

## Unyanyembe Journal, 28 January 1866 - 5 March 1872

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[0546]

[540]

side of the narrow way, one may waddle a  
[little  
distance [^]] along, but the rank crop of grasses, gingers  
and bushes cannot spare the few inches  
of soil required for the side of the foot, and  
down he comes into the slough - the path  
often runs along the bed of the rivulet for  
sixty or more yards, as if he who first  
cut it out went that distance ~~along~~ seeking  
for a part of the forest less dense for his  
axe - In other cases the "Muale" palm  
from which here as in Madagascar grass  
cloth is woven and called by the same  
name "Lamba", has taken possession  
of a valley - the leaf stalks as thick as a  
strong man's arm fall off and block up  
all passage save by a path made and  
mixed up by the feet of elephants and  
buffaloes - the slough therein is groan  
compelling and deep - Every now and  
then the traders with rueful faces stand  
panting = the sweat trickles down my  
face and I suppose that I look as grim  
as they though I try to cheer them with  
the hope that good prices will reward  
them as the coast for ivory obtained with  
so much toil - In some cases the  
subsoil has given way beneath the  
elephants enormous weight - the deep hole  
is filled with mud, and one taking it  
all to be about calf deep, steps in to  
the top of the thigh, and flaps on to a  
seat soft enough but not luxurious  
a merry laugh relaxes the facial muscles  
though I have no better reason for it  
than that it is better to laugh than to cry

Some of the numerous rivers which in  
this region flow into Lualaba -  
[0547]  
[541]

are covered with living vegetable bridges -  
a species of dark glossy leaved grass with  
its roots and leaves felts itself into a mat  
that covers the whole stream = When stepped  
upon it yields twelve or fifteen inches and  
that amount of water rises up on the leg -  
At every step the foot has to be raised high  
enough to place it on the unbent mass in  
front - This high stepping fatigues like  
walking on deep snow - Here and there  
holes appear which we could not sound  
with a stick six feet long - they gave the  
impression that anywhere one might  
plump though and finish the chapter -  
There the water is shallow the Lotus or  
sacred lilly sends its roots to the bottom,  
and spreads its broad leaves over the  
floating bridge so as to make believe that  
the mat is its own, but the grass referred to  
is the real felting and supporting agent,  
for it often performs duty as bridge where no  
lillies grow - The bridge is called by the  
Manyema - "Kintefwetefwe" as if he  
who first coined it was grasping for  
breath after plunging over a mile of it

Between each district of Manyema  
large belts of the primeval forest still stand  
into these the sun though vertical cannot  
penetrate except by sending down at  
midday thin pencils of rays into the  
gloom - The rain water stands for months  
in stagnant pools made by the feet of ~  
elephants - and the dead leaves decay  
on the damp soil and make the water  
of the numerous rivulets of the colour  
of strong tea - The climbing plants  
from the size of whip cord to that of a  
man of war's hawsers are so numerous  
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The ancient path is the only passage - When  
one of the giant trees falls across the  
road, it forms a wall breast high to be  
climbed over - and the mass of tangled

ropes brought down makes cutting a  
 path round it a work of time which  
 travellers never undertake - the shelter of  
 the forest from the sun makes it  
 but the roots of trees high out of the soil  
 across the path keep the eyes oxlike on  
 the ground - The trees are so high that  
 a good shotgun does no harm to  
 parrots or guinea fowls on their tops  
 and they are often so closely planted  
 that I have heard gorillahs here called  
 Sokos - growling about 50 yards off  
 without getting a glimpse of them -  
 His nest is a poor contrivance  
 It exhibits no more arch[<sup>^</sup>] [it]ectural skill  
 than the nest of our Cushat dove -  
 Here he sits in pelting rain with his  
 hands over his head - The natives give  
 []Soko a good character and from  
 what I have seen he deserves it but  
 they call his nest his house, and  
 laugh at him for being such a fool as  
 to build a house and not go beneath it  
 for shelter -

Bad water and frequent wettings  
 told on us all by choleraic symptoms  
 and loss of flesh - Meanwhile the news  
 of cheap ivory caused a sort of Californi  
 -an gold fever at Ujiji and we were  
 soon overtaken by a herd numbering  
 600 muskets all eager for the precious  
 tusks - these had been left by the Man  
 yema in the interminable forests  
 [0549]  
 [543]

where the animals had been slain - the  
 natives knew where they lay and if  
 treated civilly readily brought them many  
 half rotten or gnawed by a certain  
 Rodent to sharpen his teeth as London  
 rats do on leaden pipes - I had already in  
 this journey two severe lessons that  
 travelling in an unhealthy climate in the  
 rainy season is killing work - By  
 getting drenched to the skin once too often  
 in Marungu I had pneumonia = the illness  
 to which I have referred, and that was worse  
 than ten fevers - That is, fevers treated by  
 our medicine, and not by the dirt sup-

-plied to Bishop Mackenzie at the Cape as the same - Besides being unwilling to bear the newcomers company, I feared that by further exposure in the rains the weakness might result in something worse - I went seven days South West [or a little back wards] to a camp formed by the headmen of the ivory horde, and on the 7<sup>th</sup> February went into winter quarters - I found these men as civil and kind as I could wish - A letter from the Sultan of Zanzibar which I owe to the kind offices of Sir Bartle Frere has been of immense service to me with most of his subjects - I had no medicine but rest - shelter, boiling all the water I used, and a new potato farmed among the natives as restorative soon put me all right - the rains continued into July and fifty eight inches fell - The mud from the clayey soil of Manyema was awful, and laid up some of the strongest men in spite of their intense eagerness for ivory - I lost no time after it was feasible to travel [0550] [544]

in preparing to follow the river but my attendants were fed and lodged by the slave women whose husbands were away [from the camp] on trade and pretended to fear going into a canoe - I consented to refrain from buying one - They then pretended to fear the people though the inhabitants all along the Lualaba were reported by the slaves to be remarkably friendly - I have heard both slaves and freemen say "No one will ever attack people so good" as they found them - Elsewhere I could employ the country people as carriers but was comparatively independent though deserted by some four times over - but in Manyema no one can be induced to go into the next district for fear they say of being killed and eaten - I was at the mercy of those who had been Moslem slaves and knew that in thwarting me

they had the sympathy of all that class in the country, and as many others would have done took advantage of the situation - I went on with only three attendants - and this time North West in ignorance that the great river flowed West and by South - but no one could tell me anything about it - a broad belt of Buga or Prairie lies along the right bank - Inland from this it is all primeval forest with villages from eight to ten miles apart one sees the sun only in the cleared spaces around human dwellings From the facilities for escaping the forest people are wilder and more dangerous than those on Buga lands [0551] [545]

Muhamad's people went further on in the rest than I could, and came to the mountainous country of the Balegga who collected in large numbers and demanded of the strangers why they came - "We came to buy ivory" was the reply, "and if you have none no harm is done we shall return" "Nay" they shouted - "you came to die and this day is your last, you came to die, you came to die" - When forced to fire on the Balegga - the Terror was like their insolence - extreme - and next day when sent for to take away the women and children who were captured, no one appeared - Having travelled with my informants I know their accounts to be trustworthy - The rivers crossed by them are numerous and large - One was so tortuous they were five hours in water waist and often neck deep with a man in a small canoe sounding for places which they could pass, and could see nothing in the forest and nothing in the Balegga country but one mountain packed closely to the back of another without end, and a very hot fountain in one of the valleys - I found continued wading in mud grievous - For the first time in my life my feet failed - When torn by hard travel instead of healing kindly as here to fore irritable eating ulcers fastened on each foot - The people were invariably civil

and even kind for curiously enough  
to Zanzibar slaves propagated every  
where glowing of my goodness and  
of the English generally because  
they never made slaves - A trading  
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[546]

party passed us, and one of their number  
was pinned to the ground at dead of night  
while I was sleeping with my three -  
attendants at a village close by - Nine  
villages had been burned and as the author  
of the outrage told me at least forty men  
killed because a Manyema man tried  
to steal a string of beads - The midnight  
assassination was revenge for the loss  
of friends there - It was evident that  
reaction against the bloody Ujijian  
slaving had set in - The accounts  
evidently truthful given by Muhamad's  
people shewed that nothing would be  
gained by going further in our present  
course, and now being very lame I  
limped back to Bambarre and here  
I was laid up by the eating ulcers for  
many months - they are common in  
the Manyema country and kill many  
slaves - If the foot is placed on the  
ground blood flows, and every night  
a discharge of bloody ichor takes place  
with pain that prevents sleep - The  
wailings of poor slaves with ulcers that  
eat through everything even bone  
is one of the night sounds of a slave  
camp - They are probably allied to Fever

I have been minute even to  
triviality that your Lordship may  
have a clear idea of the difficulties of  
exploration in this region - satisfactory  
progress could only be made in canoes  
with men accustomed to work - I tried  
hard to get others at Ujiji, but all the  
traders were eager to secure all the  
carriers for themselves, and circulated  
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the report that I would go away from Man-  
-yema to my own country and leave my people

to shift for themselves "like Speke"- they  
 knew perfectly that Speke's men left him  
 first - It was like the case of certain Makololo  
 who left me on the Shire, and refused to  
 carry back the medicine to their chief for which  
 they had come = I was afterwards accused by  
 men of similar to the Ujijians of having  
 abandoned them though I gave them cattle  
 even after they deserted me - these being the  
 wealth that they value most highly - Failing  
 to obtain other men ~~[for whom I had written]~~ at Ujiji ,  
 I might have waited in comfort  
 there till those for whom I had written should  
 come from the coast, and my great weak-  
 ness almost demanded that I should do  
 so, but I had then as now an intense  
 desire to finish the work and retire - But  
 on learning some parts of the history of  
 of the Lewale or Arab governor of  
 Unyinyembe I had grave suspicions  
 that my letters would be destroyed = He  
 conducted the first English Expedition  
 from Zanzibar to Ujiji and Uvira, and  
 back again to the coast - and was left un-  
 -paid till the Indian Government took  
 the matter up and sent him a thousand  
 dollars - He seems [^] [to be] naturally an ill conditioned  
 mortal = a hater of the English - When I  
 sent a stock of goods to be placed indepot  
 at Ujiji to await my arrival - The  
 Banyamwezi porters as usual brought  
 them honestly to Unyinyembe - The  
 governor then gave them in charge  
 to his slave Saloom who stopped the  
 caravan ten days in the way hither  
 while he plundered it, and then went  
 off to buy ivory for his master in  
 Karagwe = It was evident that he would  
 do what he could to prevent evidence  
 [0554]  
 [548]

of the plundering going to the coast - and his  
 agent at Ujiji who knew all this though  
 I did not - after I had paid him in full  
 all he asked to send the packet with  
 about forty letters, returned it back to me  
 with the message that "he did not know  
 what words these letters contained = Two  
 of my friends protested strongly and he  
 took the packet - When I learned the

character of the governor I lost hope of any letters going to the coast and took back my deserters, making allowance for their early education and for the fact that they did well after Musa fled up to the time that a black Arab who had long been a prisoner with Cazembe found us - He encouraged them to desert and harboured them, and when they relented on seeing me go off to Bañgweolo with only four followers and proposed to follow me he dissuaded them by the gratuitous assertion that there was war in the country to which I was going and he did many other things which we think discreditable though he got his liberty solely by the influence I brought to Cazembe, yet judged by the East African Moslem standard as he ought to be and not by ours, he is a very good man and as I have learned to keep my own counsel among them, I never deemed it prudent to come to a rupture with the old "Neer do weel"-

Compelled to inactivity [^] [here] for many months I offered a thousand dollars to several of the traders for the loan of ten of their people - This is more than that number of men ever obtained but the imaginations were inflamed, and  
[0555]  
[549]

each expected to make a fortune by in ivory now lying rotting in the forests, and no one would consent to my propositions till his goods should be all expended and no hope of more ivory remained. I lived in what may be called the Tipperary of of Manyema and they are certainly a bloody people among themselves But they are very far from being in appearance like the ugly negroes of the West Coast - Finely formed heads are common, and generally men & women are vastly superior to the Zanzibar slaves [and elsewhere] = We must go deeper than phrenology to account for their low moral tone - If they are cannibals they are not ostentatious -ly - The neighboring tribes all assert that they are men eaters and they themselves



laughingly admit the change but they like to  
impose on the credulous, and they shewed  
the skull of a recent victim to horrify one  
of my people - I found it to be the skull of  
a gorillah or Soko the first I knew of its  
existence here and this they do eat - If  
I had believed a tenth of what I heard from  
traders I might never have entered the  
country - Their people told tales with  
shocking circumstantiality as if of eye  
witnesses that could not be committed  
to paper or even spoken about beneath the  
breath - Indeed one wishes them to vanish  
from memory - But fortunately I was  
never frightened in infancy with "Bogie"  
and am not liable to attacks of what may  
almost be called "Bogiephobia" for  
the patient in a paroxysm believes everything  
horrible if it be ascribed to the possessor  
of a -black skin- I have not yet been  
able to make up my mind as to whether  
[0556]  
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the Manyema are cannibals or not - I  
have offered goods of sufficient value  
to tempt any of them to call me to see  
a cannibal feast in the dark forests  
where these orgies are said to be held  
but hitherto in vain [^] [all] the real evidence  
[yet [^]  
obtained] would elicit from a Scotch Jury the  
verdict [^] [only] of "not proven" -

Although I have not done half I  
hoped to accomplish I trust to your  
Lordship kind consideration to  
award me your approbation  
and am your most obedient servant  
David Livingstone  
H M Consul  
Inner Africa

[0557]  
[551]

Ujiji 1<sup>st</sup> November 1871  
The right Honourable  
The Earl of Clarendon  
My Lord -

I became aware  
of M<sup>r</sup> Youngs Search Expedition only in February  
last & that by a private letter from Sir Roderick  
Murchison - Though late in expressing my thankful-  
-ness I am not the less sincere in expressing[saying] my[that]  
I feel extremely obliged to HM Government - to the  
Admiralty, to Captain Richards - to Sir Roderick  
Murchison - to M<sup>r</sup> Young - and all concerned in  
promoting the kind & vigorous enquiry after my  
fate - Had the low tone of morality among East  
African Mohammedans been known - Musa's tale  
would have received but little attention - Musa  
is perhaps a shade better than the average low  
class Moslem, but all are notorious for falsehood  
& heartlessness - When on the Shire we were in  
the habit of swinging the vessel out into midstream  
every evening in order that the air set in motion  
by the current of the river might pass through her  
entire length the whole night long - One morning  
Musa's brother inlaw stepped into the water in order  
to swim off for a boat to bring his companions  
on board, and was seized by a crocodile - the poor  
fellow held up his hand as if imploring assistance in  
vain - On discovering Musa's heartlessness - he replied  
"Well" - no one tell him go in there" - At another time  
when we were at Senna - a slave woman was  
seized by a crocodile - four Makololo rushed in un-  
bidden, and rescued her though they knew nothing about  
her - Long experience leads me to look on these in-  
cidents as typical of the two races - The race for  
mixed blood possesses the vices of both parents  
and the virtues of neither - I have had more service  
out of low class Moslems than any one else -  
[0558]  
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the Baron Von der Deeken was plundered of all his  
goods by this class in an attempt to go to Nyassa - As  
it was evidently done with the connivance of his Arab  
guide - Syed Majid ordered him to refund the whole  
It was the same class that by means of a few  
Somali ultimately compassed the Baron's destruction -  
In Burton's Expedition to Ujiji and Uvira he was  
obliged to dismiss all his followers of this class at  
Ujiji for dishonesty - Most of Speke's followers deserted  
on the first appearance of danger, and Musa &  
companions fled on hearing a false report from a half  
caste Moslem like themselves that he had been plun-  
dered by Mazitu at a spot which from having  
accompanied me thither & beyond it they knew to be  
150 miles or say 20 days distant - and I promised

to go due West, and not turn Northward till far  
past the beat of the Mazitu - But in former journeys  
we came through Portuguese who would promptly  
have seized deserters while here at the lower end of  
the Nyassa we were one the Kilwa slave route -  
When all their countrymen would fawn on & flatter  
them for baffling the Nazarenes, as they call us Christians  
As soon as I turned my face West they all ran away  
& they had no other complaint but "the Mazitu" - All  
my difficulties in this journey have arisen from  
having low class Moslems, or those who had been  
so before they were captured - Even of the better class  
few can be trusted - The Sultan places all his in-  
come & pecuniary affairs in the hands of Banians  
from India - When the gentlemen of Zanzibar are  
asked why their Sultan entrusts his money to Aliens  
alone, they readily answer it is owing to their own  
prevailing faithlessness - Some indeed assent with  
a laugh that if their Sovereign allowed any of them to  
farm his revenue he would recieve nothing but a  
crop of lies - In their case religion & morality are  
completely disjoined - It is therefore not surprising that  
[0559]  
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in all their long intercourse with the tribes on the  
mainland not one attempt has been made to pro-  
pagate the Mohammedan faith - I am very far  
from being unwilling to acknowledge & even admire  
the zeal of other religionists than the Christian, but  
repeated enquires among all classes have only  
left the conclusion that they have propagated syphilis  
& the domestic Bug alone - Any one familiar with  
the secondary symptoms will see at a glance on  
the mainland the skin diseases & bleared eyes which  
say that unlimited polygamy has been no barrier  
to the spread of this foul disease - compared with them  
the English lower classes are gentlemen  
I am unfeignedly thankful for the  
kindness that prompted & carried out the Search  
Expedition, and your Most Obedient Servant  
David Livingstone  
H - M - Consul.  
Inner Africa

15<sup>th</sup> November

P.S. I have just learned that Musa & companions  
after breaking their engagement to serve for twenty  
months which was formally entered into before  
Sunley went to that gentleman and after solemnly  
assuring him that I had been murdered demanded

pay for all the time they had been absent & recieved  
it! They recieved from me advance of pay & clothing  
amounting to (£40) Forty pounds Sterling = I now trans-  
-mit the particulars to D<sup>r</sup> Kirk the Political Agent  
& demand that the advance & also the pay should  
be refunded for if they are allowed to keep both as  
the reward of falsehood the punishment enjoined  
to be inflicted by Lord Stanley will only be laughed  
at  
David Livingstone  
[0560]

Ujiji - 1<sup>st</sup> November 1871  
The Right Honourable  
The Earl of Clarendon

No  
Geograph-  
-ical

My Lord,  
I wrote a very hurried letter  
on the 28<sup>th</sup> Ult and sent it by a few men who had  
resolved to run the risk of passing through contending  
parties of Banyamwezi and Mainland Arabs at Um-  
yanyembe - Which is some seventy days East of this  
I had just come off a tramp of more than 400 miles  
beneath a vertical torrid sun & was so jaded in  
body & mind by being forced back by faithless  
cowardly attendants that I should have written  
littel more dump the messengers had not been in  
such a hurry to depart as they were - I have  
now the prospect of sending them safely to the Coast  
by a friend but so many of my letters have disap-  
peared at Unyanyembe when entrusted to the care  
of the Lewale or Governor who is merely the trade  
agent of certain Banians that I shall consider that  
of the 28<sup>th</sup> as one of the unfortunates, and give in  
this as much as I can recall -

I have ascertained that the water-  
shed of the Nile is a broad upland between 10 ° & 12 °  
South Latitude & from 4000 to 5000 feet above the  
level of the Sea - Mountains stand on it at various  
points which though not apparently very high are  
between 6000 & 7000 feet of actual altitude - The water-  
shed is over 700 miles in length from West to East -  
The springs that arise on it are almost innumerable,  
that is, it would take a large part of a man's life to  
count them - A bird's eye view of some ~~of them~~ parts of

the Watershed would resemble the frost vegetation on window panes - They all begin in an ooze at the head of a slightly depressed valley - a few hundred yards down the quantity of water from oozing earthen sponge one each side of the valley forms a brisk move-[0561]  
[555]

~~-ment~~ perennial burn or brook a few feet broad & deep enough to require a bridge - These are the ultimate or primary sources of the great rivers that flow to the North in the Great Nile Valley - The Primaries unite & forms streams in general larger than the Isis at Oxford or Avon at Hamilton, and may be called secondary sources - They never dry - but unite again into four large lines of drainage - the head waters or mains of the river of Egypt - These four are each called by the natives "Lualaba" - which if not too pedantic may be spoken of as Lacustrine rivers - extant specimens of those which in prehistoric times abounded in Africa & which in the South are still called by Bechuana "Melapo" in the North by Arabs "Wady" both words meaning the same thing - river beds in which no water ever now flows - Two of the four great rivers mentioned fall into the central Lualaba = or Webb's Lake River & then we have but two [^] [main] lines of drainage as depicted by Ptolemy - the prevailing winds on the Watershed are from the South - East - this is easily observed by the direction of the branches and the humidity of the climate is apparent in the numbers of Lichens which make the upland forest look like the Mangrove swamps on the coast - In passing over 60 miles of Latitude I waded thirty two primary sources from calf to waist deep, & requiring from twenty minutes to an hour and a quarter to cross stream & sponge - This would give about one source to every two miles - A Swahili friend in passing along part of Lake Bangweolo during 6 days counted 22 from thigh to waist deep - This Lake is on the watershed for the village at which I observed on its Nor West Shore was a few seconds into 11 ° South & its Southern shores & springs & rivulets are certainly in 12 ° South - I tried to cross it in order to measure the breadth accurately = the  
[0562]  
[556]

first stage to an inhabited island was almost 24 miles - From the highest point here the tops of the trees evidently lifted by the mirage could be seen on the second stage & the third stage - The

mainland was said to be as far as this beyond it  
But my canoe-men had stolen the canoe & got a hint  
that the real owners were in pursuit & got into a  
flurry to return home "They would come for me in  
a few days truly", but I had only my coverlet left to  
hire another craft if they should leave me in this  
wide expanse of water & being 4000 feet above the sea  
it was very cold so I returned - the length of this lake  
is at a very moderate estimate 150 miles - It gives  
forth a large body of water in the Luapula, but  
Lakes are in no sense sources for no large river  
begins in a Lake, but this and others serve an  
important purpose in the phenomena of the Nile -  
It is one large lake and unlike the Okara which  
according to Swahili who travelled long in our  
Company is three or four Lakes run into one  
huge Victoria Nyassa, gives out a large river which  
on departing out of Meoro is still larger. These  
men had spent many years East of Okara & could  
scarcely be mistaken in saying that of the three or  
four Lakes there only one - the Okara - gives off its  
water to the North - The "White Nile" of Speke less by  
a full half than the Shire out of Nyassa for  
it is only 80 or 90 yards broad can scarcely be  
named in comparison with the Central or Webb's  
Lualaba of from 2000 to 6000 yards in relation  
to the phenomena of the Nile. The structure  
and economy of the watershed answers very much  
the same end as the great Lacustrine rivers but  
I cannot at present copy a lost Despatch which  
explained that - The mountains on the watershed  
are probably what Ptolemy for reasons now  
unknown called the Mountains of the Moon -  
[0563]  
[557]

From their bases I found that the springs of the Nile  
do unquestionably arise - this is just what Ptolemy  
put down & is true geography - We must accept that  
fountains and nobody but Philistines will reject  
the mountains though we cannot conjecture the  
reason for the name - Mts Kenia & Kilimanjaro  
are said to be snow-capped but they are so  
far from the sources & send no water to any  
part of the Nile - They could never have been  
meant by the correct ancient explorers from  
whom Ptolemy & his predecessors gleaned their  
true geography so different from the trash that  
passes current in modern times - Before the  
leaving the subject of the watershed I may add that I  
know about 600 miles of it, but am not yet satisfied

for unfortunately the 7<sup>th</sup> hundred is the most interesting  
of the whole - I have a very strong impression that  
in the last hundred miles the fountains of the Nile  
mentioned to Herodotus by the secretary of Minerva  
in the city of Sais do arise, not like all the rest  
from oozing earthen sponges, but from an earthen  
mound, and half the crater flows Northward  
to Egypt - the half South to Inner Ethiopia -  
These fountains at no great distance off become  
large rivers, though at the mound they are not  
ten miles apart - That is, one fountain rising on  
the Nor East of the mound becomes Bartle  
Frere's Lualaba, and it flows into one of the  
Lakes proper - Kamolondo - of the central line  
of drainage - Webb's Lualaba - the second  
fountain rising on the Nor West becomes  
(Sir Paraffin) Young's Lualaba, which passing through  
Lake Lincoln & becoming Loeki or Lomami  
and joining the Central line too goes North to  
Egypt - the third fountain on the South West  
- Palmerston's - becomes the Liambai or Upper  
Zambezi, while the fourth Oswell's fountain becomes  
[0564]  
[558]

the Kafue & falls into Zambezi in Inner Ethiopia -  
More time has been spent in the Exploration  
that I ever anticipated - My bare expenses were  
paid for two years but had I left when the  
money was expended I could have given little  
more information about the country than  
the Portuguese who in their [^] [time] slave trading ex-  
peditions to Cazembe asked for slaves & ivory  
alone & heard of nothing else - From one of the  
subordinates of their last so called expedition  
I learned that it was believed that the Luapula  
went over to Angola - !! I asked about the craters  
till I was ashamed, and almost afraid of  
being set down as afflicted with Hydrocephalus  
I had to feel my way - and every step of the  
way & was generally groping in the dark,  
for who cared where the rivers ran - Many a  
weary foot I trod ere I got a clear idea  
of the drainage of the Great Nile Valley - the  
most intelligent natives & traders thought that  
all the rivers of the Upper part of that valley  
flowed into Tanganyika - But the Barometer  
told me that to do so the water must flow  
uphill - the great rivers & the great lakes  
all make their water converge into the deep  
trough of the valley which is a full inch of

the Barometer lower than the Upper Tanganyika -  
It is only a sense of duty which I trust your  
Lordship will approve that makes me  
remain and if possible finish the Geograph-  
ical portion of my mission - After being thwarted  
baffled, robbed, worried almost to death in  
following the central line of drainage down,  
I have a sore longing for home, have had a  
perfect surfeit of seeing strange new lands &  
people - grand mountains, lovely valleys  
the glorious vegetation of primeval forest,  
[0565]  
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wild beast & an endless succession of beautiful man  
besides great rivers & vast lakes - the last and most interesting  
from their huge outflowings which explain some of the  
phenomena of the grand old Nile - Let me explain but  
in no boastful style the mistakes of others who have  
bravely striven to solve the ancient problem, and it will  
be seen that I have cogent reasons for following the  
painful plodding investigation to its conclusion - Poor  
Speke's mistake was following a foregone conclusion -  
When he discovered the Victoria Nyanza he at once leaped  
to the conclusion that therein lay the sources of the  
river of Egypt "20,000 square miles of water" - confused by  
sheer immensity Ptolemy's small lake - "Coloc", is a  
more correct representation of the actual size of that  
one of three or four lakes which alone sends its  
outflow to the North - its name is Okara - Lake Kavirondo  
is three days distant from it but connected by a narrow  
arm - Lake Naibash or Neibash is four days from  
Kavirondo, Baringo is ten days distant and discharges  
by a river the Ngardabash to the North East - These three  
or four lakes which have been described by several  
intelligent Swahili who lived for many years on their  
shores were run into one huge Victoria Nyanza -  
But no sooner did Speke and Grant turn their faces  
to this lake to prove that it contained the Nile fountains  
than they turned their backs to the springs of the river  
of Egypt which are between 400 & 500 miles South of  
the most southerly portion of the Victoria Lake, every  
step of their heroic & really splendid achievement  
of following the river down took them further & further  
from the sources they sought - But for devotion to the  
foregone conclusions the sight of the little "White Nile" as  
unable to account for the great river they must have  
turned off to the West down into the deep trough of the  
Great Valley, and there found Lacustrine rivers amply  
sufficient to account for the Nile and all its phenomena



The next explorer Baker believed as  
[0566]  
[560]

honestly as Speke & Grant that in the Lake lived Albert  
he had a second source of the Nile to that of Speke - He  
came further up the Nile than any other in modern  
times but turned when between six and seven hundred  
miles short of the caput Nili, he is now employed  
in a more noble work than the discovery of Nile  
sources, and if as all must earnestly wish he suc-  
ceeds in suppressing the Nile slave trade, the boon  
he will bestow on humanity will be of far higher  
value than all my sources together - When intelligent  
men like these and Bruce have been mistaken, I  
have naturally felt anxious that no one should come  
after me, and find sources south of mine which I  
now think can only be possible by water running  
up the Southern slope of the watershed -

But all that can in modern times  
and in common modesty be fairly claimed is, the  
re-discovery of what had sunk into oblivion, like  
the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phoenician  
Admiral of one of the Pharaohs about B. C. 600  
He was not believed because he reported that in passing  
round Libya he had the Sun on his right hand - this to  
us who have gone round the Cape from East to West  
stamps his tale as genuine - The predecessors of Ptolemy  
probably gained their information from men who  
visited this very region for in the second century of  
our Era he gave what we now find to be genuine  
geography - The Springs of the Nile rising in  $10^{\circ}$  -  $12^{\circ}$   
South Lat, and their water collecting into two large  
Lacustrine rivers, and other facts could have been  
learned only from primitive travellers, or traders - the  
true discoverers of what Emperors Kings, philosophers  
all the great minds of antiquity longed to know &  
longed in vain

In a letter of November 1870, [Now en-  
closed] I have tried  
to give an idea of the difficulties surmounted in  
following the central line of drainage down through  
[0567]  
[561]

the country of the cannibals called Manyema or  
Manyema - I found it a year afterwards where it was left  
other letters had made no further progress to the coast -  
In fact Manyema is an entirely new field, and

nothing like postage exists, nor can letters be sent to Ujiji except by large trading parties who have spent two or three years in Manyema -

The geographical results of four arduous trips in different directions in the Manyema country are briefly as follows - The great river Webb's Lualaba in the centre of the Nile valley makes a great bend to the West soon after leaving Lake Moero - of at least 180 - then turning to the North for some distance it makes another large sweep West - of about 120 miles - in the course of which about 30 miles of Southing are made - It then draws around to North East - receives the Lomami or Loeki a large river which flows through Lake Lincoln - After the union a large lake is formed with many inhabited islands in it but this has still to be explored - It is the fourth large Lake in the central line of drainage and cannot be Lake Albert for assuming Speke's longitude of Ujiji to be pretty correct, and my reckoning not enormously wrong, the great central Lacustrine river is almost five degrees west of Upper & Lower Tanganyika - The mean of many Barometric and boiling point observations made Upper Tanganyika 2880 feet high - Respect for Speke's memory made me hazard the conjecture that he found it to be nearly the same, but from the habit of writing the *Annum Domini*, a mere slip of the pen made him say 1844 feet, but I have more confidence in the barometers than in the boiling point, and they make Tanganyika over 3000 feet - and the lower part of central Lualaba one inch lower or about the altitude ascribed to Gondokoro - Beyond the fourth lake the water passes it is said into large reedy lakes

[0568]  
[562]

and is in all probability Petherick's branch - the main stream of the Nile - in distinction from the smaller Eastern arm which Speke, Grant, & Baker took to be river of Egypt - The Manyema could give no information about their country because they never travel - Blood feuds often prevent them from visiting villages three or four miles off, and many at a distance of about thirty miles did not know the great river though named to them - No trader had gone so far as I had, and their people cared only for ivory - In my attempts to penetrate further & further I had but little hope of ultimate success for a great amount of Westing lead to a continual effort to suspend the judgement lest after all I

might be exploring the Congo instead of the Nile - and it was only after the two great western drains fell into the Central main, and left but the two great Lacustrine rivers of Ptolemy that I felt pretty sure of being on the right track - The great bends west probably form one side of the great rivers above that geography loop - the other side being Upper Tanganyika, and the Lake River Albert - a waterfall is reported to exist between Tanganyika & Albert Nyassa but I could not go to it - nor have I seen the connecting link between the two - the Upper side of the loop though I believe it exists -

The Manyema are certainly cannibals but it was long ere I could get evidence more positive than would have led a Scotch jury to give a verdict of not proven - they eat only enemies killed in war - they seem as if instigated by revenge in their man eating orgies, and on those occasions they do not like a stranger to see them - I offered a large reward in vain to anyone who would call me to witness a cannibals feast - Some intelligent men have told me that the meat is not nice & made them dream of the dead - the women never partake, and  
[0569]  
[563]

I am glad of it for many of them far down Lualaba are very pretty - they bathe three or four times a day & are expert divers for oysters - Markets are held at stated times & the women attend them in large numbers dressed in their best - They are light coloured, have straight noses, fully formed heads, small hands & feet & perfect forms - They are keen traders and look on the market as a great institution - to haggle & joke & laugh, and cheat seems the enjoyment of life - The population especially west of the river is prodigiously large - Near Lomami the Bakuss or Bakoons cultivate coffee and drink it highly scented with vanilla - Food of all kinds extremely abundant & cheap - The men smelt iron from the black oxide ore and are very good Smiths - they also smelt copper from the ore, and make large ornaments very cheaply - they are generally fine [^] [tall] strapping fellows far superior to the Zanzibar slaves and nothing of the West Coast negro from whom our ideas of Africans are chiefly derived appears among them - No prognathous jaws - barn door mouths nor lark heels are seen - their defects arise from absolute ignorance of all the world beside - Strangers

never appeared among them before - the terror that guns inspire generally among the Manyema seems to arise among the Bakuss from an idea that they are supernatural - the effect of gunshot on a goat was shown in order to convince them that the traders had power - & that the instruments they carried were not as they imagined the mere insignia of chieftainship - they looked up to the skies and offered to bring ivory to purchase the charm by which lightning was drawn down - & afterwards when the traders tried to force a passage which was refused they darted aside on seeing Banyamwezi's  
[0570]  
[564]

followers place the arrows in the bowstraps, but stood in mute amazement while the guns mowed them down in great numbers - They use long spears in the thick vegetation of their country with great dexterity & they have told me frankly what was self-evident that but for the firearms not one of the Zanzibar slaves or half-castes would ever leave their country - There is not a single great chief in all Manyema - No matter what name the different divisions of people bear - Manyema, Balegga, Babire - Bazire, Bakoos there is no political cohesion - not one King or Kingdom - Each headman is independent of every other - the people are industrious and most of them cultivate the soil largely - We found them everywhere very honest - When detained at Bambarre we had to send our goats & fowls to the Manyema villages to prevent them being all stolen by the Zanzibar slaves - The Slave owners had to do the same - Manyema land is the only country in central Africa I have seen where cotton is not cultivated - spun and woven - the clothing is that known in Madagascar as "Lambas" or grass cloth made from the leaves of the "Muale palm - They call the good spirit above "Ngulu" or the great one - and the spirit of evil who resides in the deep Mulambu - A hot fountain near Bambarre is supposed to belong to this being - the author of death by drowning and other misfortunes

Your Lordship's Obedient  
and humble servant  
David Livingstone

H - M - Consul. Inner Africa

A true copy  
by H M Stanley &  
David Livingstone [(a true copy  
Henry M Stanley]  
[0571]  
[565]

Ujiji 14 Novr 1871  
The Right Honourable  
Earl Granville

No 3.

My Lord  
In my letter  
dated Bambarre - November 1870 now  
enclosed I stated my suspicions that a  
packet of about forty letters - Despatches -  
copies of all Astronomical Observations  
from the Coast onwards, and sketch maps  
on tracing paper intended to convey a  
clear idea of ~~the~~[all] the discoveries up to the  
time of arrival at Ujiji would be destroyed -  
It was delivered to the agent of the governor  
of Unyanyembe and I paid him in full  
all he demanded to transit it to Syde bin  
Salem Buraschid, the so called governor  
who is merely a trade agent of certain Banians  
of Zanzibar and a person who is reputed  
dishonest by all - As an agent he pilfers  
from his employers, be they Banians or  
Arabs - As a governor expected to  
exercise the office of a magistrate he  
dispenses justice to him who pays most -  
and as the subject of a Sultan who entrusted  
him because he had no power on the  
mainland to supersede him he robs his  
superior shamelessly - No Arab or native  
ever utters a good word for him but all  
detest him for his injustice - the following  
narrative requires it to be known that  
his brother Ali bin Salem Buraschid is  
equally notorious for unblushing dis-  
honesty - All Arabs and Europeans who  
have had dealings with either speak in  
unmeasured terms of their fraud & duplicity  
[0572]

The brothers are employed in the trade chiefly by Ludha Damji the richest Banian in Zanzibar - It is well known that the slave trade in this country is carried on almost entirely with his money - and that of other Banian British subjects - The Banian advance the goods required and the Arabs proceed inland as their agents = perform the trading - or rather murdering - and when slaves and ivory are brought to the coast, the Arabs sell the slaves - The Banian pocket the price and adroitly let the odium rest on their agents - As a rule no travelling Arab has money sufficient to undertake an island journey those who have become rich imitate the Banian and send their indigent country-men and slaves to trade for them - The Banian could scarcely carry on their system of trade were they not in possession of the custom House - and had power to seize all the goods that pass through it to pay themselves for debts - The so called governors are appointed on their recommendation and become mere trade agents When the Arabs in the Interior are assaulted by the natives they never unite under a governor as a leader for they know that defending them or concerting means for their safety is no part of his duty - The Arabs are nearly all in debt to the Banian and the Banian slaves are employed in ferreting out every trade transaction of debtors, and when watched by governess slaves - and custom house officers, it is scarcely possible for even this cunning deceitful race to escape being fleeced - To avoid

[0573]

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this, many surrender all the ivory to their Banian creditors and are allowed to keep or sell the slaves as their share of the profits - It will readily be perceived that the prospect of in any way coming under the power of Banian British subjects at Zanzibar is very far from reassuring -

The packet above referred to was never more heard of but a man called Musa Kamaals had been employed to drive some buffaloes for me from the Coast, and on leaving Ujiji the same day the packet was delivered for transmission I gave him a short letter dated May 1869 which he concealed on his person - knowing that on its production his wages depended - He had been a spectator of the plundering of my goods by the governor's slave saloon - and recieved a share to hold his pace - He was detained for months at Unyanyembe by the governor and even sent back to Ujiji on his private business [^] [he] being ignorant all the while that Kamaals possessed the secreted letter - It was the only document of more than forty that reached Zanzibar - It made known in some measure my wants but my cheques on Bombay for money were in the lost packet and Ludha the rich Banian was employed to furnish on credit all the goods and advances of pay for the men required in the expedition - Ludha is perhaps the best of all the Banians of Zanzibar but he applied to Ali bin Salem the brother of his agent the governor to furnish two headmen to conduct the goods and men to Ujiji and beyond it wherever I might there be reported to be - He recommended Shereef Boshier and Awathe as

[0574]  
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first and second conductors of the caravan Shereef - The governor and the governor's brother being "birds of one feather" - the consequences might have been foretold - No sooner did Shereef obtain command than he went to one Muhamad Nassur a Zanzibar born Banian or Hindoo - and he advanced twenty five boxes of soaps and eight cases of brandy for trade - he then went to Baga-moio on the mainland and recieved from two Banians there whose names are to me unknown quantities of opium and gunpowder which with the soap and brandy were to retailed by Shereef in the journey - In the Bagamoio Banians house Shereef broke the soap boxes and stored the contents and the opium in my

bales of calico in order that the Pagazi paid by me should carry them - Other Pagazi were employed to carry the cases of brandy and kegs of gunpowder and paid with my cloth - hence forth all the expenses of the journey were defrayed out of my property, and while retailing the barter the barter goods of his accomplices he was in no hurry to relieve my wants but spent fourteen months between the coast and Ujiji a distance which could easily have been accomplished in three - Making every allowance for detention by sickness in the party and by sending back for men to replace the first Pagazi who perished by Cholera the delays were quite shameless - Two months at one spot - Two months at another place - and two at a third without reason except desire to profitably  
[0575]  
[569]

retail his brandy &c - which some simple people think Moslems never drink, but he was able to send back from Unyamyebe over (£60), Sixty Pounds worth of ivory - The Pagazi again paid from my stores - He ran riot with the supplies all the way purchasing the most expensive food for himself - his slaves - his woman the country afforded - When he reached Ujiji the retail trade for the Banians and himself was finished and in defiance of his engagement to follow wherever I led = and men from a camp eight days beyond Bambarre went to Ujiji and reported to him that I was near and waiting for him - he refused their invitation to return with them - the Banians who advanced their goods for retail by Shereef had in fact taken advantage of the notorious East Africa Moslem duplicity to interpose their own trade speculation between two Government officers and almost within the shadow of the consulate supplant Dr Kirk's attempt to aid me by a fraudulent conversion of the help expedition to the gratification of their own greed - Shereef was their ready tool and he acted as if he had forgotten having ever been employed by anyone else - Here the drunken half caste Moslem tailor lay intoxicated for a whole month - the drink -



Palmtoddy and Pombe - all bought with  
my beads of course - Awathe the other  
headman had been a spectator of all  
the robbery from the Coast onwards - and  
never opened his mouth in remonstrance  
or in sending notice to the Consul - he  
had carefully concealed an infirmity  
when engaged which rendered him  
[0576]  
[570]

quite incapable of performing a single duty  
for me and he now asserts like the Johanna  
deserters that he ought to be paid all his wages  
in full! I shall narrate below how seven of  
the Banian slaves brought by SHereef and Awathe  
imitated their leaders and refused  
to go forward and ultimately by falsehood  
and cowardice forced me to return between  
400 and 500 miles - but here I may mention  
how Shereef finished up his services -  
He wrote to his friend the governor of Unyan  
yembe for permission to sell the debris of  
my goods because "said he"! I sent slaves  
to to Manyema to search for the Doctor and  
they returned and reported that he was dead"  
He also divined on the Koran and it told the  
same tale - It is scarcely necessary to add  
that he never sent slaves to Manyema  
in search of me and from the people above  
mentioned that returned from a camp  
in front of Bambarre he learned that  
I was alive and well - so on his own authority  
and that of the Koran he sold off all the  
remaining goods at merely nominal  
prices to his friends for slaves and ivory  
for himself - and I lately returned to find  
myself destitute of everything except a very  
few articles of barter which I took the  
precaution to leave here in case of extreme  
need.

I have stated the case [enclosure  
marked  
complaint] to D<sup>r</sup> Kirk acting  
Political agent and consul at Zanzibar  
and claim as simple justice that the  
Banians who are rich English subjects  
should for stepping in between me and  
the supplies sent be compelled to refund  
the entire expenses of the frustrated Expedition

and all the high interest there on - 20 or 25  
per cent - set down against me in Ludhas books  
[0577]  
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if not also the wages of any people and  
personal expenses for two years the time  
during which by then surreptitious agent  
Shereef my servants and self were prevented  
from executing our regular duty - the late  
Sultan Seyed Majid compelled the Arab who  
connived at the plunder of all the Baron Van  
der Decken's goods in a vain attempt to  
reach Lake Nyassa to refund the whole - It is  
inconcievable that the Dragoman and other  
paid servants of the consulate were ignorant of  
the fraud practised by the Banians on Dr Kirk  
and me. All the Banians and Banian  
slaves were perfectly well aware of Muhamad  
Nassur's complicity - the villainy of saddling  
on me all the expenses of their retail venture  
of soap brandy opium and gunpowder  
was perpetrated in open day and could  
not escape the notice of the paid agents of  
the consulate but how this matter was con-  
-cealed from him - and also the dishonest  
characters of Syde bin Ali Burasdid and  
Shereef it is difficult to concieve - the oft  
repeated assertion of Shereef that he acted  
throughout on the advice of Ludha may  
have a ray of truth in it - But a little  
gentle pressure on Seyed Burghash will  
probably ensure the punishment of Shereef  
though it is also highly probable that he  
will take refuge near the governor of  
Unyanyembe till the affair blows over  
If the right Banian English subjects he  
compelled to refund this alone will deter  
them from again plundering the servants  
of a Government which goes to great  
expense for their protection.

[0578]  
[572]

I will now proceed to narrate in as  
few words as possible how I have been baffled  
by the Banian slaves sent by Liedha instead  
of men - They agreed to go to Ujiji and having  
there, ascertained where I was to be found

were to follow me as boatmen carriers  
woodmen or in every capacity required  
without reference to the customs of other  
expeditions - Each on being engaged  
recieved an advance of thirty dollars  
and a promise of five dollars a month  
afterwards - this was double Zanzibar  
freeman's pay. They had much sickness  
near the Coast and five died of Cholera  
While under Shereef and Awathe they  
cannot be blamed for following their  
worthless leaders - these leaders remained  
at Ujiji and Shereef's three slaves and  
his woman did the same - After two  
months delay there seven Banian  
slaves came along with the man returning  
past Bambarre as mentioned above  
they came on the 4<sup>th</sup> February 1871 having  
left Zanzibar in October 187[6]9 - I had  
been laid up at Bambarre by irritable  
eating ulcers on both feet which prevented  
me from setting a foot on the ground  
from August 1870 to the end of the year  
a piece of Malachite rubbed down with  
water on a stone was the only remedy  
that had any effect - I had no medicine -  
some in a box has been unaccountably  
detained by the governor of Unyanyembe  
since 1868 though I sent for it twice and  
delivered calico to prepay the carriers.  
I have been uncharitable enough to suspect  
that the worthy man wishes to fall heir to  
[0579]  
[573]

my two guns in the same box - Shereef  
sent by the slaves a few coarse beads -  
evidently exchanged for my beautiful and  
dear beads - a little calico and in great  
mercy a little coffee and sugar - the slaves  
came without loads except my tent which  
Shereef and they had used till it was quite  
rotten and so full of holes I could not use  
it once - They had been sixteen months in the  
way instead of three - and now like their  
headmen refused to go any further - they  
swore so positively that the consul had  
told them to force me back and on no account  
to go forward that I actually looked again  
at their engagement to be sure that my eyes  
had not decieved decieved me. Fear alone

made them consent to go but had I not  
been aided by Muhamad Bogharib they  
would have gained their point by sheer  
brazen faced falsehood - I might then  
have gone back and deposed Shereef &  
Awathe but this would have required  
five or six months - and in that time at  
least or in perhaps less time I had good  
reason to hope that the exploration would  
be finished - and my return would be up  
Albert Lake and Tanganyika instead of the  
dreary part of Manyema and Guha I  
already knew perfectly - the desire to finish  
the geographical part of my work was  
and is most intense every time my family  
comes into mind - I also hoped that [^] [as usual] ere  
long I should gain influence over my  
attendants - but I never had experience  
with Banian [Moslem] [^] slaves before who had  
imbibed little of the Muhamadan religion  
but its fulsome guide - and whose  
[0580]  
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previous employment had been browbeating  
Arab debtors somewhat like the lowest class  
of our Sheriff Officers - As we went across  
the second great bend of the Lualaba they  
shewed themselves to be accomplished cowards  
in constant dread of being killed and eaten  
by Manyema - Failing to induce me to spend  
all the goods and return they refused to go  
beyond a point far down the Lualaba where  
I was almost in sight of the end towards which  
I strained - They now tried to stop further  
progress by falsehood, and they found at a  
camp of Ujijian and mainland Arabs  
a number of willing helpers to propogate the  
slander that "I wanted neither ivory nor slaves  
but a canoe to kill Manyema" can it be  
wondered at that people who had never seen  
strangers before, or even heard of white men  
believed them? By this slander and by the  
ceremony of mixing blood with the headmen  
the mainland and Ujijian Arabs secured  
nine canoes while I could not purchase one  
But four days below this part narrows  
occur in which the mighty river is  
compressed by rocks which jut in not  
opposite to each other but alternately and the  
water rushing round the promonitories forms

terrible whirlpools which overturned one of  
canoes, and so terrified the whole party  
that by deceit had preceded me that they  
returned without every thinking of dragging  
the canoes past the difficulty - This I would  
have done to gain the confluence of the  
Lomame some fifty miles below, and  
thence ascend through Lake Lincoln to the  
ancient fountains beyond the copper  
mines of Katanga, and this would nearly  
finish my geographical work. But it was  
so probable that the dyke which forms  
the narrows would be prolonged across  
country into Lomame that I resolved to  
turn to turn towards this great River con-  
siderably above the narrows and where  
[0581]  
[575]

the distance between Lualaba and Lomame is  
about eighty miles - A friend named Dugum-  
be was reported to be coming from Ujiji  
with a caravan of 200 guns and nine  
undertraders with their people - the Banian  
slaves refused duty three times and the sole  
reason they alledged was fear of going "where  
there were no Moslems" The loss of all their  
wages was a matter of no importance to any  
one except their masters at Zanzibar - As an  
Englishman they knew I would not beat or  
chain them - and two of them frankly avowed  
that all they needed for obedience was a free man  
to thrash them - the slave traders all sympathized  
with them for they hated my being present to  
witness their atrocities - the sources of the Nile  
they knew to be a sham - to reveal their  
slaving was my true object - and all dread to  
be "written against." I therefore waited three  
months for Dugumbe who appeared to be a  
gentleman, and offered him four thousand  
Rupees = £400 for ten men and a canoe on  
Lomame, and afterwards all the goods I  
believed I had at Ujiji to enable me to finish  
what I had to do without the Banian slaves  
his first words were "Why your own slaves are  
your greatest enemies. I hear everywhere how  
they have baffled you." He agreed to my proposition  
but required a few days to consult his associates  
two days afterwards on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June a  
massacre was perpetrated which filled me  
with such intolerable loathing that I resolved

to yield to the Banian slaves = return to Ujiji  
get men from the coast = and try to finish the  
rest of my work by going outside the area  
of Ujijian bloodshed instead of vainly  
trying from its interior outwards -

[0582]

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Dugumbe and his people built their  
huts on the right bank of the Lualaba at a  
marketplace called Nyangwe - on hearing  
that a head slave of a trader at Ujiji had  
in order to get canoes cheap, mixed blood  
with the headmen of the Bagenya on the  
left bank ~~of the~~ were disgusted with his  
assurance and resolved to punish him  
and make an impression in the country  
in favour of their own greatness by an  
assault on the market people, and on  
all the Bagenya who had dared to make  
friendship with any but themselves  
Tagamoro the principal under trader of  
Dugumbe's party was the perpetrator - the  
market was attended every fourth day  
by between 2000 and 3000 people - It was  
held on a long slope of land which down  
at the river ended in a creek capable of  
containing between fifty and sixty large  
canoes - the majority of the market  
people were women, many of them very  
pretty - the people west of the river brought  
fish salt pepper oil grass cloth iron fowls  
goats sheep pigs in great numbers to  
exchange with those East of the river for  
cassava, grain, potatoes and other  
farinaceous products - they have a  
strong sense of natural Justice and all  
unite to force each other to fair dealing  
At first all were afraid of my presence  
but wishing to gain the confidence which  
my enemies tried to undermine or  
prevent, I went among them frequently  
and when they saw no harm in me  
became very gracious - The bargaining  
was the finest acting I ever saw

[0583]

[577]

I understood but few of the words that  
flew off their glib tongues of the women

but their gestures spoke plainly - I took sketches  
 of the fifteen varieties of fishes brought in  
 to compare them with those of the Nile lower  
 down - and all were eager to tell their names  
 but on the date referred to I had left the  
 market only a minute or two when three men  
 whom I had seen with guns and felt inclined  
 to reprove them for bringing them into the  
 market but refrained by attributing it to  
 ignorance in new corners - They began to  
 fire into the dense crowd around them  
 Another party down at the canoes rained their  
 balls on the panic struck multitude that rushed  
 into these vessels - all threw away their goods  
 the men forgot their paddles - the canoes were  
 jammed in the creek and could not be got out  
 quick enough - so many men & women  
 sprang into the water = the women of the left  
 bank are expert divers for oysters - and a  
 long line of heads shewed a crowd striking  
 out for an island a mile off = to gain it  
 they had to turn the left shoulder [...] [against] a current  
 of between a mile and a half to two miles an  
 hour = Had they gone diagonally with the  
 current, though that would have been three  
 miles many would have gained the shore  
 It was horrible to see one head after another  
 disappear - some calmly - others throwing  
 their arms high up towards the Great Father  
 and going down - some of the men who  
 got canoes out of the crowd paddled quickly  
 with hands and arms to help their friends  
 three took people in till they all sank  
 together - one man had clearly lost his  
 head for he paddled a canoe which  
 [0584]  
 [578]

would have held fifty people straight up  
 stream = nowhere = the Arabs estimated the  
 loss at between 400 & 500 souls - Dugumbe  
 sent out some of his people in one of  
 about thirty canoes which the [...] [in their fright] owners could  
 not extricate to save the sinking - one lady  
 refused to be taken on board because she  
 thought that she was to be made a slave  
 but he rescued twenty one and of his  
 own accord sent them next day home  
 Many escaped and came to me and  
 were restored to their friends - When the  
 firing began on the terror stricken crowd

all the canoes - Tagamoio's band began  
their assault on the people West of the  
river and continued the fire all day  
I counted seventeen villages in flames  
and next day six - Dugumbe's power  
over the underlings is limited but he  
ordered them to cease shooting - those of  
Tagamoio's party in the market were  
so reckless that they shot two of their own  
next day in canoes shouting and firing off  
their guns as if believing that they were  
worthy of renown - Next day about twenty  
headmen fled from the West bank and came  
to my house - there was no occasion now  
to tell them that the English had no desire  
for human blood - they begged hard that  
I should go over with them and settle with  
them and arrange where their new dwellings  
should lie - I was so ashamed of the bloody  
Moslem company in which I found  
myself that I was unable to look at the  
Manyema - I confessed my grief and  
shame and was entreated if I must go  
not to leave them now - Dugumbe spoke  
kindly to them and would protect them  
as well as he could against his own people  
[0585]  
[579]

but when I went to Tagamoio to ask back  
the wives and daughters of the headmen  
he always ran off and hid himself - this  
massacre was the worst terrible scene I ever  
saw - I cannot describe my feelings but am  
thankful I did not give way to them but by  
Dugumbe's advice avoided a blood feud  
with men who for the time seemed turned  
into Demons - the whole transaction was the  
more deplorable inasmuch as we have  
always heard from the Manyema that  
though the men of two districts may be engaged  
in actual hostilities the women pass from  
one market place to another with their  
wares and were never known to be molested  
the change has come only with these alien  
bloodhounds - and all the bloodshed has  
taken place in order that captives might be  
sieved where it could be done without danger  
and in order that the slaving privileges of a  
petty Sultan should produce abundant fruit.



Heart sore and greatly depressed in  
spirits by the many instances of man's inhumanity  
to man I had unwillingly seen I commenced  
the long weary tramp to Ujiji with the blazing  
sun right overhead - - the mind acted on the  
body, and it is no overstatement to say that  
almost every step of between 400 & 500 miles  
was in pain - I feel as if dying on my feet -  
and I came very near to death in a more  
summary way - It is within the area of  
bloodshed that danger alone occurs - I could  
not induce my Moslem slaves to venture  
outside that area in sphere - they knew  
better than I did - "Was not Muhamad the  
greatest of all - and their prophet = "About  
midway between Nyangwe & Bambarre  
[0586]  
[580]

we came to villages where formally I had seen  
the young men compelled to carry a  
traders ivory - When I came on the scene  
the young men had laid down the tusks  
and said, now we have helped you so  
far without pay let the men of other  
villages do as much - "No, take up the ivory"  
and take it up they did only to go a little  
and cast it into the dense vegetation on  
each side of the path we afterwards knew  
so well - When the trader reached his next  
stage he sent back his men to demand  
the "stolen" ivory, and when the elders  
denied the theft they were fired upon  
five were killed - eleven women and  
children captured and also twenty five  
goats - the remaining elders then talked  
the matter over and the young men pointed  
out the ivory and carried it twenty two  
miles after the trader - He chose to say  
that three tusks were a missing - and  
carried away all the souls and goats  
he had captured - they now turned to  
the only resource they knew and when  
Dugumbe passed waylaid and killed  
one of his people - In our return we  
we passed another camp of Ujijian  
traders and they begged me to allow  
their men to join my party - these  
included seventeen men of Manyema  
who had volunteered to carry ivory to  
Ujiji and goods back again - these were

the very first Manyema who had in  
modern times gone fifty miles from  
their birth places - as all the Arabs  
have been enjoined by Sayed Majid the  
late Sultan to shew me all the kindness  
[0587]

[581]

in their power I could not decline their  
request - my party was increased to eighty  
and a long line of men bearing elephants  
tusks gave us all the appearance of traders  
the only cloth I had left some months before  
consisted of two red blankets which were con-  
-verted into a glaring dress unbecoming  
enough but there were no Europeans to see it -  
the maltreated men now burning for revenge  
remembered the dress and very naturally  
tried to kill the man who had murdered their  
relatives - they would hold no parley - we had  
to pass through five hours of forest with  
vegetation so dense that by stooping down  
and peering towards the sun we could at times  
see a shadow moving, and a slight rustle in  
the rank vegetation was a spear thrown from  
the shadow of an infuriated man = our  
people in front peered into every little opening  
in the dense thicket before they would venture  
past it - This detained the rear and two persons  
near me were slain - A large spear lunged  
past close behind - another missed me by  
about a foot in front - coming to a part of  
the forest at about a hundred yards cleared  
for cultivation I observed that fire had been  
applied to one of the gigantic trees made still  
higher by growing on an anthill twenty  
or more feet high - hearing the crack that told  
the fire had eaten through I felt that there  
was no danger it looked so far away till it  
appeared coming right down towards me  
I saw a few paces back and it came to the  
ground only one yard off broke into several  
lengths and covered me with a cloud of  
dust - my attendants ran back exclaiming  
Peace - Peace - you will finish your  
work in spite of all these people and  
in spite of everything - I too took it as  
an omen of good that I had three  
[0588]

[582]

narrow escapes from death in one day  
the Manyema are experts in throwing the  
the spear and as I had a glance of him  
whose spear missed missed by less than  
an inch behind and he was not ten  
yards off I was saved clearly by the  
good hand of the Almighty Preserver  
of men - I can say this devoutly now  
but in running the terrible gauntlet  
for five weary hours among furies  
all eager to signalize themselves by slaying  
one they sincerely believed to have been  
guilty of a horrid outrage, no elevated  
sentiments entered the mind - the  
excitement gave way to overpowering  
readiness, and I felt as I suppose soldiers  
do on the field of battle, not courageous  
but perfectly indifferent whether I were  
killed or not -

on coming to the cleared plantations  
belonging to the next group of villages  
all lay down to rest, and soon saw  
their headman walked unarmed in  
a stately manner towards us - He had  
heard the vain firing of my men  
into the dense vegetation and came to  
enquire the cause - When he had con-  
-sulted his elders he sent an offer to me  
in the evening to collect all his  
people and if I lent him my people  
who had guns he would bring me ten  
goats instead of three milch one I had  
lost - I again explained the mistake  
under which his next neighbours  
laboured and as he understood  
the whole case he was ready to admit  
that my joining in his ancient  
[0589]  
[583]

feud would only make matters worse  
Indeed my old Highland blood had been  
roused by the wrongs which his foes  
had suffered and all through I could not  
help sympathizing with them though I  
was the especial object of their revenge -

D.L. David Livingstone [ H M Consul]

A complaint enclosed in  
the foregoing N<sup>o</sup> 3 .. Ujiji 30 October  
1871

To D<sup>r</sup> John Kirk -  
Acting Political Agent & Consul  
Zanzibar

Sir I wrote on the 25<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> currt  
two very hurried letters one for you and  
the other for Lord Clarendon which were  
forwarded to Unyanyembe - I had just  
reached this place thoroughly jaded in  
body and mind and found that your  
agent Shereef Boshier had sold off all the  
goods you sent for slaves and ivory for  
himself - He had divined on the Koran and  
found that I was dead - He also wrote to the  
governor of Unyanyembe that he had sent  
slaves to Manyema who returned and expected  
my decease and he wished the permission  
of the governor to sell all the goods - He  
however knew from men who came from  
me in Manyema that I was near Ujiji at  
Bambarre and wanting for him & supplies  
but when my friends here protested against  
the sale of my goods he invariably provid  
-ed "you know nothing about the matter"  
[0590]  
[584]

"I alone know that the consul ordered me  
to remain one month at Ujiji and then  
sell off and return" - When I came he  
said Ludha had so ordered him -

From the Banian slaves you sent  
I learn that Ludha went to Ali bin  
salem Buraschid a person notoriously  
dishonest and he recommended Shereef  
Boshier as leader of the caravan - No  
sooner did he obtain command then  
he went to Muhamad Nassar who  
furnished twenty five boxes of soap &  
eight cases of brandy to be retailed in  
the course of the journey inland -  
At Bagamoio Shereef got a quantity of  
opium and gunpowder from from  
two Banians there whose names are  
unknown to me - In their house Shereef

broke the soap boxes and stowed the  
contents in my bales - the brandy cases  
were kept entire and Pagazi employed  
to carry them and the opium & gun  
powder and paid out of my bales  
the Banians and Shereef had inter-  
posed their own trade speculation  
between two government officers  
and thence forward all the experiences of  
the journey were defrayed out of my supply  
and Shereef was able to send back to  
his accomplices five frasilahs of  
ivory from Unyanyembe value some  
(£60) sixty pounds - the Pagazi again  
paid by me - He was in no hurry  
to aid me but spent fourteen months  
in traversing a distance that could  
easily have been accomplished  
in three - if we deduct two months  
[0591]  
[585]

for detention by sickness we have still twelve  
months of which nine were devoted to  
the private interests of the Banians & Shereef  
He ran risk with my goods buying the best  
provisions and drink the country afforded  
- lived in my tent till it was so rotten &  
full of holes I never could use it once -  
- remained at three several places two months  
retailing brandy opium gun powder & soup  
and these being finished on reaching Ujiji  
he would go no further - Here it is com-  
-monly reported he lay drunk for a month at  
a time - The dura pombe and palm toddy  
all bought with my fine samsam beads  
He issued 24 yards of calico per month for  
himself - 8 yards for each of his slaves  
8 yards for his woman! and 8 yards for  
Awathe the other headman - and when he  
sent seven of the Banian slaves employed  
by Ludha to me at Bambarre he would  
not allow me more than two frasilahs  
of the very coarsest beads evidently ex-  
-changed for my fine Samsams - a few  
pieces of calico and in great mercy half  
the coffee and sugar - the slaves came  
without loads - Shereef finished up as  
above stated by selling off all except the  
other half of coffee and sugar and one  
half of [bundle] of unsaleable beads - He left

~~four bundles~~ pieces four of calico and  
went off from this but hearing of  
disturbance at Unyanyembe he deposited  
his ivory in a village near and coming  
back took the four pieces of calico and  
I recieved of all the fine calico and dear  
beads you sent not a single yard or  
string of beads

[0592]

[585]

Awathe the other headman employed  
was a spectator of all the plunder by Shereef  
from the coast onwards and never opened  
his mouth in remonstrance or in sending  
back a report to his employer - He carefully  
concealed an infirmity from you which  
prevented him from performing a single  
duty for me - He had his "sheepa" long before  
he was engaged and he stated to me  
that the large fleshy growth came up at  
once on reaching Ujiji - it is not Hydowale  
but Sarcocole, and his own statement  
proved that the pain he feigned had entirely  
ceased when Dugumbe a friend of mine  
offered to convey him by short easy stages  
to me - He refused from believing that  
the Banians have so much power  
that he will be paid in full for all the  
time that he has been dishonestly devouring  
my goods though quite unable to do any  
duty - Dugumbe also offered to convey  
a packet of letters that was delivered  
to Shereef here as my agent, but  
when he told him that he was about to  
start it was not forthcoming - It was  
probably destroyed to prevent my seeing  
the list of goods you sent by one  
Hassani to Unyanyembe -

With due deference to your judgement  
I claim all the expenses incurred as  
set down against me in Ludha's  
books from the Banians who by fraud  
converted the caravan to help me into  
the gratification of their own greed -  
Muhamad Nassur can reveal  
the names of the other Banian  
accomplices of Shereef who connived

[0593]

in supplanting help for me into a trade speculation - they ought also to pay the slaves sent by Ludha and let them (the Banians) recover from Shereef - I report this case to H.M. - Government as well as to you and believe that your hands will thereby be strengthened to see that justice is done and that due punishment be inflicted on the Banians - on Shereef and Awathe - and on the Banian slaves who baffled and thwarted me instead of fulfilling the engagement entered into in your presence - A note is enclosed to His Highness Seyed Benghash which you will please to present -

In entrusting the matter of supplies and men to the Baman Ludha you seem to have been unaware that our Government forbids its servants to employ slaves - the commissioners and Consul at Loanda on the West Coast sent all the way to St Helena for somewhat stupid servants rather than incur the displeasure of the Foreign Office by using very clever Portuguese slaves within call - In the very trying circumstances you mention during the visitation of Cholera and in the absence of the instructions I had enclosed to employ free men and not slaves as also in the non appearance of the cheques for money enclosed in the same lost packet the call on Ludha was perhaps the easiest course and I trust that you will not consider me ungrateful if I point out that it involved a grave mistake - Ludha is polite enough but the slave trade and indeed most other trade is carried on chiefly by the money of Banians - British subjects who receive most of the profits and