

## Letter to Roderick I. Murchison, 24 December 1854

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[0001]

[N<sup>o</sup> I.  
with a Note] [1.]

[1. Journey from the Confluence of [the] Leeba & Leeambye  
to Loanda]

Pungo Andongo, Angola.

24<sup>th</sup> December 1854

Sir Roderick Impey Murchison

Sir

I have been in the habit of addressing my letters for the Royal Geographical Society to the care of Lieut<sup>t</sup> Colonel Steele, but from some notices which I have seen in the Newspapers since my arrival in Angola, I conclude that, that gentleman has gone to the seat of war in the East. On that account, and knowing the interest which you take in such matters, I beg you will allow me the liberty of sending my communications on Geography to you.

[~~xx Note~~ See Journal vol xxiv page 291] In my last letter[,] dated ~~October~~ [20<sup>th</sup> September,] 1853 x

I reported my return to the town of Sekeletu on the river Chobé after having visited the country of the Barotsé, and the river Leeambye or Zambesi as far North as its confluence with the Leeba. I enclosed also, a sketch of the river with the Latitudes and Longitudes of the different points at which I had made observations,

[0002]

[2] and mentioned my intention of proceeding to Loanda in order if possible to open a path whereby commercial intercourse might be maintained with the West coast as a means of ameliorating the condition of the people in the Interior[.]  
†[T]he present communication is intended to convey a sketch of the journey from the point at which my last terminated viz. the confluence of the Leeba and

Leeambye, Lat. 14° 11' 3" South[;] Long.

23° 40' 30" East. [This position is

slightly altered

from that in

Vol XXIV p302] to Loanda, the

capital of the Portuguese possessions

in Western Africa.

Sekeletu, who by the abdication of

his sister, now possesses the chieftainship[.]

and the principal men of the tribe[.] entered cordially into the project of

opening a new road for commercial

purposes. [Insert] [from sheet

II. 2<sup>d</sup> Sheet] Men[.] oxen and canoes were

generously furnished. Also[F]our

elephants'[-] tusks [were also entrusted to me for sale for the purpose of]by which to test[ing]

the difference [between]of [the] prices [^] [given]between[by] the c[C]ape [traders,]

and other white traders [men],[;] and which

I subsequently disposed of [^] [them]with that

object in view and for his [Skeletu's] advantage

at Cassangé Taking leave of the

[0003]

[3] chief and principal men on the banks of the

Chobé[.] my company consisting of none but

[men of] Zambesians and these chiefly Barotsé, we

descended that tortuous river to its junction

with the Leeambye, then entering it [which] we [ascended,]

visited [visiting] Sesheké[.] and the different villages on

its banks, at each of which orders had

previously been issued "that we must not

be allowed to become hungry". On reaching

the country of the Barotsé, we learned that

a foray had been made by one of the under-

chiefs, and [^] [that] several villages had been destroyed

in the very direction we intended to take.

Having demanded the return of the prisoners

as the only means of ensuring our safety[.]

I succeeded in getting eighteen into my

charge, [^] [and] these were restored to their relatives[.]

as we approached their different habitations

in our progress up the river. As we had

previously seen, the Leeambye makes a

sharp bend away to the Eastward[.] from

the confluence of the Leeba, and comes[flows]

from the East to the West. But the

Leeba comes from the North, so we

supposed that by ascending it we should

approach the source of the Coanza. And

by descending [the latter]it might at last reach

Loanda. We discovered afterwards

[0004]

[4] that the Portuguese map, which represents the Coanza [as] arising in the East, is erroneous. With the above impression however, we ascended the Leeba[,] [for 40] ~~forty~~ or 50 miles[::] ~~And~~ [when] a cataract preventing farther progress in canoes, we remained a few days waiting for a party which had been detached at the confluence, before commencing the journey on ox back. ‡[T]he party ~~having left~~ [was sent from] the junction, with five captives belonging to Masiko, a Barotsé chief who lives East of that point, & proceeded in the same direction during five days. ~~But~~ ‡[T]wo of the prisoners being little girls, shorter marches than usual were made[::] & the actual distance may therefore be not more than eighty miles. ‡[T]hough travelling Eastward thus far, they [party] did not again come near the Leeambye. From this, and the fact that we could get no more information about it in the North, it may fairly be inferred that this noble river [^] [the Leeambye] holds an Easterly and Westerly course for a considerable distance beyond where we left it.

‡[T]he party having returned together with an embassy of Masiko's principal men, bearing a present and friendly

[0005]

2<sup>d</sup> sheet

[5] message, we left the river and proceeded N.N.W. through a portion of the country called Londa; the paramount chief of which is well known to the Portuguese by the title of Matiamvo. ‡[T]he inhabitants, ~~or~~ [called] Balonda belong to the true wooly-headed negro race, and differ remarkably from the Bechuanas and other tribes in the South, in their treatment of females, and [^] [in the] practice of idolatry. ‡[T]hey swear by their mothers, and never desert them&[:]; they] allow the women a place and voice in their public assemblies, and frequently elevate them to the chieftainship. Near every village we observed an idol, consisting either of an image formed of grass and clay, intended to represent a lion or alligator, or a block of wood, on the top of which the human face was rudely carved. In cases

of sickness or of non-success in hunting,  
offerings are made and drums beat before  
them[se] [^] [idols,] during whole nights. ‡[T]he Bechuanas  
on the contrary, swear by their fathers, - glory  
in the little bit of beard which distinguishes  
them from the sex which they despise, - And,  
though they have some idea of a future  
state, it exerts but little influence on  
their conduct. ‡[T]heir supreme good is a cow,  
and they never pray.

[0006]

[6] The first Londa chief of importance  
whom we visited[,] is called Shinté or  
Kabompo. His town stands on Latitude  
13° South. [(13° 0 21 )] We were recieved in what  
they consider grand style. ‡[T]he old chief  
sat under a species of figus indica, on  
a raised seat, having some hundreds  
of women behind him, all decked out  
in their best, and that best was a  
profusion of red baize. Some drums  
and primitive ~~pianos~~ [instruments] made of wood,  
were powerfully beaten-[:] and different  
bands of men,- each numbering about  
50 or 80 persons,- well armed with large  
bows and iron-headed arrows, short  
broad swords and guns,- rushed yelling  
towards us from different quarters.  
As they all screwed up their faces so  
as to look very ~~savage and serious~~ [^] [fierce & savage][,] I  
supposed they were trying whether  
they could not make us take to our  
heels. But they knelt down and made  
their obeisance to Shinté, which in  
all this country consists in rubbing  
dust on the upper and front part  
of the arms, and accross the chest.  
When several hundreds had arrived,  
speeches were delivered, in which my

[0007]

[7] history so far as they could extract it from  
my companions, was given. "‡[T]he Bible containing  
a message of peace", "the return of two captives  
to Shinté",- "the opening of a new path for trade"  
&c. &c. were all described. "Perhaps he is fibbing,  
perhaps not"; they rather thought he was.["]  
"But as they were good hearted, and not  
at all like the Balo-bale, or people of Sekeletu,  
and had never done any evil to any one,

Shinté had better treat him well and send him on his way". †[T]he women occasionally burst forth with a plaintive ditty, but I could not distinguish whether it was in praise of the speakers or of themselves. And when the sun became hot, the scene closed.

Shinté came during the night and hung [around my neck] a particular kind of shell, which is highly valued, ~~to [around] my neck~~, as a proof of the greatest friendship, and [^] [he] was greatly delighted with some scriptural pictures which I shewed him from a Magic Lantern. †[T]he spirit of trade is strong in all Africans, and the Balonda chiefs we visited, all highly approved of our journey, ~~and~~ each expressed an earnest hope that the projected path might lead through his town. Shinté ~~having~~ facilitated our progress to the next important chief, [^] [named] Katema, & we

[0008]

[8] We ~~came~~ again ~~to~~ [reached] the Leeba in Latitude 12° 8' South and 22° 55' East Longitude. It had assumed the same Easterly and Westerly course as the Leeambye. After crossing it, we were obliged to go almost due North, in consequence of the plains of Lobalé on our West, being flooded and impassable. It happened to be the rainy season, and never did twenty-four hours pass without frequent drenching showers. All the streams were swollen so as to appear considerable rivers[:]; but as they were generally furnished with rustic bridges, we may infer their flow to be perennial. Several extensive plains were crossed with the water standing more than a foot deep[:]; and broad vallies also, along which the water flowed fast towards the Leeba, ~~and~~ deep enough to wet our blankets, which we used as pads on the oxen, instead of saddles. Both this and the water in the rivers was so clear, that in using the ~~rustic~~ bridges over the latter, though they were submerged breast deep, we could easily see the sticks on which to place our feet. †[T]his clearness of the water, which we observed in the Zougá, Chobé and Leeambye, at the times of inundation, is the result of

the rains falling on a mat of grass, so

[0009]

3<sup>d</sup> sheet

[9] thick, as to prevent the abrasion of the soil. As the tropical rains cause the plains of Lobalé to present a similar phenomenon, it may not be unreasonable to conclude that the water of inundation of the Barotsé-valley, and lower parts of the Zambesi, is supplied by copious rains in the North, and as the natives reported[,] comes chiefly from Lobalé.

We suffered less detention, than might be expected from the swollen state of the rivers; for though we had to swim some of them, all except two boys knew the art; and we ever stopped to dry our clothes, unless it were in the afternoons. We got drenched either by rains or rivers, two or three times everyday; but the sun was hot and we suffered no inconvenience. If however, we arrived at our sleeping place damp, or got our blankets wet, intermittent fever was sure to follow.

the more important rivers, or those we crossed in canoes, were the Lokaloeje-[,] [(the village of Soanamolopo about 3 miles N.N.W. of the ford, stood in Latitude 11° 49 42 South, and 22° 52 East.):-] The Lotembwa, upwards of 100 yards broad, [^] [and] one of the principal feeders of the Leeba, was crossed in 11° 40 S. Lat.-  
‡[T]he town of Katema stands a short distance beyond in 11° 35 37 S. Lat. and 22° 47 East Longitude. ‡[T]he Lake Dilolo, from which the Lotembwa takes its rise, is 3 or 4 North

[0010]

[10] of Katema's town, [^] [and] consequently may [^] [be] reckoned in nearly the same Longitude, and between 11° 30 and 11° 32 S. Lat. We went round the Western or smaller end of this Lake, ~~there~~ [where] it was not 1/2 a mile broad, but the other end is said to [^] [be] broader (perhaps 6 miles), and as it has large waves, it is probably deep. It contains many fish, and we saw marks of many hippopotami on its banks. Repeated attacks of intermittent [^] [fever] had [^] [at length] made me so weak and giddy, [^] [that] I could with difficulty stick on the ox; and as Katema did not appear very willing to let me sleep at the broad [^] [part,] I did not feel much inclined to press the subject. ‡[T]he giddiness and confusion of mind were[, combined]

with the excessive cloudiness of the weather,  
great annoyances in making observations;  
but I took as many as possible at  
every important point. After crossing  
a water-covered plain beyond Dilolo,  
we came to streams flowing in a totally  
different direction from those we had  
left. ‡[T]hese were the feeders of the Casai  
(Kasye) or Loké, which we found flowing  
N.E. and E.N.E. ‡[The] [^] [Casai] is about 120  
yards broad, and flows in a deep valley,  
finely wooded and beautifully green. ‡[T]he  
Latitude of the ford was 11° 17' South.  
[The] confluence of the Chihune and ~~Chihombo~~ (by the Longe)  
both small streams, the latter however had  
canoes on it, is 10° 57' 31" [S. Lat.] ~~Long.~~ 20° 29' 30" E. [Long.]

[0011]

[11] The Chikapa [(Lat 10° 38')] about 60 yards wide, flowing  
West Nor-West; and when entering upon Portuguese  
territory, the Quango or Coango about 150 yards  
wide ~~and flowing~~ [s] nearly due North. ‡[T]he  
Latitude of the ford was 9° 50' 28". I waited  
four days for a lunar observation, but in vain[,] [as]  
the sky was always covered with clouds. To  
these may at present be added Cassange, the  
farthest inland station of the Portuguese[,] Here [where]  
I had a clear sky, and made many observations,-  
Lat. 9° 37' 29" South, [Long.] 17° 43' 30" East.

‡[T]he country of the Balonda through  
which we passed, was both fertile and beautiful  
Dense forests alternate constantly with open  
vallies covered with grass resembling fine  
English Hay [meadows]. the general surface, though  
flat, seems covered with waves disposed  
lengthways from N.N.E. to S.S.W. ‡[T]he  
crest of each of these earthen billows, is  
covered with forest, four or five miles  
broad; while the trough about a mile wide,  
has generally a stream or bog in the centre  
~~and~~ [with] the habitations and gardens of  
the inhabitants on the sides. ‡[T]he forests consist  
of lofty evergreen trees, standing close together  
and interlaced with great numbers of  
gigantic climbers. ‡[T]he trees covered with  
lichens, and the ground with mosses and  
ferns, indicate a much more humid  
climate, than is to be found in the South.

[0012]

[12] the only roads through these [^] [dense] thickets are small

winding foot-paths-[:] And as an attempt to stop an ox suddenly, only makes him rush on, we were frequently caught [^] [by the overhanging climbers,] and came to the ground, ~~erown of the~~ head foremost. e[O]n this account , I never trusted to the watch alone for longitudes - [NP.] [New Para]t[T]he streams with which the country is well supplied, differ remarkably in the directions in which they flow. m[M]any were flowing southwards; but a distance of about 20 miles brought us to streams running North East, and in much deeper vallies. I suspected that we were travelling on an elevated table-land, because the current of the Zambesi and other rivers was rapid, and we had large Cape-Heaths and Rhododendrons, which grow on elevated positions [^] [together with a wonderful lack of animal life.]But[This proved to be the fact for] when we were about 40 miles E.S.E of the Quango we came upon a sudden descent [^] [perhaps of about 2000 feet,] which to me seemed about the same height as t[T]able Mountain at the Cape. Ninety or one hundred miles [^] [west] from this descent, appeared[ed] as it were a range of mountains, but it is only the edge of ~~another~~ [similar] table-land, identical with that on the margin of which we stood. Andt[T]his presents the same mountainous appearance to a person coming from the West.- t[T]he intervening valley is call Cassange, and through it flows the Quango and other rivers.[Let part of letter dated 20 August 1854 follow here beginning at the 2nd page as marked.] [13]

[0013]4<sup>th</sup> sheet

[16]This country as compared with [^] [that to] the South is well peopled. We came to villages, every few miles and often passed as many as ten in a day. s[S]ome ~~villages~~ were extremely neat; others were so buried in a wilderness of weeds, [^] [that] though sitting on the ox in the middle of the village, we could see only the tops of houses. t[T]here is no lack of food, Manioc or the Tapioca plant is the staff of life, and requires but little labour for its cultivation. t[T]he seasons seemed to allow of ~~their~~ planting or reaping all the year round. t[T]he Balonda were all extremely kind, and indeed, had they been otherwise, we should have starved; for there is no game, and all the goods which I had brought from the Cape, were expended before



we started, except[ing] a few beads. [N.P.]When  
~~however~~, we came near to the Portuguese  
possessions, the tribes altered very much  
for the worse: [^] [and the Chiboqui so annoyed us by] heavy fines ~~were~~ levied  
on the most frivolous pretences, [that we changed  
our course from N.W. to N. This did not relive us long for when we came  
nearer Cassange, we found our route obstructed by the M'bangala who demanded] ~~and at~~  
~~length among the Cheeboqui~~, payment of  
"a man, an ox, or a gun" ~~was demanded~~  
for leave to pass at all. A refusal on  
our part was [^] [sometimes] followed by ~~the~~ [a] whole tribe  
surrounding us, brandishing their swords, arrows,  
and guns, and tumultuously vociferating  
their demands. ‡[T]he more we yielded, the

[0014]

[17]the more unreasonable the mob became, till  
at last, in order not to aid in robbing  
ourselves, we ceased speaking after telling  
them that they must strike the first blow.  
My men who were inured to fighting by  
Sebituane, quietly surrounded the chief and  
councillors. ‡[T]hese felt their danger, and  
usually became more amicable. ‡[T]hey  
never disputed the proposition that the  
ground they cultivated, alone belonged  
to them, and all the rest of the country  
to God. ‡[T]his being the idea in the native  
mind, they readily admitted, that they had  
no right to demand payment for  
treading on the soil of our common Father.  
But they pleaded custom; slave traders,  
always gave them a slave. [^] [~~But~~] My companions  
being all, ~~the~~ free subjects of Sekeletu, had  
as good a right to give me, as I had  
to give one of them, [^] [; and] the affair usually  
ended by our agreeing to give each  
other food in token of friendship. I had  
to part with an ox; and their part  
of the contract was sometimes fulfilled  
by sending [us] two or three pounds of the  
meat of our own animal, with ~~so~~  
many expressions of regret at having  
nothing else to give. It was impossible  
to avoid laughing at the coolness

[0015]

[18]of the generous creatures. I had paid away  
my razors, shirts and everything I could dispense  
[with], but though I shewed these extortioners the instruments  
and all we had as being perfectly useless to them,

the oxen, men and guns [^] [still] remained. "You may as well give what we ask for [^] [as] we shall get the whole tomorrow, after we have killed you";- or "you must go back from whence you came and say we sent you";- were some of the witticisms, which, with hunger, were making us all sulky and savage. If Sekeletu had allowed my companions to bring their shields, I could not have restrained them; but we never came into actual collision, and as far as we are concerned, the way is open for our return. ~~ø~~[O]n the last occasion [^] [on which] we parted with an ox, objections were raised against one which had lost his tail, because they imagined a charm had been inserted in the stump, which might injure them, [and] the remaining four ~~which we still~~ [^] [in our] possessed [ion] very soon exhibited the same peculiarity ~~ø~~[in] their caudal extremities. [Attempts have frequently been made by the Balonda & other distant tribes to open up commercial intercourses with the Portuguese and these have always been rendered abortive by the borderers]

In order not to tire you with a longer ~~deliberation~~ [account] of vexations, which were making us misanthropic, and more anxious to pass than visit a tribe, I may mention, that, having in the beginning of April reached the banks of the Quango, which was

[0016]  
[19] swollen and its muddy waters flowing rapidly, I had [^] [at length] made up my mind to part with my blanket and coat to the ferrymen for a passage. But a young Portuguese sergeant, Cypriano De Abreu made his appearance, and enabled us to enter Portuguese territory without farther annoyance. Senhor Neves of Cassange performed a brother's part to me in the time of need-[,] ~~And~~ [and] indeed, the Portuguese everywhere exhibited the greatest kindness all the way to Loanda

[Insert 20,21,22,23,24]

~~I shall not attempt in this letter to give any account of~~[T]he Province of Angola farther than, except in parts near the coast it is one of [possesses] great fertility and beauty; [and] its capabilities both agriculturally and commercially are of a very high order. Indeed I do not fear contradiction in asserting it to be the richest in resources ~~in~~[of] Western Africa. The [Begin No.2 with this] [The] commerce of Angola has been remarkably neglected by the English for though the city of

Loanda contains a population of eleven thousand  
souls clothed chiefly in the produce of  
English looms, and though in many parts  
of the Interior cheap Glasgow And Manchester  
goods constitute the circulating medium,  
there is not a single English house established  
at the capital. For this anomaly various  
reasons are assigned, the most cogent  
[Continued 5<sup>th</sup> Sheet No 1]

[0017] 5<sup>th</sup> sheet

[Continued from 4<sup>th</sup> No 1 & to be inserted with it  
in No 2 page 8 together with next page] of these appears to be, that those who first attempted  
to develop a trade, unfortunately accepted bills  
on Rio Janeiro in part payment of their  
cargoes, at a time when the increased numbers  
and vigilance of our cruisers, caused the  
bankruptcy of many houses, both in Rio  
and Loanda. Heavy losses were sustained  
and Angola got a bad name in the mercantile  
world in consequence. No attempt has ever  
been made since. Still, with the same difficulties  
and burdens as the English encountered, the  
Americans carry on a flourishing trade with  
Loanda. [\* note] [Note \* The Americans it is said do not hesitate to  
cooperate with slavers, while the  
English traders cannot. Ed.] And as a very large proportion  
of the goods imported in other ships are  
English manufactures, taken in exchange  
for colonial produce which has gone by the  
expensive and circuitous route of Lisbon,  
i.e. produce on which the expense of port dues,  
freight, commission &c. is paid from Loanda  
to Lisbon, and again thence to London.  
And as the same round of expenses is incurred  
on English manufactures, a British merchant  
carrying merchandise direct to and from England  
and dealing in Loanda in a liberal spirit,  
would almost certainly establish a lucrative  
trade

In connection with this subject I may be  
allowed to call your attention to the Rivers  
Casai and Quango. these are reported by  
intelligent natives, who profess knowledge of the country

[0018]

and ~~it is~~ [are] believed by Portuguese traders ~~that they~~ [to] join  
somewhere North of Cassange and form the  
Congo or Zaire of Capt<sup>n</sup> Tuckey. the directions  
in which I saw those rivers flowing[,] appear  
to favour the idea. ‡[T]he Casai[,] according to

the report of Matiamvo's people whom we met[,] flows East Nor[th]-East even beyond the residence of their chief[,] and as that is a month or 300 miles from the ford, if it really makes a large bend round to the N.W. after that we can form an idea of the great importance of the attempts of Commander Bedingfield and others[,] to establish licit commerce in the Congo. It is scarcely possible to estimate the ultimate effect which success in [t]his most laudable efforts would produce. These rivers drain such a vast extent of populous slave producing territory, [^] [that] they assume features of peculiar interest. ‡[T]he influence of the English squadron on the coast is powerfully felt throughout the country. Of this I have observed ample evidence, and no wonder this is the case[,] for it makes one proud of his countrymen to witness the zeal and energy with which the officers of our cruisers apply themselves to the suppression of the trade in slaves. [The above to No 2 see preceeding page.]

[0019]

My present intentions [^] [are] to return to the Zambesi by ~~nearly the same route I followed in coming here.~~ And [23]‡[A]fter making any arrangements [^] [with Sekeletu] that may be deemed necessary, try [^] [I propose] to descend the Leeambye to Quilimane. It may be advisable in order to avoid the waterfall of Mosio [^] [a]tunya, to cross overland from Sesheké to the river Maninché or Loengé (Bashukulompo R.)[,], buy or beg a canoe[,], and descend [^] [in] it to the Leeambye. ‡[T]he confluence of the Chobe is only two days distant from the waterfall[,], but the river is very rocky and dangerous before reaching that point. [20 to follow

19, sheet 4]I ~~reached~~ [approached] Loanda labouring under ~~disease~~ [^] [severe illness] and extremely anxious as to what I should do for the support of my companions who without exception are the best I ever travelled with[,], and who bravely followed me[,], though told by the blacks of every village West of Cassange[,], that "the white man was taking them down to the coast for sale[,], and they would all be taken on board ship, fattened and eaten"[Insert from "Extracts" 14 Jan 1855 - 21] I was laid prostrate for a long time by severe indisposition[,], and

~~owe my life, under God, to H. M. Commissioner  
Edmund Gabriel Esq<sup>re</sup>[,] the only Englishman  
whom I know in the city. His unwearied  
kindnesses and generous hospitality to  
both me and my companions, enable me~~

[0020]

~~now to return to my duty with renewed health and spirits.~~ [24]In order that, should  
I succeed in reaching Mosambique or  
Quilimane, I may not ~~have~~ [suffer] the same  
dejection of spirits in my approach[,]  
I presume to request that any of our  
officers who may be on that coast, be  
directed to make enquiries respecting my  
arrival [^] [towards the end of 1855]. I am known to some of  
the subjects of the Imaum of Muscat  
by the name of "Naka" (Doctor)

In conclusion I cannot omit  
mentioning, the very great courtesy of the  
Portuguese Authorities; and as their habitual  
politeness was in strict accordance with  
the wishes of the Government of Portugal,  
it is of the greater value.

Begging to be excused for  
presuming to make an Alternative  
of you in the absence of my friend[ Colonel  
Steele]

I am Sir,  
Your Most Obedient Servant  
David Livingston