

Letter to Charles Livingstone, 8 November 1854

Livingstone, David, 1813-1873

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Golungo Alto

8th Nov^r

1854

My Dear Charles

Its a weary time since I heard from any of my former correspondents. And I have but slender hopes of seeing any epistle from you while I am in Western Africa. the ship of the Commodore called the "Scourge" has gone up to Fernando Po for the mails. She is much beyond her time and we cannot guess the cause of her detention But when she comes my last hopes of hearing from friends will have to expire. I go away into the region where there are no mails, to cheer the weary wanderer.

I would have been fater away before this but bad health & good hope kept me about a month longer than was absolutely necessary at Loanda. Then when I came up into the coffee country as I had written some papers in a Newspaper recommending agriculture instead of slave trading. It was expected that I would shew some interest in the efforts of a few who are making laudable efforts to establish themselves as coffee growers. the trees are ready planted for them, and all that the best coffee in the world requires is to have the ground partially cleared and the fruit dried and sorted. they shewed extraordinary

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kindness and I had to refuse their gifts of coffee rice &c. I encouraged them to persevere and among other things I learned that the views of your Professor of Political Economy are nonsense. I shall return to this subject again In the mean time - I may relate that after spending some 8 or 10 days as above I came back to this the residence of the chief of the District called Golungo Alto, And when on the point of starting he was seized with one of the deadly fevers of this land. I of course could not leave one who had shewed me a great deal of kindness when bending under disease I entered his dwelling

in my way down to Loanda. I have been
treating him for 8 days past. His head became
affected and as he has none but slaves
about him, I have to see everything done
both by night and by day. Pity the poor
mortal who falls sick among his slaves. this
is a most kind and considerate master yet
he says to me - "If you had not been here I think
they would have knocked me on the head." they
run riot among the eatables - As I do not
venture to scold in Portuguese I can only be
amused in silence at the affection developed
by the domestic institution. they kill the goats
& fowls - then tell me with faces of the most
innocent wonderment - "the thing is dead" When

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I tell them to throw them away there follows only
a comfortable roasting. When the sweatmeats are devoured
then one comes and tells me with a countenance
of horror - "these slaves are robbing [master of] everthing" and
this very one I have come accidentally upon
in the act of eating Pine Apples rolled in a large
plate of sugar. I can scarcely get the washerwoman
to put my clothes in order though I pay her for
it. Let who will go for slavery I vote for the
freeman. I have seen a good deal of it now
and from the unstudied words and actions of
respectable masters I very much doubt if
there is the least truth in the averment that
many masters treat their slaves with kindness
Living in the practice of habitual injustice
to them, it is extremely questionable whether the
better sort even can claim by a few dribblets
of civility, the appellation of Kind Masters. It
is fortunate that this country contains but few
slaves in comparison with free men. In
some districts of the Province the statistics drawn
up by those who have no apparent motive
for misstating the facts, [shew] the proportion of
slaves in the entire population is 6.79 per cent.

But let us look at the subject of an armed
force putting down the slave trade. the views
entertained by your Professor - that such means

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would only have the effect of increasing the
horrors of the treatment of those who would be
sent notwithstanding, to supply the demand.
That no means would be effective for the
suppression of this species of commerce so

long as the profits were so large - And then if I recollect rightly in true Yankee style he jerked himself a little beyond the full length of his tether by the windy climax, that Great Britain would have consulted the interests of the slaves more had she instead of cruizers fitted out convenient well ventilated - well found Emigrant ships to convey the negroes to the Brazils, Bating the wind bag tacked on to the tail of them I considered his sentiments just. And would have been pleased had our squadron been withdrawn. But since I came into this country I found that the oft repeated tales of the increased horrors and increased numbers are nothing else than concoctions of the slave traders feeling the pressure from without Angola sent some thousands of slaves annually down the coast for exportation the trade was carried on thus. A trader went to the Interior to purchase wax, ivory &c. and slaves. And he always purchased as many as would carry his merchandise down to the

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[2d] coast. He was sure of a market. Indeed in 1837 or just before the treaty for slave trade suppression with Portugal came into operation M^r Gabriel counted 39 ships in Loanda Harbour all waiting for cargoes of slaves. At present no ship dare appear on the coast with slave fettings except to make a dash into some one or two harbours load hastily by night & put to sea next morning but to return to the slaves of the time when when there were no British cruizers on the coast. All that came down were sold & exported. And as they cannot now export them neither can they buy them and therefore a new system of carrying merchandise [became] necessary. the new system is called, of "Carregadores" or carriers and the native chiefs living under the Portuguese are obliged to furnish these carriers to do the work formerly done only by slaves going to be exported. this district supplies 400 monthly, and other districts in proportion - I have met a thousand of them in one day either going or returning and every man of them was a proof of the effectiveness of the English cruizers in repressing the slave trade - for, up to the time when the ships were placed on the coast all this work of carrying was performed by those who had no hope of return
Again, Before the English squadron began

its operations the prices of good young slaves

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throughout the country near the coast or say within 200 miles of the coast line varied from 70 to 80 dollars per head (as they say) Now the very best may be had for from 10 to 20. If the reason is asked it invariably is "Because we can not now export them." But say some slave trade abettors if they can only get one cargo in four safe into the transatlantic ports they realize handsome profits I shall give you my reasons for doubting this. At present the thing seems to cut two ways. Slaves are very cheap now in Angola and that is clearly the effect of the intervention of an armed force. they are said to [be] dear in proportion in Cuba & Brazil. As soon as a trader gets his ten dollar per head cargo clear off the African coast Does he value them at that or at [the] 150 or 200 dollars he expects to get in Cuba. Clearly to my mind, his livestock has become very precious in the beast's own estimation, and unless some exception, of operative self interest, failing to influence him, can be proved as existing in his case. the most powerful motive he knows comes into play to make him lessen the horrors of the middle passage. though he regards them as beasts, it is well known all over the world that the most brutal being alive will be more likely to treat [well] a horse worth £200 than if it were worth £10. only.

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My reasons for doubting the plea of handsome profits being realized by the few slave traders who manage to get clear off with an occasional cargo. are the following. I have made many enquiries and have not been able to discover more than two or three who have hold of riches got in the slave trade But again and again have individuals been pointed out to me as having been once very rich and having lost their all in it. But setting aside particular cases let us look at the capital of Angola - the city of Loanda. It may be said to be in ruins and if the cause of the decay be enquired into - It is the inability to carry on the slave trade as in what they term the Palmy days of the city. they have an expressive way of indicating the pressure from without. We refrain say they "pela forza da necessidade" ("by the power of necessity") the public gardens on the

walls of which stood the inscription written with
all the successful slaveholder's pride "Let this serve
as an example to Posterity" are now in ruins
and so unrecognisable a gentleman of the Navy
asked me when near it "Where are the gardens
spoken of in the accounts of Loanda?" Many
now turn their attention to Agriculture who
if the tales of antisquadronites were true would
much prefer the handsome profits of every
fourth voyage. Indeed the tale seems to have

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been got up by those who are friendly to the trade
and others including your professor and your
obd^t servant followed in the trail. thinking our
selves knowing fellows [too] and so far ahead of the ancients
who thought that hard knocks would serve best
the villains who trample remorselessly on God's image
in ebony. the reason why some opinions
get afloat is, occasionally in England people may
give utterance to very strong views and their
auditors are in profound ignorance that the
spokesman is deriving a good income from
an indirect connection with the slave trade
I saw bales of goods for the traffic marked " Glasgow"
If the American flag were not so often employed
to cloak it there would be fewer profits still.

I have been examining some of the old Jesuit
Mission stations in the country and the fruits
of their labours. From all accounts the
Jesuits were very exemplary in their lives and
devoted themselves to the instruction of the
people conscientiously. the effect of their efforts
is seen in the numbers who can read & write
in the country. They teach each other now
and in the district of Ambaca it is considered
a disgrace for any one to be unable to read
When the Jesuits were expelled from Portuguese
Territory by the Marquis of Pombal, the

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the place of the Jesuits was supplied by a batch of the
regular priesthood, with five long beards. these were
graceless bardies, who loved to tuck up their nalcets
around their waists and join in the dances of the natives
I visited one of the stations called Bango a few days
ago. It consists of a good church and row of
buildings at right angles to the farther end. these
contain the dormitories of the missionaries and
some large chests for holding their grub. there
are no books, all, with the silver & gold having

been removed by the present bishop to Loanda
there are no inscriptions on their graves. they
were just allowed to die out. & the poor fellows
sleep in silence waiting for the sound of [the] terrible
trumpet. the people could tell nothing about these
last batch except their fine beards. But one
ventured on being questioned to tell that an inhabitant
of the lovely valley of Bango was honoured by
the arrival in his domicile of a little white stranger
Being afraid to speak out on the occasion He
remarked. "A wonderful thing has happened in
Bango. Both my wife and I am black yet
we have got a white child! this must be another
of the miracles of St. Hilarion" - (the patron saint
of the establishment) the man told it with a
twitching of the muscles about the mouth which
shewed he had often enjoyed a hearty guffaw
on the subject before

You will percieve that the country possesses

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features of great interest. the people are ready for
reading the word of God. What a difference between
them and those with whom I have to deal in the
regions beyond. Long years of our short lives
must be spent in the monotonous labour of
teaching to read those who have an inveterate
propensity to believe that they are conferring a
great favour by condescending to learn. And
after they have acquired a knowledge of reading
the majority of the young turn their backs as
obstinately against the gospel as before. they
think we have some interested motive in drawing
them to Christ. they will lose some of their self-
esteem if they yield. &c &c So that more rigorous
measures by God's providence seem absolutely
necessary to humble or punish them. Yet when
As in the case of Tahiti the rod falls upon them
what a hulleboloo we make about it in
England. Here the people have been suffering
the rod of the oppressor for centuries, and as they
can read they are in a proper state for recieving
divine knowledge I have a strong desire to
scatter some bibles among them. And perhaps
do more. But will the Portuguese allow me?
I came out behind them. they would not have
allowed me to go in from Loanda. No English
man ever saw their fine fruitful country before
Being known now somewhat in the world they

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could not for shame refuse me passage back. But
it is ten to one if they would allow me to land
a box of bibles at Loanda. To do them justice
however I must say they have all treated me
with extraordinary kindness - *

* this although they looked upon my coming as another wedge
in against their slave trading - When they saw me in the interior calculating
longitudes they wondered why a "Doctor Mathematico" should pretend to be a
missionary

the above are my
suspicions more than actual knowledge of what
they would have done. the bishop did everything
he could for me. giving presents to all my com-
pany - a horse saddle & bridle ~~for the chief~~ and
the dress of a Colonel with Epaulettes cocked hat &c
for the chief. Sending an order to all the
commandants to furnish me with every th[...]
I needed till beyond Portuguese territory
He embraced me when parting, bless His
Reverendissimus, I would have preferred
a kiss from my wife to a hug from this
benevolent & kind hearted celibate in crimson
silk gown & golden cross hung to his neck
It will be better not to publish anything
about the state of the Angolese perhaps for
Rome is vigilant and would not hesitate
to act immediately if it were only to shut
the door. I earnestly pray I may be permitted
to do something for the spread of Knowledge
of Christ here. Physically it is one of the finest
countries in the world but one would not
think so at the coast. In here the luxuriance
of vegetation is wonderful and beautiful. The

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missionaries introduced many fine fruit trees from
South America. One called fruta da Conde is like cream
in taste. A wild one called Masubiri has a large
fruit and resembles in appearance the breadfruit
I wish I could send you seeds. Edens fruits
have all been allowed to degenerate except the
vine. In the Millennium I suppose they will be
recultivated and as much improved as the apple is
above the crab. My love to your spouse, and
Sma'family. I shall leave this as soon as my
patient is better. I have found an invaluable
friend [in Loanda - West Coast (of Africa)] in Her Majestys Commissioner Edmund
Gabriel Esq^{re} Any letter sent to him will be for-
warded to England by him if I am there. D. Livingston

I have written John by same mail
a yankee vessel will take both to the States

(Boston?)

Rev^d Charles Livingston

Plympton

Near Boston, Massachusetts

United States