

# Field Diary I, 4 August 1865 - 31 March 1866

*David Livingstone*

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[0001]

I

[0002]

[0003]

This contains a rough diary of Livingstone's voyage to Bombay from Marseilles in 1865, his stay in Bombay, his arrival in Zanzibar & the beginnings of his last Journey - March 1866

It does not closely correspond with Waller's "Last Journey" & seems like rough notes that were written up carefully later; For instance its [...] well-known passage in the Joys of Travel appears on January 1866 as written at Sea, whereas Waller gives it under date March 26<sup>th</sup>

[0004]

À Monsieur  
Monsieur Ca illiatte  
Marsauceux  
pres Dreux  
Eure et Loir

---

Monsier Calliatte  
Marsauceux  
Pres Dreux  
Eure et Loir

[0005]

~~À Madame Hocidi~~  
~~du Docteur Livingstone~~

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À Madame Hocidi  
chez M. Frédine de  
Comisets  
Le Havre  
du Docteur Livingstone  
Hotel des Deux Mondes  
Paris  
"Nous sommes à Marsauceux  
Mercredi à onze heures  
et demi -"

In answer to the above M<sup>rs</sup>  
Hocede came up from Havre  
to Marsauceux & we met  
her there - on 17<sup>th</sup> left Agnes  
on 18<sup>th</sup> God bless her

[0006]  
£1300 per ton  
185 for ivory - The  
largest price given

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19<sup>th</sup> August 1865  
reached Marseilles  
at noon - slept  
in a Hotel Louvre  
et Paix and on  
20<sup>th</sup> came on  
board Massalia  
P[.] & O. steamer to  
sail as soon as  
the mails come  
on board -  
Dined with M. Champlones  
in Paris - a good geographer

[0007]

Dreux where Agnes remains  
in order to speak French is  
a very old town - country  
on chalk, a wine growing  
one - people well off - no  
poor - mostly agricultural  
in a small way - very  
merry and careless  
This region was that  
in which Julius Caezar  
was when we wrote his  
2<sup>d</sup> book of his com-  
mentaries. The people  
seem changed now  
for they are small &  
dark instead of being  
the big fair blue eyed  
Gauls of old - The  
burying place of the  
Bourbon family is  
near Dreux - some  
fine stained glass in it

[0008]

The country along which  
we coast is sterile  
in appearance but is  
fertile - it looks stoney  
21<sup>st</sup> August 1865

Beautiful sailing - The  
Massilia goes at 12½ knots  
over a silent sea, and it is  
pleasantly warm - M<sup>r</sup>  
Maine eminent as a  
lawyer & writer on ancient  
law is on board & M<sup>r</sup> Tucker  
also a lawyer - M<sup>r</sup> Sterne  
an American merchant  
well educated & clever -  
and all are agreeable -

22<sup>d</sup> Reached Malta  
about 5 P.M. and found  
quarantine regulations  
in full force - boats at  
once surrounded us

[0009]

each having a man with  
a yellow collar & yellow  
flag - and all who had  
come with us to Malta  
were to be put in quarantine  
for 10 days - some cases  
of cholera had appeared at  
Marseilles. The ship's  
papers were recieved in  
a box at the end of a  
pole and tongs employed  
to open & and shut it.

A man of war's crew  
was said to have been  
put into quarantine  
for one of the men having  
touched a man of our  
ship - too much defer-  
ence is paid by our  
government to the  
Maltese who are very  
presuming.

[0010]

23<sup>d</sup> Aug. 1865. We were  
prevented from coaling  
till this morning. Then  
left at midday - D<sup>r</sup>  
Parkes & family went  
off to quarantine - a  
M<sup>rs</sup> Webb heard that her  
husband was ill of  
fever & unable to come  
near her before she  
went into th Lazaretto  
as we left we entered  
into a thick fog which  
seemed to be only near  
the island & not on it  
We may hear of this at  
a later date as associated  
with an outburst  
of cholera

Weather outside very  
fine we hope to get to

[0011]

Alexandria by Saturday at  
noon & thence start at  
once for Suez.

M<sup>rs</sup> Tucker going up to  
Mahableswar at night  
her horse went over a  
precipice in the dark  
and was jammed between  
~~the~~a tree and the rock. both  
horse & rider saved.  
This is surely Providen-  
tial

26<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1865. arrived at  
Alexandria about 4 P.M.  
and at once went on to-  
wards Cairo. reached it  
at 12.30 & stopped at  
Shepherds Hotel - to start  
at 9 A.M. Sunday morn-  
ing. went at 8 A.M.  
to call on M<sup>rs</sup> Lieder.

[0012]

M<sup>r</sup> Lieder long a missionary  
in Egypt died lately - & so  
did an old companion  
Miss Daniels - so she is left  
alone. Palgrave is at  
Cairo among Abyssinian  
merchants and the  
worthless Burtonites alias  
unprincipled - going to  
try & liberate D<sup>r</sup> Cameron  
& other missionaries in  
Abyssinia - M<sup>rs</sup> L. thinks  
that Cameron was im-  
-prudent only in presuming  
too much as a hunter  
and thinking he had more  
influence with the  
king than he possessed  
M<sup>r</sup> Flad a very prudent  
& able missionary is one  
of the captures. Miss  
Whately is coming out

[0013]

again in six weeks to  
resume her labours  
among the Mahometan  
children = she retires in  
the hot season and  
therein is wise. May a  
blessing rest on her  
labours.

An accident had happen[-]  
ed on the railway & one  
man killed on Saturday  
night - this was the  
reason we had to sleep  
at Shepherds Hotel - the  
cholera cholera was very severe  
on this line. Fifteen  
engine drivers died of it  
one was taken ill and  
died before he could get  
to a station

[0014]

28<sup>th</sup> Aug. 1865. Went  
on board the "Benares"  
and set sail this morning  
with a fine breeze down  
the Red Sea. -  
29<sup>th</sup> at noon we were  
220 miles from Suez  
and 1050 from Aden  
a nice breeze keeps us  
pleasant & steady  
Reading Palgrave  
very ambitious in  
his style  
30<sup>th</sup> noon Distance  
run 218 miles -  
From Aden 832 miles  
A fine breeze astern  
helps us on & cools us

[0015]

Red Sea end of

range Suez  
end of [range] [Drawing of a landscape.]

[0016]  
31 August 1865  
Distance run today  
219 miles - 614 from  
Aden - warmer  
but wind still keeping  
up -  
1<sup>st</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865 - 206  
miles distance run  
went down to stoke hole  
where Somalis are  
employed ½ an hour  
at a time - thermom[-]  
eter in stoke hole at  
roof 150° Fah<sup>r</sup>  
yesterday 163° - Engine  
room 109 - yesterday  
110°  
\_

[0017]

3<sup>d</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865 Visited  
Aden - and went  
with Col. Merryweather  
to the old Tanks from  
which the town is  
supplied = They are built  
in a gully & across it  
the workmanship  
solid & prodigious -  
a few trees are planted  
It is mentioned by  
Balthazar an old  
Portuguese who called  
there 300 years ago  
that Aden was a  
perfect garden - the  
old tanks held more  
than the present -  
The town is built  
over many of them  
two Parsees & a

[0018]

Mahometan have in  
company cleared out  
one & selling 100 gallons  
for 1 Rupee realize  
about 25 per cent  
on the outlay - People  
have increased to 30,000  
and are crowding in  
fast from starvation  
in the country caused  
by Murrain. Dined  
with Col. Merryweather  
& Col. Woolcombe &  
then sailed at nine  
P M

Prodigious quantities  
of fish in Gulph of  
Aden - I wonder that  
no fisheries have  
been established

[0019]

a sudden lowering of  
Temp. took place in  
the sea as soon as  
we came out of the  
Red Sea to Gulph of  
Aden. The bath made  
us start from its  
coldness. query a  
current from south  
brought to surface - ?

5<sup>th</sup> Sept 1865

Still in Gulph of  
Aden = 1570 miles  
from Bombay - went  
212 miles -

6<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> when we  
got out of Gulph of  
Aden came to southern  
swell & wind - going  
well & cool - 254 miles

[0020]

The Roman Emperors  
looked on Christianity  
as politically subversive



and morally abominable  
As many of ourselves  
do Mormonism &  
our rulers do the  
Jesuits. Christianity  
is still looked on  
as a new spirit  
likely to act as a  
dissolvent of Eastern  
systems. It produces  
an instinctive  
shrinking, and  
repugnance - Asiatic  
rulers have an  
instinctive prescience  
of the result & naturally  
shrink from

[0021]

closer contact with  
Western commerce &  
Christianity which  
combined will inevitably  
modify the whole  
structure of society

No oriental com-  
prehends the meaning  
of benefitting the people -  
the notion of promoting  
the welfare of a nation  
is scouted as a matter  
of course " - and we are  
always supposed to be  
following ~~own~~our ~~seown~~  
ends in all we do -

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[0022]

7 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865 Distance  
run 235 miles. Flying  
fish are caught by  
nets held behind a  
light - The French  
soldiers were shockingly  
ill treated by their own  
officers on board our

transport ships, but  
no complaint made -  
thrown overboard  
without any ceremony  
not even sewn up  
in great coats - These  
were usually stolen  
ere they were dead -  
89<sup>th</sup> 226 miles & we are  
now 352 miles from  
Bombay - light breeze  
and some sea

[0023]

A foreign people is not to  
be understood in a short  
or hurried visit - nor indeed  
to be appreciated by the  
oldest inhabitant, unless  
he will consent to  
waive all prejudice & live  
as one of themselves -  
Difficult to realize the  
true aspect of the people  
- learn to respect their  
hearts -

Quickness of apprehension  
a ready wit & retentive  
memory  
cruel old platitudes  
about governing orientals  
by fear - the "stick" -  
"vigour" They are the  
same as free born Instinct

[0024]

not long ago French &  
Germans were regarded  
as we now regard "niggers  
& Egyptians" - our  
island belt of prejudice  
with better knowledge  
we learn that black &  
white are men of like  
passions with our[-]  
-selves-

Treat savages as you

would countrymen  
remembering that  
you lose nothing  
by the act & they gain  
all -  
    little pet tucked her  
legs under her & ate daint[-]  
ily

[0025]

such a darling of sweet  
pure beauty -  
slave is a term of  
affection -" slave whom  
he loved"  
    Genuine sympathy  
with human beings  
obliterates the distinctions  
of race & clime rank  
& religion & even of  
intellect.

---

It is evidence of brutal  
vulgarity of mind to  
treat all natives as "niggers"  
Avoid this unhappy  
form of slang & without  
falling into unreal sentiment  
endeavour to return to that  
chivalry which regards with  
especial forbearance & con[-]  
sideration [for] the inferior & helpless

[0026]

    a man at Rio de Janero  
catching a rope was  
bit by a sea snake  
~~which~~ and shewed sym-  
-ptoms of poisons  
This case was men-  
-tioned by Captain White  
of the Benares as  
having come under  
his own personal  
observation

[0027]

10<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865  
Divine service this  
morning at 10-30  
After inspection  
all attended - We are  
within 120 miles of  
Bombay - We have  
now been 4 Sundays  
on board from  
Marseilles: viz. - one  
at Marseilles - one  
crossing Desert -  
one at Aden & thus  
[b]y which we reach  
Bombay at about  
4 A. M. Monday

[0028]

Chaplain Holberton  
Brigade Major  
River side  
Kirkee

---

13<sup>th</sup> start for Nassuck  
at 8 A M & reach  
4 - 30. M<sup>r</sup> ^ Rev W. Prxel

---

11<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865  
Arrived at Bombay  
at 4 A M - Went  
to House of M<sup>r</sup>  
G M Stewart on  
Kambala hill  
visited Governor

[0029]

in forenoon. He  
recommends a

visit to Nassuck  
to see a school of  
Africans there to  
select men for  
journey - dine  
with him tomorrow  
evening & then go  
Wednesday morning  
up country -  
12<sup>th</sup>  
went to Pareill to  
residence of the Governor  
offered a room &  
then to dine in the  
evening - sat beside

[0030]

Mr Chisolme Anstey -  
who is rather notorious  
in Bombay - a disciple  
of Daniel O'Connell -  
14<sup>th</sup> Went up to  
Nassick to see if any  
of the Africans there  
would suit me.  
Recieved by Major  
Houghton very kindly  
15<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> As the  
reamination of the  
school by the Bishop  
of Bombay. children  
did very well indeed  
sang beautifully  
an African com[-]  
poses tunes and

[0031]

has made about 25  
with songs in his  
own language - The  
tongue of Londa -  
told the young men  
that it was not  
play they were going  
to but work, and  
they had better think  
about it for some

time before giving an  
answer - Two volun[-]  
-teered at once - but I  
requested them to  
pause -  
16<sup>th</sup> came down to  
Bombay - very many  
of the plants seem

[0032]

identical with those in  
Africa – saw the  
ghants clearly and they  
are very fine and the  
jungle is very like  
what we have near  
Kolobeng & elsewhere  
Teak trees - Euphorbias  
acacias & palmyras  
bring back African  
scenery vividly -  
17<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865  
Went to Fort to settle  
affairs - four of  
my men have died  
climate disagrees with  
them - Chuma &  
Wikotane have done  
very well at Bombay  
under D<sup>r</sup> Wilson

[0033]

Sunday 18<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865  
went to Scotch church  
under M<sup>r</sup> Boyd & to the  
English church in the  
evening -  
19<sup>th</sup> came up to Guny-  
skind - residence of Sir  
Bartle Frere the Governor  
Went after dinner to  
an entertainment given  
by the Officers - Private  
theatricals very well  
performed - Supped with  
Col. Foster - Home at  
2 in the morning -  
20<sup>th</sup> Sleep in quarters

of staff of Governor,  
go over to Gunyskind to  
meals -

[0034]

20<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865

After breakfast Governor  
told me that Major Clarke  
had spoken to Officers  
& men of the Marine  
Battallion & found  
them very willing to  
go - He says many  
of them have been  
wrecked & kept at  
places where they have  
been obliged to rough it  
much and he will  
ensure their pay &  
pensions - They are  
accustomed to making  
packs for beasts of  
burden -

[0035]

spoke of buffaloes as  
able to bear bite of the  
tsetse - Thought favourably  
of it - He also said  
that any Africans &  
myself wish to send  
of one tribe he would  
see to their expenses  
being paid

very pleasant weather  
up here

22 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865

Visited a cave  
temple and walked  
to Holkar's bridge  
Read Duffy's  
history of Kirkee  
battle -

[0036]

M<sup>r</sup> Dalzell gardener

wished seeds of  
mosokoso - and  
Buarze  
[Small drawing of Buarze seeds.] send them

---

Invited to lecture  
at United service  
institution - Mutiny  
medals distributed  
A fakeer seen in  
Scinde came to  
tell Sir Bartle  
that the last of  
the Imams would  
soon appear -

[0037]

a woman washed  
her face - Political  
officer still en-  
quiring into the  
case when he  
left Oude -  
men put on a  
new coat over  
the old & his age  
is asked by how  
many coats has  
he?

[0038]

25 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1865 - Came  
down to Bombay  
saw M<sup>r</sup> Stearn's about  
calico & buffaloes  
Paid Gov<sup>r</sup> 609 Rupees  
3 annas for repairs  
of steamer & keep of  
men - M<sup>r</sup> Hoggan, an  
engineer volunteers to  
go with me - I decline -  
I go to Lady Nyassa  
to shew her to Captain  
Blackmore with a  
view to advertisement



for sale -

She is advertized twice  
a week. Two offers  
M<sup>r</sup> Tucker spoke of  
a company buying her

[0039]

29<sup>th</sup> Went up again to  
Poonah after spending  
a week in Bombay  
and on 3<sup>d</sup> Oct. gave  
a lecture in the United  
Service Institution  
to a crowd - Governor  
and bishop present  
the latter introduced  
me & voted thanks  
afterwards -  
Visted a Sirdar or  
native gentleman  
in Poonah with the  
Governor - garlands  
of flowers hung  
round or necks  
wands of D<sup>o</sup> in hands  
other of Roses - &c.

[0040]

stairs so narrow  
only one person can  
ascend - for defence  
in lawless times -  
5<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1865

Came down to  
Bombay - gave  
a lecture in Town  
Hall to a crowd who  
gave three cheers  
and subscribed  
some thousands of  
Rupees to help -

17<sup>th</sup> Sultan gave  
me an order to  
his captain to carry  
12 buffaloes for  
me to Zanzibar

[0041]

14 men of Marine  
Battalion volunteered  
to go - Men drew back  
and there 14 volunteered  
after hearing that we  
had carriage pro-  
vided for their luggage  
order - goods -  
provisions - blankets  
boots -

Visited Sultan several  
times - very gracious  
which I owe to Sir  
Bartle Frere shewing  
me so much  
attention - and calling  
me his Moushee

[0042]

22<sup>d</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> went to  
Scotch Church in  
morning - spent  
some time with  
D<sup>r</sup> Wilson Then  
go back to M<sup>r</sup>  
Stewart to lodge

---

25 Shipped 14  
buffaloes and two  
calves on board  
the Gazelle - bought  
iron tanks for their  
water - Hay supplied  
by commissariat  
at instance of the  
Governor - The  
Sultan changes his  
mind about sailing

[0043]

and may not leave  
for some days yet -  
Commissariat is  
getting saddles made

---

Phenembe is name  
of D<sup>r</sup> Peter[']s "Caia"  
Lizard = It eats chickens  
& mice - Nganye is  
the Ajawa & Manganja  
name for same  
animal = Kaia  
falls during rains -

---

In an inscription given -  
by Cosmas the Adulike  
inscription copied in  
A.D. 545 Ptolemy the  
Great is made to say  
that "he invaded Asia  
with his land & sea forces

[0044]

"and with elephants  
from the country of the  
Troglodites & Ethiopians.  
This body of Elephants  
was found collected out  
of those countries by his  
father and himself and  
brought into Egypt and  
tamed for the service  
of war. with these forces  
Ptolemy advanced -  
into Asia, reduced all  
his country on this side  
the Euphrates xxxxx  
In this Expedition having  
captured also manyy  
Indian elephants  
and subjectingall the  
princes to his obed[-]  
ience he crossed to  
Euphrates, entered"

[0045]

Mesopotamia &c"

["]Vincent's Ancient Commerce  
II pp-538"

---

Leave articles & retire.  
ancient way of trading  
in gold - D<sup>o</sup> D<sup>o</sup>

---

1<sup>st</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> 1865 We have  
had heavy rains for some  
days - The Captain of the  
Gazelle rather disobliging  
about the buffaloes -  
wont help my men - is  
a drunken Mahometan  
Mahomet Ali Durt.  
got letters from M<sup>r</sup> Price  
about boys - From Sir  
Roderick about Bakers  
Lake - He wishes me to  
hasten on to Tanganyika  
2 Marines come daily &  
act as orderlies -

[0046]

4 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1865 Went  
up with M<sup>r</sup> Tracey to  
the Mountain sanatorium  
Mattaran which has  
most gorgeous scenery  
remained with M<sup>r</sup>  
Hammay on monday  
& returned to Bombay  
on the morning of the  
7<sup>th</sup>.

On 9<sup>th</sup> went to Surat  
and remained overnight  
at Rev Montgomery's  
of Irish Presbyterian  
Mission - Saw the old  
tombs of English mag[-]  
nates of former days  
they are very grand -  
imitations of Mahometans

[0047]

10<sup>th</sup> On to M<sup>r</sup> Taylors  
at Borsad - reached  
him by bullock cart  
at e/4 to 12 at night  
remained net day  
and on 12<sup>th</sup> went on  
to Ahmedabad - country  
identical with many  
parts of Tropical  
Africa - Take away  
hedgerows which are  
of African Euphorbias  
and no imagination  
is needed to fancy one[-]  
-self on the other side of  
Indian Ocean - Ruins  
very fine - Went out  
on 13<sup>th</sup> to service at  
native christian village

[0048]

The expression of  
countenance of women  
very pleasant as com[-]  
-pared with the heathen -  
one motherly person  
did not like to see us  
go away fasting &  
brought a draught of  
milk for me -

M<sup>rs</sup> Oliphant the collector[']s  
wife is a daughter of  
my friend Gen<sup>l</sup> Alex[-]  
-ander - She was absent  
14 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1865

Returned to Bombay  
in one day a distance  
of 300 miles - Railway  
very straight & level  
not a tunnel in it  
all - Several large  
bridges built on

[0049]

iron tubes screwed  
into the mud - The

Narbudha at Breach  
¾ of a mile - The  
bridges are very  
elegant & high -

Caste the result in a  
measure of having  
been yielded to by the  
English - When the  
natives found that  
they were believed in[-]  
capable by caste rules  
of performing certain  
duties they added to  
the regulations -

A banker seen in a  
third class carriage  
Love of money stronge[r]  
than love of caste

[0050]

In a ship a Sudrah may  
cook for them - a bath  
is taken by throwing  
a stone in water - a  
vicarious ablution  
and then the mark is  
put on the forehead as  
emblematic of purifica[-]  
tion -

A woman taken in  
a palankin & screened  
into carriage was  
seen to take a bundle  
of dirty clothes on her  
back when leaving  
it -

Hear of Rae's death  
"Leave his sins to his  
saviour" is the line  
we must follow  
a sad end enough

[0051]

14 Nov<sup>r</sup> 1863 returned  
in one day to Bombay  
and lived in M<sup>r</sup> Stearn's[']  
house Malabar Hill -

No news of importance  
had come -  
About 20<sup>th</sup> H M S Severn  
came and the Commodore  
told me that I had to go in  
the Vigilant and she would  
be here in about a  
month - no help for it  
Recieved from Asiatic  
Society Rupees (6450) about  
£645 - very handsome  
contribution Resolve  
to dedicate it to careful  
commerce & place it  
at Ritchie Stewart & Cos  
at 6 percent interest  
to be given to any feasible  
committee for that

[0052]

purpose -  
24<sup>th</sup> Sailed to Hog island  
visited caves of  
Elephanta about 900  
years old - My expectations  
had been over excited  
Recieved a number  
of articles for journey  
from Authorties here  
5<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> waiting  
for M. "Thule" being  
ready as I am to go  
in her - a guest of  
the Government -  
negotiating sale  
of Lady Nyassa  
M<sup>r</sup> Tucker failed  
to get up a company

[0053]

to purchase her - dined  
in company with  
M<sup>r</sup> Justice Anstey -  
has a fund of anecdote[s]  
admired O'Connel -  
8<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> /65 - visited the  
Rock Temples of

Kanera - Buddhist  
and one is very fine  
like saloon of News[-]  
tead Abbey - a row  
of pillars runs down  
each side some carved  
at top with elephants  
many figures of Budh  
with Hindoo gods  
under him  
7<sup>th</sup> Shocked by the sudden  
death of M<sup>rs</sup> Holberton

[0054]  
8 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865

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---

Since my return  
to Bombay I have  
noticed that my men  
from the Zambesi  
have lost the African  
& emit the Indian  
odour - They com-  
plain of weakness

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Scinde is notable  
for darkening the  
complexion - Bombay  
whitens it - Devon[-]  
shire - darkens more  
than most places

---

---

Captain Osborne  
offers to take me  
up to Nagpore free  
of expense -

[0055]  
10<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865 Chuma  
and Wikatani were  
baptized this morning  
by D<sup>r</sup> Wilson - John W -  
& James Chuma - trust they



will be followers of  
Christ in truth -  
11<sup>th</sup> Recieved an  
anonymous note  
from " African Asylum"  
complaining of un-  
kindness - sent it to  
M<sup>r</sup> Price - It shews  
ingratitude

12<sup>th</sup> Went to Commodore  
he shewed me his  
order to East Coast  
Captains to assist  
me as much as they  
could

[0056]

Declined Captain  
Osborne[']s very  
kind invitation  
to go up country  
with him -  
Went to observatory  
about 2 chrono-  
meters to be sent  
home by H. M. S.  
Severn  
18<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865.  
Went on board the  
Thule and find  
her a very fine  
vessel with  
ample cabin  
accommodation

[0057]

22 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865. Sold  
the Lady Nyassa for  
£2300 to Rajah of  
Bhownuggerree -  
the Government have  
given me the honour  
of formally presenting  
the Thule to the Sultan  
of Zanzibar - This is  
to shew the consideration  
in which I am held &

will aid me with the  
Arabs = It is very kind  
in the Governor so to  
arrange the matter -  
A Colonel would have  
been sent had the  
commission not been  
given to me

[0058]

26<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865 =  
Tiffin on board the  
"Windsor Castle." after  
service at the Cathedral  
yesterday - Lord Edward  
Seymour with whom  
I went to Elephanta  
caves after going with  
Sir Bartle Frere to the  
South Maratha country  
went to hunt bears -  
Placed above a bear  
cave he shot one of  
two cubs which first  
came out. Then the  
mother followed & he  
retiring fell - The beast  
gave him one of the  
tremendous bites on the  
inside of the thigh which  
the brutes can give &  
went on - Two days  
elapsed ere medical

[0059]

assistance could be  
brought. Then amputation  
and death followed -  
an untimely end for a  
hopeful young man  
who came to learn that  
knowledge of India not  
easily found in books -  
Pity the poor father &  
mother & sisters if he  
has any -

4<sup>th</sup> January 1866 -

embarked on board  
the Thule going to  
Zanzibar as a pre-  
-sent to the Sultan - the  
mules were not on  
board so we had to  
wait till the morning  
of the 5<sup>th</sup> before

[0060]

sailing - Two Seedies  
were by accident  
knocked overboard  
but were picked up -  
weather fine - but  
winds light  
16 January 1866 Had a  
squall this morning  
mules find it difficult  
to stand on account of  
rolling of vessel - We  
are more than half  
way now to Zanzibar  
19<sup>th</sup> began to steam  
on 17<sup>th</sup> on account  
of want of wind -  
It is now dead calm

[0061]

When one travels  
with the specific object  
in view of ameliorating  
the benighted natives of  
Africa every act becomes  
enobled - While exchanging  
the customary civilities -  
Receiving a nights shelter  
- purchasing food for  
the party - asking for  
information - or giving  
answers to the African's  
polite enquiries as to the  
objects of the travelers - We  
begin to spread inform[-]  
-ation respecting that people  
by whose agency their

hand will yet be freed  
from the cursed slave trade  
The mere animal pleasure  
Travelling is very great

[0062]

the elasticity of muscle  
imparted by brisk exercise  
fresh & healthy blood  
circulates through the  
brain - the eye is clear  
the step firm and the  
days exertion has been  
enough to make repose  
thoroughly enjoyable -  
We have always the  
influence of remote  
chances of danger either  
from men or wild  
beasts - Our sympathies  
are drawn out to our  
humble hardy com-  
panions by a com-  
munity of interests  
and perils - and  
makes us all friends indeed

[0063]

the mind meanwhile  
is made more self  
reliant - confident in  
resources with greater  
presence of mind -  
The body & limbs become  
well knit - the muscles  
~~loose~~lose all their fat & are  
as hard as a board - the  
countenance bronzed  
no dyspepsia-  
The sweat of ones brow  
is no longer a curse  
when one works for  
God - It is converted  
into a blessing - It is a  
tonic to the system - The  
charm of repose can  
only be known after

severe exertion

[0064]

24<sup>th</sup> January 1866 = After  
several days of very light  
winds we have a breeze today  
but she does not go quick -  
A shark bit the revolving vane  
of the Patent log several days  
ago and on 22<sup>d</sup> repeated  
the bite and left several  
pieces of the enamel of his  
teeth indented in the brass  
We caught several dolphins  
yesterday - the dorsal fin  
is prolonged & large on to the  
nose - This gives him great  
power in turning his head  
& mouth to catch the fishes  
All the fishes in their stom[-]  
achs were partially con[-]  
sumed though they could  
not have been long in  
The gastric juice is very  
strong  
[Drawing of a fish.] found  
inside & of this size

[0065]

25 January 1866. a good  
wind today and vessel  
going slowly never[-]  
-the-less

26 get up steam in the  
Afternoon -

28<sup>th</sup> Sunday came into  
Zanzibar harbour this  
afternoon - all the Europe[-]  
-ans off on a picknick -  
Opened mail bags in order  
to see that man of war  
letters might not be  
kept from Officers &  
men of the "Vigilant" by  
the picknick affair - called  
at Vigilant

29<sup>th</sup> Went to call on  
Sultan in accordance

with request for a  
private interview  
which sent in the evening  
we were recieved by a

[0066]

gaurd - A band at the  
bottom of stairs struck  
up the "Queen's Anthem"  
when we shook hands  
with his Highness - We  
told him that I was com-  
missioned to deliver the  
Thule as a present from  
the Bombay Govern-  
-ment but a few days  
were required to clean  
& repair her. Then we  
should get up a trial  
trip if he would come  
on board - to this he  
assented - on drinking  
coffee & sherbet we came  
away & the band struck  
up the "British Grenadiers"  
called on M<sup>r</sup> Shultz  
acting for D<sup>r</sup> Seward  
I did not accept his

[0067]

mediation as political  
agent because he is a  
foreigner =  
He says Baron van  
der Decken is murdered  
His bloody clothes were seen  
by some Mahometans  
who were allowed to  
escape - D<sup>r</sup> Link ran into  
the water and tried to escape  
but was slain - They  
spared one light coloured  
man on his repeating  
part of the Koran - (D<sup>r</sup>  
Seward is at Seyschelles)  
The Baron was said not  
to be cautious and rather

liked to drive all before  
him - Poor fellow an  
untimely end - the river  
is said to wind so much  
at times as scarcely to  
allow a long steamer to  
go up - He went 300 miles about

[0068]

19<sup>th</sup> February 1866 -  
Captain Brebner left in  
the Nadir Shah at noon  
Sultan offered a money  
present through Sheikh  
Sulieman which was  
decidedly declined -  
20<sup>th</sup> This morning  
the Sultan goes out  
to buy the Thule =  
22<sup>d</sup> He sent some one  
else - He seems too feeble  
& irresolute to do anything  
He is like all Easterns  
profuse of promises

8<sup>th</sup> March. Sultan  
sent Thule over to  
examine a new bay  
nearly opposite to  
this and Sheikh  
Sulieman tells us

[0069]

that he intends to build  
a custom House there  
and get his way at  
the spot = They have  
difficulties when it is  
embarked elsewhere  
Bought two camels  
one for 20 the [other] for 32  
dollars

[10<sup>th</sup>]

Bought another camel  
and a white Donkey  
of Muscat  
case of a man a  
Monyar who ran

away from this &  
was sold at Muscat  
his Zanzibar owner  
getting information  
thereof sent an order  
to sell him - He was  
taken to Calcutta &

[0070]

becoming sick was  
deserted by his master  
there - when he got  
out of hospital sailed  
in P. & O[.] ships for six  
years - then coming  
back worked to Fraeser  
& co for 18 months but  
was again ~~paid~~ sold  
to Captain Abdullah  
2 months ago - Sultan  
says he purchased him  
from said Abdullah  
& will give him over  
to Consul but will  
not say he has done  
wrong

[0071]

19<sup>th</sup> March 1866 - sailed  
from Zanzibar on  
board H M -S Penguin  
Lieut<sup>t</sup> Garforth - with  
a dhow having camels  
mules donkies &  
buffaloes on board -  
Paid 180 dollars for it  
Reached Rovuma  
bay on 22<sup>d</sup> and  
anchored in 5 fathoms  
went up left bank &  
examined gullies to  
see if camels can  
cross them - very  
difficult, so told the  
master of the dhow  
to go up along right  
bank which always



[0072]

was deep - on 23<sup>d</sup> he  
warped up some distance - We then went  
to examine further up  
on left bank & found  
it utterly impracticable  
from thickness of  
jungle & Mangrove  
swamps full of  
gullies & roots plant[ed]  
in excessively sticky  
mud - The dhow went  
up about a mile on  
the right bank and  
grounded while we  
were examining  
the left bank and  
getting a Hippopotamus  
calf shot by M<sup>r</sup> Fan[...] [e]

[0073]

in one of the small gullies  
Went over to dhow  
& found she had grounded  
and could proceed  
no further - Went in-  
land from dhow  
& found mangroves  
quite as bad as other  
side roots sticky  
mud & gullies without  
end - sThought of  
landing at point  
where M<sup>r</sup> May observed  
and then wading the  
camels up on the  
sands in river  
but it occurred to  
me that if that should  
fail we should be  
fairly jammed

[0074]

and obliged to leave

camels altogether -  
went to Penguin &  
Lieut<sup>t</sup> Garforth agreed  
that it would be  
better to go to Kilwa  
Captain of Dhow  
strongly recom-  
-mended Mikindany  
in which bay there is  
a fine harbour calle[d]  
Pemba completely  
shut in by land -  
on west side the  
seaface rises up at  
once from the water  
to about 200 feet  
the slope down being  
clothed in rich

[0075]

green foliage very  
pleasant to behold -  
went over to sirkar  
of Synd Majid - we  
were landed on N.  
point of the gap in  
got out camels &  
hired a house - then  
Penguin left us  
the Lieut<sup>t</sup> behaved  
most kindly &  
liberally

Kalane name of man  
to whom I am to pay  
rent of 4 dollars a  
month = the hill John  
is the landmark in  
making the harbour

[0076]

28<sup>th</sup> March 1866  
The Arab who acts as  
soldier here for the  
Sultan came today  
with a man who is  
said to know all the

Interior - and who  
was offered if I shoul[d]  
pay him handsome-  
ly beforehand to be  
a sort of guide - an  
ill looking fellow  
I replied that I wante[d]  
porters and if these  
could not be had  
I would go on  
with the men I  
had - After a

[0077]

long talk we decided  
nothing - They have  
no cattle here nor  
at Magaaao which is  
said to be six hours  
North of this - all  
saddles finished  
30 March 1866 - Plenty  
of game in country  
adjacent but no  
Tsetse - They have not  
tried cattle - having  
been here only five  
or six years here  
They know the Tsetse  
on Rovuma -  
We have several  
times been asked by  
the half-caste Arabs

[0078]

for brandy which the[y]  
drink in secret but  
may have not made it  
an article of commerce  
as we have done on  
the West Coast -  
no carriers to be had  
Sirkar will give two  
men to shew road =  
refuse rent of house  
for things we leave  
behind

[31<sup>st</sup>]

Excercising camels  
two very stubborn  
ruin was a mosque

[0079]

5 bags of beads  
5 boxes instruments  
books clothes -  
1 bag bedding  
1 box soap 1 D<sup>o</sup> Tea -  
15 bales cloth camels  
1 box preserved meats  
1 bag coffee -  
1 box candles  
7 boxes ammunition  
~~15 small bales cloth~~  
1 sugar - cooking utensil

---

Camels carry all the  
bales -

---

3 bags clothes -  
4 instruments  
1 medicine box  
1 ammunition

[0080]

chaza = oyster  
makararu another shellfish  
eaten - good pia  
John =  
[Drawing of a small triangular hill.] the direction  
hill W N W of entrance  
Distances  
Makonde  
Kuaridelwi = 2 Kuaridea  
1 Jantulo

3 Ligongonda

Lehuma

Mggao is said to [be] only  
six hours north  
of Kindany harbour

[0081]

Mikindani [Map of Mikindani harbour with various geographical coordinates related to  
Rovuma Bay.]

[0082]

Paid Antonio Rs 14 -  
soap Rs4  
candles & serge £5-3-8  
advanced to Johanna  
men by Captain Garforth  
£29-4 & repaid by me  
150 R. Ghee at Kindan[y]  
advanced Wikatndani 4/  
for gun mending

[0083]

mill -	2
Big beads 500	2 50
Buffalo house	<u>35</u>
soap - 1 box	<u>2.50</u>

---

1100 = 12

1112 = 18

138 - 63

---

125081 = 1291 = 31

26[...]- 89 = 825 4 Rs

on second	coffe[e] 6
account	sugar 3.50
R 2776-5	Brandy <u>11</u>
men 20	

Koroje bin

Volamadasa

[0084]

2 frasilah beads [...]	
26.75	
20 pieces cloth	46.25
20 D°	46.25
20 Kaniki	46.25
20 D°	28.50
samesame 5¼	70.25
Golaleia 5¼	561.69
unduo 5¼	24.16
Langõo 5¼	49.88
Powder -	4.
Balls	63
2 guns	6

---

Buggalo	100
food	86.57
presents	22.50
porters	– 200
food of D°	7

[0085]

[Calculations related to payments to Salim for camels, donkeys, and guns.]

[0086]

Colobus Guereza = Tippet monkey  
the Polume - or Mbega of E Asfrica

---

Tangoe = Honey bird  
Sakirdornis melanota = black  
backed goose

[Drawing of what appears to be the prow of a dhow.]  
Leave with D<sup>r</sup> Seward  
one hundred Pounds  
£100 - to send buffaloes  
& other matters

12 March 1866 =

---

Kerje to send 300 lbs  
beads - 500 egg beads  
& 80 pieces cloth  
to Thani bin Suelum  
at Ujiji - Then his Sepoy  
to come back to Said bin  
Salem at Unyembe

[0087]

[The upper left-hand part of this page has an illustration of a genealogical chart.]  
cousins are Bari  
& not marriagiable

---

neichees not marriagi[-]  
able = Bokaru  
Bariao D° D°  
Nkamoane  
grandneices D° D  
mbuiea mejeuala may  
marry or be married  
but the blood relation[-]  
ship is finished

[0088]  
a large peace & opposite  
shore just visible in a  
clear day - Salim bin  
Abdullah was his Arab  
guide thither - Mafite are  
there = Kingomanga  
carried him in a cot  
His village is Mamemba  
Roscher left goods with  
Likoomboo a chief at  
Rovuma & was going  
for them -  
Mukokota name of  
murderer

[0089]

D<sup>r</sup> Roscher was killed  
at a village called  
Kisoongoona 3 days [...] to  
the North East of Lake  
Nyassa - 19<sup>th</sup> Nov<sup>r</sup> reached L.  
He remained at Nussewa  
on the borders of the Lake  
nearly 4 months - The  
chief is Makawa - to  
him Roscher's servant  
returned - He gave an  
escort to the district  
chief Kingomanga ^ a mogace 4  
days from the Lake  
who went with 50 followers  
Kingomanga & Makawa  
sent all the goods &  
murderers to Kilwa  
Roscher lodged in  
Marvole's house at  
Nussewa

[0090]

Amoda 10 Feb<sup>y</sup> Rs 10  
Suzi D<sup>o</sup> Rs 10  
being February & ½ March  
Juma & Wikatani 1 R. each  
Gave Chitko & Dungudza  
12 days provisions &  
1 Rupee passage to  
Mosambique 11 Feby /66  
Amoda R 1 + 1  
Suzi for Dobi R 1  
Suzi 4 [...] for 1 musket  
Suzi for stealing to pay  
10 Rupees -  
Amoda 1 yd. - 1 Shilling  
Suzi blue jumper 6/  
eight Johanna men  
Jumpers 6/  
Nassick boys each 6/  
Paid fine by Johanna man 2/

[0091]



Paid to Theodor Schulby [...]  
at Zanzibar £27-4  
for keep of buffaloes  
at Zanzibar  
10<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1866  
Paid Havildar for 3 days  
for grass to D<sup>o</sup> & mules R 2  
for other ~~five~~six days Rs 3  
for feed of cattle R 5

[Insect that appears to be a butterfly pressed into the diary.]

[0092]  
Hamid bin Sulayyam  
arab of the Dhow on Lake  
Tanganyika

---

Khamis bin Juma another  
who knew him well but  
was East of Lake  
Uvira last point of Arabs N.  
S. of Lake is land of Marunga

---

Ubwari island  
Uvinza salt comes from  
Wabembe = man eaters  
Uvira - stalwart sons of  
Sultan Maruta

---

[0093]  
Morofi = sawfish is said  
to eat Mabande a spears  
of grass growing in wet  
places = saws it through  
Chinyessi = electric fish  
eats Makamba or craw  
fish.

Dōwe = Mchura or its  
own tail which grows again -  
Colour of Dolphin fins  
bright blue - body light  
green - causes fascin-  
-ation in flying fish  
as cobra's hood does  
a fish if once it comes  
in its sphere cannot  
fly scarcely  
zikombo other side or  
country

[0094]  
26 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1865 Sent off  
to ship by Dubash 10 Loads of calico  
8 — of coloured and  
woolen cloths  
18 boxes provisions

---

36 in all

---

101 bags of beads sent  
3 – shot -  
6 boxes 29<sup>th</sup>

---

[A series of calculations, including geometric calculations.]

[0095]  
N<sup>o</sup> 3 remains  
2<sup>d</sup> N 1 goes - medium  
box - Revolver  
essence of beef - compas  
Left with M<sup>r</sup> Francis  
3 tin boxes (clothing)  
1 wooden box  
(Microscope)  
1 medicine box  
1 box magic Lantern  
11 saws  
4 axes  
1 wooden box - books

---

[Calculations, including geometric calculations.]

[0096]

Nº 2 to go to Zanzibar  
travelling clothes  
& some books - mbane  
inside -  
Nº 1 - Hammock  
of M<sup>s</sup> Alington - 6  
schecked shirts  
Mosquito curtains  
needles looking glasses  
coloured woolen 4  
4 roles - knives - silver  
spoons - looking  
glasses - iron spoons  
1 towel = Preseved tin kirnes[-]  
-files - Lancaster gun &  
powder horn - shot belt  
shells – bullet moulds  
Foolscap paper = piece of  
red striped stuff = shawl

[0097]

Nº 4 box to be left  
at M<sup>s</sup> Tracey's contains  
Uniform - black dress  
coat & Trowsers - New  
blue coat & check[e]d  
trowsers - 1 pr boots  
Nº 5 contains -  
Uniform hat - paper  
flannel & other shirts  
stockings - boots 1 p<sup>r</sup>  
microscope box

[0098]

8<sup>th</sup> Paid Livery Company  
for buggy hire R. 24

---

Psylli of Strabo whose  
bodies were supposed  
to have antidote to poison

of serpents  
In India = Saadi

---

Ben Habibs Journal  
mentions Umarungu  
R. flowing into S. End of  
Lake = He went to Peto -  
Karembo = Makunga  
Karunguesi =  
Charéka name of Cazembe  
R. Ragira flows past  
Katanga & joins Luapula  
country Buira =  
Makololo Ujenje

[0099]  
Speke says page 165 of  
His Journal - ["]On starting  
to the rescue, my companion  
complained of the shock  
his nerves recieved since  
the Somali encounter,  
and this appeared to  
affect him during the  
whole of this journey”  
he evinces an evident  
dislike to Burton and  
did not hesitate to call  
him a coward, but this  
does not justify Speke  
in stealing a march on  
Burton by publication  
of his Journal after  
promising not so to do  
DL

---

Nsango Divination

[0100]

native measures  
Gora = 15 cloths of 4 cubits each  
(Kinike Indigo dyed stuff)  
Sahari = Dubuani &c  
Barsate tablecloths of various  
colours

cloth of 4 cubits = a Shukka  
Dhote = piece of 12 ~~fathoms~~feet  
or 8 cubits = 8 + 18 = 1644  
= to 12 feet or 64 yards  
= 2 fathoms  
Kitindi = brass rings

"To save repetition, I  
may as well mention ~~that~~the  
fact that neither Captain  
Burton nor myself were  
able to converse in any  
African language until  
we were close to the coast on  
the return Journey -" foot[-]  
note page 199 Speke's Journal

[0101]  
47 Nov<sup>r</sup> Paid for 800 pages  
of map blanks 10 Rs 8

---

Drew to self 20 Rupees

---

Paid for calico 259-8  
Rupees - to Nicol & Co 2 Dec<sup>r</sup> To D<sup>o</sup> R 260  
-- 5R34  
To Nicol & Co calico 500 Rs  
Sundries --- 10  
- --- 10  
- --- 10  
self - 24  
watches repair 19  
Paid to ~~Col~~Major Muler  
for shoes 24 pai[r] R 120  
at 5 R per pair  
for Tin R: 5  
Dec 8<sup>th</sup> Drew Curr<sup>t</sup> ~~4~~2100 R  
Sundries R 46-13 2

[0102]

[Calculations, including wage calculations, for David, Bizenti, Safuri, Nyampinga, Cachoro (Suzi's brother[?]), Amoda, Suzi, and Dungudza from October, November, and December 1865. Segment of text in black ink.]

[0103]

[Calculations, including wage calculations, for Matita, Suzi, and Amoda from October, November, and December 1865.]

[0104]

1 <sup>st</sup> Oct <sup>r</sup>	
Suzi	12 Rupees
Amoda	12 D <sup>o</sup>
Manta -	30

---

16 <sup>th</sup>	
Mantu	15 R.
Dungodza	10

---

to self —	20
washing	10

Amoda	55
Monita	5 5

Amoda	6
-------	---

[0105]

27 Sep<sup>r</sup> 1865

Paid Wikatani & Chuma

2 months & a half - 12-3 or

Rs 25 —

+

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[Wage calculations for Suzi for October and November 1865.]

[Wage calculations for Dugudza for October and November 1865.]

[0106]

Fare to Paris	<u>£ 5 3 4</u>
<u>£ 2 11 8</u>	
Luggage —	<u>£ 1 8 6</u>
<u>£ 4 0 2</u>	
self £ 0-5 =	£ 3-5-0
Marseilles	£ 4-
Hotel Paris -	£ 2 8
& Marseilles	<u>£ 1 10</u>
20 Aug	<u>£ 11 30</u>
medicine box	

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26<sup>th</sup> Sept-<sup>r</sup> Paid on  
my own private acct-  
for painting steamer  
food for men & to the  
Bombay Government  
609-3 Rupees = and  
wages of men  
500 Rupees -/ 100 Rupees 289 Sepr

[0107]  
May 9<sup>th</sup> 1865 / £ 121 17  
Paid to Macdougall &co  
clothing £ 11 18  
29 May to  
M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Starkey  
for caps & belt - £ 3 14 6  
20 Aug. [...] £ 11 3  
£ 148 2 76

Eitre Luggage  
to Bombay £ 9-14-9  
steward[']s fees £ 1 10  
Cairo Hotel 16  
Suez Hotel 8 6  
£ 160 12 9  
To M<sup>r</sup> Young 105  
for clothing £ 265 12 9  
Magic Lanter[n]  
watches &c

[0108]  
9<sup>th</sup> August 1865  
To P & O Company  
for passage from  
Marseilles to

Bombay £ 82-10  
Stereoscope = 12  
11<sup>th</sup> August  
Bought of John Searle  
one Leathern trunk  
for Journey £3-5  
Stationary - £ 11-  
Drew for  
Journey through  
France & to Bombay £ 25-

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Expenses £ 121-17

[0109]

4 August 1865 Mem.  
to Bind Obs<sup>n</sup> books  
candles - Lantern  
sextant stand  
watch - Bombay  
Dentist =  
sell steamer - compass &  
ruler - Beads string  
Tea = coffee - sugar  
preserved meats - sardines  
Tarpauling -  
kettle. saucepan -  
Frying pan -  
Flour

[0110]

[0111]

[Annotated insert from the Stirling University Conservation Project from 1986.]

[0112]



[0113]