Letter to Edmund Gabriel, 5, 18, 20, 23 January 1855

David Livingstone

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[1] Malange $5^{\underline{\text{th}}}$ 1855 My Dear M^r Gabriel

That I may not again

be in the sorry plight of scratching a few trivial sentences on paper during the last moments previous to my own or the mail's departure I have resolved to devote a little time to you now. And first of all I may mention that I left for your address, Mr Schmit's tepoia and some odds & ends I had picked up, in charge of Mr Pires of Punto Andongo who promised to forward all with care I delivered also a packet into his care, consisting of a letter and note for Sir R. Murchison with a rough copy of the same [0002]Also a short note for yourself. There were a few specimens of the rocks of Punto Andongo but it being very difficult if not impossible to get a piece in which all the rocks are embodied I had to select such only as would convey to you an idea of the great masses of conglomerate which form the famous Pedras There are different kinds of porphyries also gneiss, granite syemite or the granite of which the Egyptians made so much use in their sculpture - [^] [sandstone] - schist in humps and stratified clay schist and a pulverulent light coloured rock containing silica & something else. quartzite coloured green greyneoeke &c &c. all rounded and water worn as you will see [0003]in the specimens. Indeed to look at the rocks they resemble gigantic banks of shingle

stuck in a matrix hard bluish pale red sandstone - suck bauks are seen near Kolobeng but only 2 yds thick Here they are about 300 or 400 feet in perpendicular diameter and rest on horizontal strata of the rock which forms the matrix. In strata however and forming the earth's crust down to the Coanya southwards and 20 miles East of Pungo. It has only a few pebbles in it these gradually become smaller as we go East until it is entirely a sandstone rock. It would take a week to collect all the varieties of rock in the conglomerate of Pungo. I defferred my excursion to the last partly [0004]in consequence of fever and partly from being engaged in rewriting. You must come and geologize yourself I intended to examine the iron said to exist but only saw broken Haematite and an ore very much like Litaniferous iron ore only it is not magnetic. The Portuguese think the Pedras are the result of volcanic influence but I doubt the idea The rocks lie in lines running N and S. nearly and present the appearance of having been left as they are by denudation A more extended examination however is necessary and I hope you will have health one day to perform it.

With respect to the plants sent you will see some true Cape bulbs [0005]

[2^d sheet]

The seeds are wrapped up higglety piglety -wise, but you will notice two fruits which if I mistake not are among our best wild fruits on the Zambesi They are nearly ripe and may vegetate some bulbs wrapped up in grass Will show you a species of flower which abounds but of different colours and sizes all the way to

Kolobeng. I have heard it called "Watsonia" x The specimens sent are tied to the pole of the Tepoia and the colours are very lovely. I had not time to put up wild vines but Mr Pires promised to send one of each variety. The country is literally laden with other fruit or flowers presenting a curious contrast to

the vines of Portugal and Trinidad which are now reported to be perishing

[Have seen Watsonia since. it is different]

[0006]

by the disease. If I were in a position proper for it I have a lot of experiments in my head for them, but I suspect my first permanent possession will be in the narrow house with the "clods of the valley over me" I sit on the ox and think till the sun permits neither thinking nor travelling. My poor Bucephalus is none the better of his sojourn at Ambaca and Pitsanes, a perfect nonesuch, had become so lean and haggard a council of war decided yesterday that he must be killed in order to save his (life) carcase. Yet my preserves his mental peculiarities entire. I never could keep an umbrella up without [0007]imminent risk of a tumble. He has the aversion to my reading Punch although I take it quietly out of my pocket trying to prevent him seeing it If he carries me back to the Zambesi I must write his biography and get the Poet Laureate Tennyson * to make [or the author of Dido Pigmen, Arsenio] an epitaph for him.

Among notices which I have seen in >the newspapers are the following which may have escaped your observation.

Assistant Surgeon John T. Gabriel confined to the Victory (101) Portsmouth. I suppose this is your cousin, the name not being very common.

A new society under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington &c &c for "the exploration of Africa with a view [0008]
to its evagelization" Limagine this musi

to its evagelization" I imagine this must be in aid of D^r Krapf on the Eastern side

A dinner or other feed took place down the Thames somewhere in which Sir R. Murchison took a prominent part, announcing that in the evening before £500 had been awarded by Parliament to the Royal Geographical Society.

Lieut Colonel Steele commended by
Lord Raglan in his dispatch. I suppose
it will ensure further promotion. He
wrote several times to me in this strain
"If you require anything be sure and
tell me, for I wish to serve you with
my purse. I really mean what I say."
I never needed to make a call for his
assistance but his generous offers made
and makes my heart warm to him &
I pray God to be his shield in the day of battle.
[0009]

[3^d sheet]

The road from Pungo Andongo to Lombe runs along the bank of the Coanya and the straggling forest gives the exact picture of the country near the Casai or Kasye most of the trees are identical. A few miles from Lombe there is a fine fall of the Coanya as deep as your house I did not go to see it because I had no one to admire it with me. Mr. Pires has a house at Lombe and one half way there. I would recommend you to come as far as the water fall.

M^r Canto thinks if the Governor does not know of the affair of the slaves Mr Possoulo the secretary may have kept back his letter to the Governor for a consideration. Mr C. commences a process too, against the slave driver but if that fails can do no more. [0010]

You may observe in my letter to Sir R. M. I allude to some geographical information having been sent to Germany. Dr. Welwatsch told me he had written to Berghaus, the publisher of a very good map on Africa, an account of my journey, he did so after he had got a sketch, had I known sooner he would have been minus that. In connection with this subject I may mention as fine a case of a man turning himself "inside out" as I have met in Africa. When at Massangano my friend Mr Condido Coata volunteered to take down the observations for altitude of the sun as I made them. I turned down a blank page and having to wait for the passage of a cloud. I saw him turn over and look at the Longitude of Golungo Alto as I then had it 14° 52' 30" and that of his own house. 14° 52' when he saw I had detected him his face assumed the confused look common when guilt is felt. As I had previously resolved to give him some Latitudes [0011]

and Longitudes I did not feel annoyed more than that he might have waited my pleasure Well, from feelings of pity and a wish to enable him to make a good map I gave him a number of paints, but not being quite satisfied with Golungo Alto I reserved at for further observations From a short glance I had of his map I perceived it was enormously wrong I had a feeling of compassion for he had evidently laboured hard upon it Cassange for instance was considerably more than 120 miles too far North and many other places were equally misplaced, so I recommended to begin again and measure from the points I had given- all I expected or wished being to acknowledge whence these points had been derived. When I reached Golungo and had made additional observations I wrote him and gave [...] [some] hints as to his measurements [0012]

if in a hilly country to make allowances for the greater distance traveled over-[Two hills with a dotted line running over the top of each.] the dotted line or path being much longer than the straight line or actual distance which alone can be put into a map. also to watch whether a path in a hilly country ran in a valley. If so the distance is the same as if on a plain &c &c- for these hints he is duly thankful, but the laughable part is when he tells me that by "his calculation Gol[...] ungo Alto stands in 14° 57.30["] & his own house in 14° 52' 30" and Oeiras 14° 43′ 40″" Golungo & his house minus 30" are from my book - exactly. Oeiras is his own. Now 40" are equal to 2 Seconds and 40 thirds of time - You don't know what clever people you have in Angola- calculating longitudes to thirds of time - The Rev^d J. Challis, (professor of astronomy (I believe -) of Cambridge gives in the Nautical Almanac for for /54 an easy mathematical way for calculating a Longitude from a Lunar distance [0013]

[4th sheet] and in his example works out an observation made of an occulation of a star by the moon. The distance is then between the edge of the moon and its centre and is measured with an accuracy to which no sextant can approach. To get something like its accuracy we take the mean of a number of distances - Well by this improved method of calculation he \(^\)[M\(^\) Challis] that he is only 4 seconds from the true longitude of the Cambridge observatory while by the usual method he would have been 24 seconds distant- M^r Challis does not pretend to thirds as my friend M^r Costa does. Nobody else goes below 15" seconds and these only when they result from the Mean of a number of observations they cannot be indicated by the point of the compass on any ordinary map I send you M^r C's letter as a curiosity and as his calculations are so far superior to mine and he has evidence

I often take ten distances straining my eyes to the utmost at each. The seconds stop in the watch assisting much & then take the mean of distances & times [0014]

he has evidence before his eyes in his own map that he cannot unassisted make the most distant approach to accuracy I think I must leave him with the points he has already got - I always lay my account with being bamboozled a little in any good work I attempt and would give him more even now but the concluding part of this letter shews it would only be assisting him to tell stories

He had a great portion of the Quango down in his map and asserted it was from actual observation having gone from Cassange down the river to Ambivy As all the Portuguese assert that no white man ever went down the Quango and I feel an interest in that river. I put a question to him which has led him to confess quite unconsciously the incorrectness of his former assertion. He went from [0015]

Cassange to some point near the ford at which I crossed [^] [probably not so far it took me 3 days] [to reach Cassange] that river bought some

slaves & took them back to Cassange thence went to Malange or Ambaca and followed the only route known to slave dealers to Ambivy- Arsenio sent his slaves, cattle meal &c. by the same road. It lies North of Ambaca - and they cross the Dande in their way to Ambivy.

I found M^r Pires very friendly and hospitable. He has an immense number of slaves and is said to be rich. All being the produce of his own industry it is natural he should feel a little proud - I found him very obliging and kind both while with him and after I left. He is in a more healthy situation than the presidio which is subjected to sudden draughts of wind which induce inflammation When making inquires elsewhere about the productions of the country [0016]

Have you wheat? Yes at Pungo Andongo Have you grapes -? at Pungo Andongo Have you butter, cheese, fruits, &c &c O yes - at Pungo Andongo- I expected wonders here but find all productions are those of one man $M^{\underline{r}}$ P. and

he has only a small quantity of each he has however lately planted a vineyard and has a small patch of wheat. I could not get any seed. Butter & cheese are made for sale. The former very good. The latter indifferent. I saw butter packed in new & of course perfectly clean to whistling jugs, yet the associat[...] of ideas made me feel as some Judian officers did when they went to dinner & found a Nabob displaying a new set of china. 1/2 a dozen unknown utensils being arranged along the centre of the table full of milk- When you meet a Carregadore with one in full view of the sun, you may be sure of a Portuguese> being in his reas[...] [to be continued.] [0017][2] [I,] Cassange18th January 1855. I recieved your welcome epistle of 30^{th} Dec^r the day before yesterday and felt glad an opportunity had occurred for a health trip - I earnestly hope it has been successful in restoring you to your wanted vigour. I remained three days at Tala Mongongo waiting for an observation but was obliged to leave after all without one. I got one on the Cuije or Quiye about 1½' distant which will do - Did not visit the Duque de Braganza it would have been considerably out of my way and funds are getting low, for though I have kept my companions on as small rations as I could the constant drain during my visit to Cavengo and subsequently during my long sojourn at Golungo Alto [0018]and Pungo Adongo reduced the sum in my purse to a very low figure. I have been giving fazendas since and now feel anxious to be as soon as possible in the country where we can use beads. I had 20 Carregadores besides my own party. These were never satisfied, and complained of me to every one we met: though I was instructed to give them nothing ~ [because already paid by the merchant] I gave a small ration viz. as much meal as they could eat - my men buying it and when we slaughtered an ox they got

a quarter - The gentlemen once left it lying on the spot - saying they must have the half of the ox. I reduced their allowance one half every time they grumbled. This is one of the [0019]

odd things one meets with throughout Africa, generosity is looked upon as weakness, but one must just do good knowing the master whom we serve. The Empaccaserros took French leave of me at Malange-Thus going 3 or 4 days march instead of asmany or more months. Thy left during the night - I have not the smallest idea of what they thought: the Portuguese believed they would go to Cassange at least. Everything went on agreably except the grumbling of the Carregadores of which I only heard incidentally too yet off they went and they \(\frac{\ldots}{\ldots}\)-were welcome We met half blood in the Londa country who told my people I should never reach Loanda or Cassange even unless I waited for him and took him as a guide - We met one [0020]

of his people the other day and find he went down as far as Kabompos or Shinte and sent slaves still farther not to the Zambesi and now returns with upwards of 50 tusks of ivory & 66 slaves. He will of course return. Another a black man named Guerra we met at Tala Mongongo He has been as far as Kabompo or Kaompo or Shinte and made a good speculation - This is his third journey and he goes East of that too. He is in connection with Mr Pires and lives at Lombe in a good house. M^r Pires suggests the probability of being able to send letters by such persons. either to his care or to that of his assistants in Bihé "Guilherme José Gonsalves, Asistente no Bihé" who will forward them to him. If I see any one I shall [0021]

[II.] certainly send you a scrawl. If M^s P. knew of any one going in the same direction I take a few nes[w]spapers might be forwarded to me as a

treat I shall remain in the country of Sekeletu some months before

leaving for Quilimane. I hope M^r

P. sent you two good wild vines

he has enough of garden ones too &

fine young fig trees. There is one here

from his establishment brought

by the new chefe & already laden with

figs. This gentleman kindly invited me

to the residencia but I could not

properly prefer him to \mathbf{M}^{r} Neves who

shewed his kindness when I was in

greater need. - M^r N. has a bad hand

arising from Lumphatic inflammation

caused by a mere scratch got in

[0022]

giving a slave a blow. This getting better -

He has a magnificent crop of potatoes

only 2 ½ months old. Wheat I think

would grow but who tries it. I

cannot get a seed of it. - Well I saw

coffee growing at Tala Mongongo &

drank of it too. It is excellent and

the country to the North abounds in

it. In Cazengo I could not with

the utmost hatred I could muster

avoid tracing its present existence

as a self sown plant to the Jesuits

as the primary introducers for go

where we will we find South American

plants with it as well. Guavas

they grow wild along the rivers

here. Fruita da Coude. Jambos

Bananas. Ananas. and orange

trees even but here nearly 300

miles inland Has it spread thus

[0023]

for from San Salvador or St José de

Eucage. ? I am going to Look carefully

for it in Londa. I see trees resembling

it and the flowers may shew them

to be species of coffee - and if so it may

help to solve the question of the indiginousness

of the plant. Whether it is really so or

not we see in the plantations already

discovered on of the ways in which

God provides means for me to

abandon evil ways if they will

No man is forced to be a

sinner unless he chooses. There are

many loopholes made for him to

escape if he will - But in countries

instance as does not seem possible to escape into the true path and priveleges in which it has been ours never to be forgotten privelege [0024] to have been born - They will no doubt be judged and treated in another way than we shall be if we fail to embrace the offers of mercy through the only Savior.

entirely heathen as Africa for

I have seen such beauties of flowers on the road and regretted exceedingly they are not in seed. The seeds I have already sent may not be anything worth while The beauties may all be missed - I shall send a few bulbs one is rather pretty having a dark blue[i]sh red flower and yellow tongue instead of a pistil or stamina - The roots are nearly fibrous - scarcely onion but approaching that form - Another is I believe what I have called watsonia perhaps erroneously. It may be propagated by cutting the bulbes into parts. I learned this by cutting one by accident with a [spade] [0025][III] I am ashamed to send more [^] [bulky ones] because the mail goes so far - [Cape bulbs abound] A few seeds are enclosed likewise one sort of pretty blue flower which abounds near Pungo Andongo- different varieties of Asclepia abound - one blood red - another blue with white sr[t] amens- and a third covers the country with flowers about 3 inches long and like a convoloulus It is pure white with a blush of red in the interior - unfortunately not in seed now - There is a little shrub which attains a height of about a foot Zanebesians call it Maroro. It yields a yellow fruit about the size of a guava. some are pleasant tasted - my men & the inhabitants of the country eat it freely - I send the seeds - It $\boxed{\dots}$ resembles the sweet sop or custard apple of India [0026]I send a full grown specimen of

the distiller in a quill - also a little

bit of the rock forming the descent at Tala Mongongo and most of the Cassange basin

I have not needed much coaxing

to loiter on the way for when one receives the exciting news of the near anxiety to hear how it has gone since becomes exceedingly strong - I shall of course wait till the mail of the 16th comes to hand - you will have seen by one letter I sent from Pungo Andongo that this would be the case - I cannot remain longer here on account of the scarcity of native food - but when I get the post letters will move [0027]on to the Quango and will remain a few days there in order to write you for the last time and send the Longitude as well - Then I am over the border & away - Sorry to hear our Admirals [...] [ha]ve turned out indifferent stuff - There is plenty of new blood however in the lower ranks of the naval service and recourse must be had to it for they are not a whit behind then fellow countrymen in red jackets -In one view it is fortunate the defects appear in the old school for had it been otherwise the blame might have been cast on the improvements in morals and education which have been made in the naval service. We must [0028]Captain Hall as belonging to the new school Lord Raglun is a worthy old sturnper $[\hat{\ }]$ I beg his pardon for calling him so though no one ever heard his name before If Mr Charles had said less before less would have been said about him now but poor old fellow he will catch it in England Be sure & send me Punch on that subject - I hope Lieut Hoskins' removal to the scourge will secure his

Captⁿ Neves has published a small journal of the expedition to

promotion - The Baltic is not all glory no more than Ambaca indeed at present Cassange which contains some information worth looking at I believe though I have not read it - A few copies have come to Loanda to $D^{\underline{r}}$ Begende I have been presented presented with the only copy here - [0029]

[IV.] M^r. Neves informs me that Arsenio mentioned to him that "I had been cheated by a trader in Cassange in the affair of the ivory and that I had told him so" Now as I never understood the price of the ivory we received I never entertained suspicion of unfair play I did not understand the money and the goods were certainly more than the man would have got at Kuruman or even in the colony I was very well satisfied with what had been done - and I am so still - We did the best we could in the circuimstances - and that being my feeling hitherto I feel certain I never spoke to any one as if I had been cheated - Perhaps you may remember when [0030]I was first visited by M^r Schut he enquired how much they gave for ivory in Cassange and I could not tell - I am not aware at this moment how much per lb. we got nor how much we got at all - for I paid away for food whenever we needed and never could get the relative value of Makutas and pence till I got it from you - I thought Makutas were about the value of half pence - M^r N. does not mention Arsenio's name but he is the only man I spoke to in Ambaca and I feel certain I did not speak about

[0031] many disagreables - The only persons in Angola whom I consider to have taken unfair advantage of my ignorance

it is vexatious to be misprepresented

Ivory on Capⁿ Neves either

but we must put up with

are Nictoriano and his ferrymen over the Lucalla - Should you see my reference to him (Capnn Neves) in print I should feel obliged if you mention it to him if you can do so without inconvenience - It may serve to remove an unfavourable impression from his mind - which may still be lurking though he professes to have scarcely ever believed my having said - In my own mind I feel perfectly innocent

I hope I am not doing wrong in reference to M^r Candido, he promised distinctly to acknowledge the source whence he derived his positions [0032] but shews plainly he does not mean to do it even to myself - I suppose my part of the contract is invalided thereby

I met a missionary at Pungo Andongo - Antonio Franciso das Nes[c]essidades Visitador em Missaõ fⁿ sua Ex^a Rev^a et visitas the - He is a Canon of the R. C. church - lately returned from Portugal whither he had conducted the Prince of Congo - An honour was conferred upon him for it - He says they have 12 churches in the Kingdom of Congo! but no padres He is said to be a man of good morals - black & about 45 years or upwards - I believe he lives in Loanda generally - This is not the last or I should fondly drag it out longer -

Therefore I conclude with affectionate salutations

David Livingston

[0033]

As the Mail is not to leave for another day or two I add a little more to this prolix production - The Mail of the 16th will not reach this till the 5 or 6th of February -I shall either wait or get the contents on the Quango - So you need not be apprehensive what you have dispatched on the 16th will be in vain - I have just learned from Capⁿ Neves that he saw shells on the tops of the rocks of Pungo Andongo - I feel quite disgusted with myself at not seeing them too - but in enquiring I was told positively there were more - And though I looked myself yet a careful search in similar shingly branches near Kolobeng had its influence on [0034]

my mind and I saw more they must be in the soft friable limestone looking rock I believe I mentioned - I let you know that you may discover them and likewise ascertain by their means the age of the rock in which they lie - He says those he ascended were in the centre of the town or presidio I have written a something or other for My Lord Ce[l]arendon or for your kitchen fire - Its of no use saying why I mak[d]e such a wretched abortion - I could'nt and thats all about it - If I tried to give an agricultural Report I found a want of materials - the general resources and statistics - more materials but very dry Then today I have finished a real slave trade letter and I rely upon your candour to put it into the fire if you approve it not [0035]

The writing is unusually bad because I have to do it on a high stage made of sticks and corn stalks, all the houses are infested with tampan's. The tent under a tree is infinitely superior - Now remember the fire with if it wont pass muster I might make some small improvements if I wrote a copy but I really have not time at present.

The bellies of the distillers shrivelled up to nothing. They must have been full of water - A note of thanks is enclosed for Captain Neves alos a Letter for D^r Tidman enclosing one for my wife I send also another draught for the £25 supposing the one already given has gone down in the Forerunner - that for £50 is I concieve safe in England [0036]I have advised D^r Tidman in the present letter of both bills - viz. - for £50 and £25. and (my trumpeter being out of the way at present) fancy you wont - be able to pick a flaw in the enclosed most business like production! I have mentioned too Woodhead & Co, as your agents. I enclose at [1] so a thing which I have ventured to call an ideal section of the country for Sir Roderick. If he does not cry out, "My dear fellow no more of your nonsense" it will be because he is less clever than I take him to be. The ideal section of the river Niger had however less in it than mine. I am too far Lost with Tingo but it is not geography I am teaching him The Mail takes about 20 days to go from this to that city and is often longer in coming so that of the 16th will certainly be my final one sorry such pleasant correspondence must cease [0037]

[A. 1.] The Mail from [3] Loanda came [Jan 23 [?] 1855] in today 23^d Jany. but of course contained nothing for me - yours by next is my blue Peter - The Boletin contains what our folks here consider grand news. Ambriz a Portuguese Colony! I have not seen the paper but it is described as muitissimo boa - They might form a copper company for working mines there now - I see the Morning Herald is down on Sir J Young chief secretary for Ireland for holding slaves and a slave plantation in Suriname He is of course a member of Lord Aberdeens Government. I see too I am behind in my knowledge of the progress of antislavery in the world but how can I be otherwise? [0038]

I have repeated before and again say if the better to Lord Clarendon is not a proper one and my impressions are that it is not. Do commit it to the flames - I shall begin the map tomorrow, I have been close at work ever since I came - and will send it and some observations for M^r Macclear by next Mail. Also a concluding letter for Sir Roderick viz. on the Province Have you colours to give a slight tint to the different rocks - in the sketch - If not never mind - I have taken one sketch of Pungo Andongo from Mr Piris house if I have time I will send you a copy - It is of course drawn in superior style. I think I have mentioned everything worth mentioning and many that were not [0039]

I may now in case of any misadventure in my letter from the Quango come to a conclusion. our corresponence has afforded me unmixed pleasure - And I have an equal amount of pain knowing now that this is near the end of it It is doubtful whether we shall meet again in this world - But I pray to our Heavenly Father that we may meet in joy before him in a better land. I remember promising to tell how I might do in England if by Gods good providence I should reach it The country explored is unfit for a European family - I might live and do good in it but it would be subjecting those whom God has committed to my care to an extended

orphanage - On their account I would if a situation under Gov^t fairly be obtained might accept of it. But it would be with a pang and on thei account alone. (He that careth not for his own and especially for those of his own house hath denied the faith and is worse than an "infidel" St Paul). For I always since I knew the value of Christianity wished to spend my life in propagating its blessings among men. I have the same desire now undiminished

but to leave my family to the tender mercies of a charitable institution. Some of the members of which have a sort of spite at my success in exploration, seems hard I can only hope that He who has helped and guided me hitherto will be with me still -

Into His Everlasting care I commend you as your most affectionate Friend

David Livingstone