

## Letter to John Washington, 4, 22 December 1863

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Murchison's Cataracts 4 Dec<sup>r</sup>

1863

Dear Admiral Washington

The despatch containing our recal dated 2 February reached me on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July when it was quite impossible to take the Pioneer down to the sea. So after sending off all the principal members of the Expedition I proceeded to improve the intervening time between that & next flood in Dec<sup>r</sup> by trying to settle the question whether a large river flows into the Lake in the North and also verify the opinion that nearly all the slaves that go to Zanzibar Quillsa - Iboe - & Mozambique come from the Lake district. Very unfortunately we lost a boat otherwise of no great value when nearly past the falls so our plan of sailing round the Eastern shore and North end had to be given up. and we made away for the N.W. on foot intending to go to the Latitude of the Lake but west of the Mazite or zulus who have depopulated the Northern shores. but a range of mountains about 6000 feet above the sea - proved a barrier by the people declaring that no population existed on the other side - (It is the Masari country - a high table land called Déza.) - Travelling along a beautiful valley at its Eastern base we came out at the heel of Lake Nyassa - West N. W again till we came to a stockade, attacked by other zulus or pretended zulus than those we formerly met in the North, only the day before. We saw the dead bodies of the conileatants and to avoid collision went now away N.E. till we came to the Lake and went along its shores to Lat. 12° 55' S. where we found a couple of arabs busily transporting slaves across, and building a new dhow to replace one which had been wrecked. These men said that they had 1500 souls in their village and we saw tens of thousands in the vicinity who had fled thither for protection We saw the same man on our last visit but then

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They had very few people. Every disturbance benefits the slave trader. a boy costs one fathom of calico or say one shilling - a girl two - at this point all the slaves from Mozambique, Iboe, Quillsa Arid and Zanzibar cross the Lake. a few traders only go down, and for cheapness cross at the outlet of The Shire. some strike west from that point but here at Kutakula bay ( $12^{\circ} 55'$ ) which is formed by a sandy spit running out & protecting from the East wind, is the great slave route to each of the places named. Curiously enough the slave trade is greatly dependant on that in ivory - the slaves cost little but their food costs a great deal. But they carry the ivory, and that makes the joint trade profitable. I knew this of old but Captain Wilson of the Gorgon has lately discovered it, and mentions it in his last "slave trade report" It was the knowledge that I was working towards and ruining the slave trade of Mozambique and Iboe by buying up the ivory that made the Portuguese gain all their destructive power. I trust that operations in the interior under a more able leader will not be lost sight of. These will do more to stop the slave trade than all the cruizers, and without them I see no hope of the Portuguese giving up slaving. the sight of the new dhow gave me a hint which I may mention. She was 50 feet by 12 and five deep. I would never think of carrying more than the engine & boilers past cataracts like ours. One could build a hull more easily. At the port of the lake there are many trees 60 feet without a branch. & 3 feet in diameter -

We now went due West on the great slave route to the Babisa. Ka[ta]nga and Cazembe -po- say 90 or 100 miles. Then turned up to the N. N. W. but before we had gone far, our time was expired We had ascertained that the watershed was clearly to the West. after crossing the branches of the Loangwa on the Lake - we had the Loangwa of the Maraui which enters Zambese at Zumbo in front

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We were on a level plateau 3440 feet above the sea in Lat.  $12^{\circ} 46'$  S. a rivulet called Motala or Motawa flows N.N.W into Lake Bemba which is said to be the source of the Loapula. This flows Westwards and forms two lakes Moero or Mofue

Mofue then passes the town of Cazemba and  
is lost in Tanganyika. these were the reports  
we heard and though Bemba was said to be about  
ten days distant, I was afraid to speculate on  
a late rise of the river which I now find I should  
have been safe to do. In view of Earl Russells  
explicit order not to undertake any long journey  
Our European food was sepended. Hindrances  
were thrown in our way as we were going to the  
part whence a great deal of ivory is drawn, and  
dysentery came back on us in force. But all  
reports agreed that no large river flows into  
Lake Nyassa.[in the North] Two small ones do - this agrees with  
the general watershed; and the numbers of running  
streams whose mouths must be covered with reeds  
as we did not see them from the boat in our first  
visit - but had to cross now in our march, had  
convinced me that a large river was not needed  
to account for the perennial flow of the Shire.  
Nearly all the travelled natives and the Arabs  
maintained that Loapula or Luapula flows  
into Tanganyika. Is there an opening in the  
West of that Lake to discharge its waters by Kasai  
into the Congo East of where I crossed the latter  
river? We returned and reaching the ship on the  
31<sup>st</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> found to our great joy all well and  
all had enjoyed excellent health without either  
medicine or doctors! They had generally been  
employed and work is the best preventative  
for fever. I took the steward with me because  
Meller thought he ought to invalided, and  
as usual had told him so - the little fellow walked  
like a Briton - had only a touch of fever for one

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and came back pretty well knocked up but in  
excellent health. We were on our metal to be  
back in time for the very earliest rise and went  
660 geographical miles in 55 travelling days –  
on an average 12 miles a day.

22<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> the flood is very late this year.  
I hear from Bishop Tozer that he has  
determined to leave the country as early in the  
coming year as possible. He selected the top  
of an uninhabited mountain - Moremibala  
at the mouth of the Shire for his residence  
It is a detached mass. The land all around  
except on the North being flat. all the clouds  
collect there and the missionaries have to  
rush into their huts to fires or get wet to the

skin in a few minutes. They knuckle down  
to the Portuguese in everything and are about as  
useless a set as can be conceived. the first  
party never attempted to instruct the natives  
in consequence of a conscientious scruple of the  
late bishop. the second party never went  
near any population and now run away.  
Twenty five boys whom we liberated & gave to  
Bishop Mackenzie were very unwillingly  
received by Bishop Tozer from the remaining  
men of the first party. Without them not  
a native would have been near the mission  
He lately sent six of them up to Chibisa's with  
written instructions to the man in charge "On no  
account to take them to the Pioneer" to which  
he himself was coming, and it is reported  
that the bishop told a Portuguese official  
that if the Portuguese demanded the  
remainder he would deliver them up. and  
this though he knows that I have volunteered  
to be at the expense of forwarding them to  
the care M<sup>r</sup> Waller would not at the Bishop's  
bidding abandon certain poor women and

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children who were attached to the mission by  
Bishop Mackenzie - and received his  
dismissal from the mission. I had offered  
to arrange with an honorable Portuguese  
to feed them till they should raise a crop, but  
the bishop who is a mere nobody in the  
hands of Rev D<sup>r</sup> Steere (once a lawyer) was much  
offended with Waller for feeding them at  
my expense during my absence. In this  
most incompetent mission there are two,  
Mess<sup>rs</sup> Allington & Drayton, who disapprove  
of the Bishops deeds, but Steere's word is  
law. It is the first protestant mission which  
in modern times has been abandoned  
that from sheer cowardice. Not one European  
died where I put them from disease con-  
tracted there. Burrup was borne thither in  
a dying state from the swamps and others  
stuck to the swamps in spite of every  
remonstrance. Now slaving goes on  
more briskly than ever. Marianno a  
rebel almost half way down the Shire is  
dead and his people are carrying away  
hundreds weekly of those he enslaved. It is  
done now apparently in bravado. The new bishop's cringing policy & our recall

seem to give new life to the slavers.

In reference to a promise to send out fresh instructions to the Portuguese officials to render us every assistance, which was made in answer to Lord Russells remonstrance to the authorities at Lisbon, we have only a fresh imposition in the shape of a tax for residence at Quillimane by D<sup>r</sup> Kirk's party. It amounted to between £7 & £8 which of course I must pay. The duty of 4 pence per pound weight on calico paid by Bishop Maekenzie Tozer seems to say

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We Portuguese mean to seal up the country more closely than ever.

I never intended to make use of this river after getting the steamer on the Lake. I only thought as we had discovered this opening we ought to make use of it to get up there, and then send out ivory by the Rovuma among the eight months when it is navigable. I regret not being allowed to finish what I had begun, but dont wonder at being recalled after losing so much time by Hardisty's negligence. By the way, Rae took the Pioneer's[air] pump all down and found the lower valve all burned. A large rent in it explained why she would not as they say "take her water." and a stone the size of a marble had been in the bottom ever since we were up here before[or in Rovuma] after M<sup>r</sup>. put on Roses at the Kongone neither stones nor sand could enter. the foot valve was also put right, and she now works beautifully the wearing of the inside of the air pump was a mistake in Hardisty's way of measuring it. Rae had begun to make an apparatus to bore it out afresh, when he could detect no wearing. but the valves were out of repair as I mentioned above. Rae suspects that the boilers are a little burned, but Hardisty never reported anything to me about it. If not burned the engines are as good as ever they were, and I trust she will yet do good service.

The expenses incurred in getting D<sup>r</sup> Kirks party away have been very considerable. For sustenance at Quillimane alone we

have to pay £30- Meller's expenses too will be heavy. Cattle from Quillimane<sup>Suppua</sup> Senna, and sheep & goats from Tette, with rice and grain from the Zambesi, make this the most expensive year

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we have passed. I shall send all the particulars as soon as I receive all the bills. In addition we have a Johanna crew at the same rate as Kroomen. I sent to the Cape for £150 and hear from Col<sup>e</sup> Nunes' nephew that this sum was lost on Quillimane bar by a boat being upset [(no lives lost)] but no official notice has yet reached me. This supply failing us, and all my private money being expended, I thought it well to avoid the 25 per cent interest which the Portuguese charge on debts, and sent by D<sup>e</sup> Meller a bill to colonel Nunes for £150 with the request that he would pay off the expenses incurred by D<sup>e</sup> Kirk. Meller &c and the costs of sheep goats cattle & rice. He is one of the only two honorable men in the country and I knew of some of the bills being [already]liquidated. "The Bill was dated 14 July 1863. Amount £150 for - current Expenses - at Par. I sent a letter of advise on 14 July last. the name is " Colonel Galdino José Nunes of Quillimane." This is an additional notice in case the other with certain letters sent by Meller may have been lost in the upsetting of a canoe. I have to report myself not murdered according to a Portuguese report lately industriously circulated. I did see some zulus and they gave chase but on my

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turning back a few paces and asking what they wanted they instantly vanished in the wood in which we were. The interior tribes who have not been in the slave trade are all mild and cowardly. And I hope you will never lose sight of working out the slave trade by operations inland. They are absolutely necessary to render effective the labours of the cruizers.

The Lady Nyassa is as ready to go as the Pioneer  
if the water should rise. The flood cannot be  
far off now. Rae proposed to take her down  
in September last but changed his mind  
again & remained here. I thank you for the  
charts of the Rovuma. and I shall endeavour  
to take soundings, not on the bar, for there  
is none, but opposite the mouth. the  
only thing like a bar is at half ebb & up to the  
time the tide turns. When the water rushing  
out of the river falls from three or four  
fathoms into nineteen fathoms. Thus

you are supposed to be  
looking sideways at  
this. the water tumbling  
into the deep just at  
the mouth forms a  
jobble which might swamp  
a boat but no sooner does the flow begin  
then all is smooth. I believe that the  
Rovuma may be navigable for a vessel  
of light draft eight of nine months a  
year.

I am sorry to have to report the death  
of Abraham Pearce Q.M.<sup>r</sup> at Quillimane  
on 4<sup>th</sup> June last. He had an epileptic fit &  
became insane on going down the Quillimane  
river. Then became calm & another attack at the  
village on the second night ended in coma & death  
He was of little use but we could not get rid of him  
before I am most sincerely yours

David Livingstone