
Society for appointment to missionary work. But the officers of that society could not, in consistency with their rules, make the appointment without a personal interview, and not having the means to cross the ocean, he abandoned the idea of foreign missionary work for the time and accepted a call to the church in Williston, Vt., where he faithfully devoted himself to the work of the gospel ministry as Acting Pastor for two years. He then in the autumn of 1851 accepted a unanimous call to this church and was ordained and installed pastor, Oct. 15, the introductory services being conducted by Rev. Stillman Pratt.

His devoted pastorate here of between four and five years is remembered by comparatively few of this congregation, but it will never be forgotten by the twenty or more who united with this church under his ministry, but will be remembered by them with increasing interest and preciousness while the church triumphant continues to ascribe blessing and honor and power and dominion unto their divine Redeemer, Savior and King.

After closing his ministry here he was Acting Pastor of the church in Mattapoisett for two years. He then returned to his native land, the dear old Scotland home. His brother had also returned from his first missionary expedition to Africa and had been commissioned by the British government Consul for the Eastern Coast of Africa and Commander of an expedition for exploring Eastern and Central Africa, of which expedition Charles received and accepted the appointment of General Assistant and Secretary. Of the terrible hardships, perils, and trials of that four years' exploring expedition and its splendid beneficent results to Africa, the kingdom of God and the world, I have no language to describe nor you any time to hear. Suffice it to say that the courage and devotion of Charles Livingstone were equal to all the tremendous emergencies of that remarkable expedition.

After the completion of this expedition, he returned to England and was commissioned British Consul to Fernando Po,
West Africa, which appointment he accepted without in the least abating his ministerial and missionary spirit, but conscientiously believing he could do more in that position for the Christian civilization of Africa and the establishment of the kingdom of God in the earth than in the simple capacity of a missionary and minister of the gospel, and after two years\(^3\) of faithful service on the West Coast of the dark continent, he died in the triumphs of faith, and entered into eternal fellowship with the devoted ministry of this church who had gone before him, and received the joy and crown of rejoicing which his converts here and elsewhere afforded him, and above all, the crown of life from the King of Kings which will forever shine with increasing brilliancy and beauty and never fail to impart unspeakable and perfect blessedness.

\(^1\) Although 19 years of age, Charles had seen only 18 summers.

\(^2\) For Charles, the expedition lasted 5 years, and for David it was 6.

\(^3\) Charles served as H.M. Consul in West Africa for 9 years.

The typescript of this sketch, which is found in the "Soule Collection," SNMDL, contains a host of punctuation, spelling and typographical errors, most of which have been hopefully corrected. In preparing this short item, White was obviously influenced by Blaikie, and he evidently drew somewhat from local sources. This item is included herein as it is the only article the present writer has seen which is devoted to the life of Charles Livingstone.