

Completing the Transcontinental Journey February–May 1856

ON Saturday morning, February 9, from the vicinity of a hill called Pinkwe, Livingstone's party left the Zambesi and set out south and east, angling more directly down and across toward Tete rather than following the river's gradual southern bend to that town. The region through which the Zambesi flowed just at that location was called Chicova. The Doctor would later relate:

[I]t may be mentioned that when I reached Tete I was informed of the existence of a small rapid in the [Zambesi] river near Chicova; had I known this previously, I certainly would not have left the river without examining it. It is called Kebrabasa, and is described as a number of rocks, which jut out across the stream. ... I was partly influenced in leaving the river by a wish to avoid several chiefs in that direction who levy a heavy tribute on those who pass up or down.¹

Livingstone had no way of foreseeing the profound difficulties which his decision not to examine that portion of the Zambesi would create for him in later years.

On Thursday, February 14, five days after leaving the Zambesi in the Chicova region, Livingstone's company spotted an elephant near the Mvungwe hills and gave chase. They soon killed the old bull, which never charged them.

The strict laws of the region dictated that if anyone killed an elephant, the tusk and half of the body on the ground belonged to the landowners, who must be contacted to come and take their share first. If a hunter began to cut up the animal without informing and waiting for the landowners, then the entire elephant became 'the property of the proprietors of the soil'. So now Livingstone's party needed to send word back a considerable distance to Nyampungo, the chief of that area whose village they had left that morning. The Doctor noted, 'Fortunately the under tusk in this case is short and broken, the upper (ours) large and thick.'²

The men who had been sent to give notice of the elephant's death did not return till late Friday afternoon. When they delayed so long in returning, Livingstone began to suspect some foul play. But his messengers and the landowner's representatives had been delayed by heavy rains and the necessity of crossing a full river. Nyampungo's men brought a basket of corn, a fowl and a few strings of beads as a thank offering

1. *Missionary Travels*, p. 604.

2. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 398.

for Livingstone's company having killed the elephant. A large group of Nyampungo's representatives had come to eat their portion of the animal, and they divided the carcass with the Doctor's men in a friendly manner. They were 'delighted with the feast' despite the fact that, after the elephant's body had laid unopened in the heat for so long, its meat was already 'pretty far gone'.

The following Wednesday, February 20, their company camped near the village of a chief named Monina. Concerning Livingstone and his men Monina observed to his councilors: 'It is evident that this man has nothing, for if he had his people would be buying provisions. But we don't see them going about for that purpose.'³ The chief's council members, however, apparently believed instead that the Doctor's party had hidden their goods. Consequently, that Thursday evening a group of Monina's men staged what appeared to be a war dance about 100 yards from Livingstone's encampment. Some of them had guns but most were armed with large bows, arrows and spears. They beat their drums furiously and occasionally fired a rifle. Livingstone's men expected to be attacked, but an hour or two after dark the dance ceased. Seeing that no one was approaching them, they laid down and slept.

During the night Monahin, one of the few Makololo headmen accompanying Livingstone on this journey, was seen getting up and looking toward the village. 'Don't you hear what these people are saying? Go and listen!' he said to one of his companions who was only half awake. Monahin then went out behind the camp and never returned. Livingstone afterward revealed:

The man to whom he spoke appears to have been in a dreamy condition, for it did not strike him that he ought to give the alarm. Next morning I found to my sorrow that Monahin was gone, and not a trace of him could be discovered. He had an attack of pleuritis some weeks before and had recovered, but latterly complained a little of his head. I observed him in good spirits on the way hither ... In the [previous] evening he sat beside my tent until it was dark and did not manifest any great alarm. It was probably either a sudden fit of insanity or, having gone a little way out from the camp, he may have been carried off by a lion, as this part of the country is full of them. I incline to the former opinion ... I felt his loss greatly, and spent three days in searching for him. He was a sensible and most obliging man.⁴

The Doctor further recorded in his journal: 'It is supposed he is afflicted with insanity, and in a wide country full of wild beasts behind us we fear the worst.'⁵ Livingstone's men speculated that Monahin's insanity was the result of a paranoia he developed after reportedly playing a part in the murder of Mokwine, chief of one of the Batoka tribes. In the current expedition Monahin was in charge of a number of Mokwine's men. Monahin heard them talking about him and became convinced they wanted to kill him.

The next day, Saturday, they came to the village of a chief named Nyakoba. After visiting him, Livingstone related: 'His hands are either deformed or off, for he is fed and everything else done for him. He sits guzzling beer and smoking all day, the height of enjoyment to him. He speaks very liberally, and is liked by his people for his generosity.'⁶

Livingstone was 'plagued' by the two men who guided him to Nyakoba's village because they refused to believe he had no beads to offer them. They pointed to his boxes, which were opened to show they contained no beads. In the end they were satisfied and left after they were given some beads from around Sekwebu's waist,

3. *Missionary Travels*, p. 619.

4. *ibid.*, pp. 619-20.

5. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 411.

6. *ibid.*, p. 417.

as well as the Doctor's promise that he would send each of them two yards of cloth from Tete.

Livingstone's company was subjected to one final exaction before reaching Tete:

Under the guidance of three men from Nyakoba we passed away to the east and tried to avoid the villages, because it would cause much delay to be obliged to listen to all their reasons for believing we still had goods which we might give them. When, however, we were near Katolosa, who is the chief person in these parts, we met some men who ran off and informed the villagers of our passage. A party followed us, and now we had to stand as culprits before an insignificant band. We had broken the laws and must pay for it. I tried to get off as low as I could, but they outrageously demanded a tusk, and subsequently two. Rather than allow them to go forward and raise a storm against us with Katolosa, which might have resulted in our being robbed of all, we submitted to the imposition.⁷

The final stage of Livingstone's journey before reaching Tete was through 'a very rough stony country', often with no path to follow. On Saturday evening, March 1, the Doctor felt too exhausted to trudge the final several miles to Tete, though his men asked him to do so. But he sent forward the letters of recommendation he had received from Bishop Reis and others in Angola to the commandant of Tete.

At three o'clock the next morning Livingstone's party was awakened by the arrival of two military officers and a company of soldiers. They had been sent with the provisions of a substantial breakfast for Livingstone. They also brought a palanquin with which to transport him to Tete.

My companions thought that we were captured by the armed men and called to me in alarm. When I understood the errand on which they had come and had partaken of a good breakfast, though I had just before been too tired to sleep, all my fatigue vanished. It was the most refreshing breakfast I ever partook of, and I walked the last eight miles without the least feeling of weariness, although the path was so rough that one of the officers remarked to me, 'This is enough to tear a man's life out of him.' The pleasure experienced in partaking of that breakfast was only equaled by the enjoyment of Mr Gabriel's bed on my arrival at Loanda. It was also enhanced by the news that Sebastopol had fallen, and the [Crimean] war was finished.⁸

Livingstone and his men, accompanied by the military escort, reached Tete that same Sunday morning, March 2.

Tete had been a Portuguese settlement since around 1540. Now in 1856 it was the westernmost Portuguese community on the Zambesi. It was located about two miles above the confluence of the Zambesi and Lofubu (the latter was also called the Revubu). Tete was built on a long slope that ran down to the Zambesi. The town was surrounded by a ten-foot-high wall and contained around thirty European houses constructed of stone and mud with thatched roofs. Some 1,200 wattle and daub African huts were to be seen in the immediate vicinity, though most of those were outside the town walls. At the time of Livingstone's initial visit at Tete not more than 2,000 individuals resided there. The majority of the people connected with the town were then engaged in agricultural operations in the surrounding countryside. Only around eighty Portuguese lived at Tete, with three-quarters of those being soldiers stationed at the town's small fort located near the river.

In the past Tete and the surrounding area had been a strong commercial district which exported generous quantities of grain, coffee, sugar, oil, cotton, indigo, gold dust and ivory. In more recent years, however, the slave trade, with its promise of greater profits to be gained more quickly, had brought about the ruin of legitimate forms of commerce. In part this was due to the fact that the region's available

7. *ibid.*, p. 421. 'We were obliged to give them two small tusks' (*Missionary Travels*, p. 626).

8. *Missionary Travels*, p. 627.

workforce had been depleted as potential workers were exported from the country as slaves.

In addition, a number of tribes in the area rebelled against the Portuguese. In 1853 Tete was attacked when most of the Portuguese soldiers were away on another mission, nearly all the houses were burned and the cattle plundered. The Portuguese villas and plantations on the opposite bank of the river were likewise destroyed and thousands of cattle carried off. For two years tribal chiefs in the vicinity did not permit goods to pass up-river to Tete from Senna or Quilimane, and those supplies needed to be carried in by an overland route along the north bank of the Zambesi. 'Had I come down to this coast instead of going to Loanda in 1853,' Livingstone noted significantly, 'I should have come among the belligerents while the war was still raging, and should probably have been cut off.'⁹

The present governor of Tete was named Tito Augusto d'Araujo Sicard. He had been born in Portugal and served as a major in the Portuguese army. Since 1845 he had served four times as commandant of Tete and in that role had helped restore peace to the region, most recently five months before Livingstone's arrival. A little man with a quiet, gentlemanly manner and a peaceable, generous spirit, Sicard was respected by Portuguese and Africans alike.

Three days after arriving at Tete Livingstone wrote: 'The men had been living on roots, and I was become very weak and thin, but a rest here will set me right again. Thank God who has brought me thus far. The governor is remarkably kind, and so indeed are all with whom I have come into contact.'¹⁰

In his opening days at Tete, Livingstone forwarded letters down the Zambesi for his wife, his father-in-law, his brother Charles, his nephew Neil (John's oldest son in Canada), Tidman and Thompson of the London Missionary Society, Gabriel in Loanda, Maclear and Duprat at the Cape, Murchison in England, the Paris Geological Society and the King of Portugal, Don Pedro V. Blaikie summarizes the contents of the missive to the Portuguese monarch:

[I]t affords clear evidence that, however much Livingstone felt called to reprobate the deeds of some of his [the King's] subordinates [involved in slave trading], he had a respectful feeling for the King himself ... and an honest desire to aid the wholesome development of the Portuguese colonies. It refutes, by anticipation, calumnies afterward circulated to the effect that Livingstone's real design was to wrest the Portuguese settlements in Africa from Portugal, and to annex them to the British Crown. He refers most gratefully to the great kindness and substantial aid he had received from His Majesty's subjects, and is emboldened thereby to address him on behalf of Africa. He suggests certain agricultural products – especially wheat and a species of wax – that might be cultivated with enormous profit. A great stimulus might be given to the cultivation of other products – coffee, cotton, sugar and oil. ... Illegitimate traffic (the slave-trade) was not at present remunerative, and now was the time to make a great effort to revive wholesome enterprise. A good road into the interior would be a great boon. ... The fruits of the Portuguese missions were still apparent [in Angola], but there was a great want of literature, of books. ... 'The absence also of Portuguese women in the colony is a circumstance which seems to merit the attention of Government for obvious reasons.'¹¹

Livingstone reported optimistically to Tidman:

It will be gratifying for you to hear that I have been able to follow without swerving from my original plan of 'opening a way to the sea, on either the east or west coast, from a healthy locality in the interior of the continent'. Not until two months ago was

9. *ibid.*, p. 633.

10. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 421.

11. Blaikie, pp. 191-2.

COMPLETING THE TRANSCONTINENTAL JOURNEY

I aware of the existence of any salubrious point, though I now recollect a reference made thereto by Sebituane. But I followed out the other points with the persuasion I was doing good, if only by leading commerce towards breaking up the old sullen isolation of heathenism.

And now I can announce not only a shorter path for our use but, if not egregiously mistaken, a decidedly healthy locality. By this fine river, flowing through a fine fertile country, we have water conveyance to within one or two degrees [approximately seventy to 140 miles] of the Makololo, the only impediments I know of being one or two rapids, not cataracts, and the people in some parts who are robbers. I have come thus far with but little loss ...¹²

In Livingstone's letter of May 23, 1856, to Tidman he identified this healthy location as 'the Batoka country'.¹³ It is now known as the Batoka Plateau, located in southern Zambia. Notably he added:

I am not so elated in having performed what has not, to my knowledge, been done before in traversing the continent, because the end of the geographical feat is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise. May God grant me life to do some more good to this poor Africa.

... I rest a few days here, because I have been on foot through a very rough stony country. Oxen all dead by tsetse, and too poor to buy a canoe. With one, I could have been here a month ago. In excellent health. No fever all the way from Linyanti.¹⁴

Livingstone's statement that 'the end of the geographical feat is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise' would prove to be one of the most oft-quoted declarations he ever made.

While still at Linyanti the previous October, Livingstone had composed for Tidman 'a sort of report which may enable you to form a clear idea of intertropical Africa as a missionary field'.¹⁵ The lengthy report surveyed a number of topics related to the inland regions in which he had been traveling and ministering in recent years, including geographical features, health concerns, tribal information and commercial prospects. 'But Christianity alone reaches the very center of the wants of Africa and of the world,' he stated strikingly near the end of that report. 'You will see I appreciate the effects of commerce much, but those of Christianity much more.'¹⁶ Livingstone now sent this report to Thompson who, on June 6, forwarded it to Tidman and the LMS Directors.

Sicard advised Livingstone to stay with him until the following month, April, as conditions at Quilimane were generally unhealthy from November through March due to malarial fever. May through August were considered the best and healthiest months for traveling up the Zambesi from the coast. The governor informed Livingstone that a cargo of goods was on its way to Tete from Senna, about 140 miles down-river. The Doctor would have the opportunity to travel on those cargo boats when they returned to Senna.

Sicard provided Livingstone's men with a generous supply of millet as well as a house in which to lodge until they could build their huts. He also allotted them a piece of land to cultivate and granted them permission to hunt elephants with his servants. They were allowed to trade the ivory and meat for other goods, so they would have something to take with them when they returned to Sekeletu. Despite the fact that no calico was available in Tete at the time, Sicard 'handsomely furnished'

12. *Missionary Correspondence*, pp. 302-3.

13. *ibid.*, p. 306.

14. *ibid.*, p. 303.

15. *ibid.*, pp. 287-302.

16. *ibid.*, pp. 301-2.

the members of the Doctor's party with clothing. The men also collected firewood in the fields which they traded for cloth and beads.

Livingstone urged Sicard to accept payment from him in the form of ivory for the generous provisions the commandant had made for him and his men. But the major declined any compensation and encouraged the Doctor to take his ivory to Quilimane where it would fetch a much larger price than it could bring at Tete. 'He said he never had a stranger in his house before, but I was welcome to everything he had. I thank my God who has put these kind feelings in his heart. May He who is abundantly able bless him and shew him mercy.'¹⁷

While passing the month of March at Tete, Livingstone took a few short trips to investigate coal and iron ore deposits, gold washing sites and a natural hot spring in the area. He also attended public worship ceremonies at Tete's Catholic church on successive Sundays and on Good Friday, March 21. Part of his motivation for doing so was to get a good look at the Portuguese soldiers who were marched every Sunday to participate in the weekly mass. At the Good Friday service a symbolic reenactment of Christ's death and burial were carried out. At the close of the service participants went forward one by one to kneel down and kiss the toe of statues of the Virgin Mary and her Son. While not approving of all he witnessed at the ceremonies, Livingstone responded with Christian charity toward those whose religious beliefs and practices differed from his own:

This bowing down to images was that which shocked my senses most. We cannot help, as religious animals, from looking on with respect and reverence on the religious ceremonies of every portion of humanity. We feel reproved when we see the Mahometan [Muslim] turning his face toward Mecca and praying. And so with the ceremonies of the Roman Catholics. I cannot call them mummery¹⁸ or speak of them with scorn. In a very short time we shall pass before the tribunal where every man will be awarded strict and unerring justice. We may let others alone till then, and be careful so to live as to exemplify our religion, let our lights shine, and live in love and peace with all mankind.¹⁹

Rather than ridiculing and being contentious toward those whose beliefs differed from his own, Livingstone thought it important to bear a positive Christian testimony by manifesting a loving, peaceable spirit toward all.

Other than the soldiers, few Tete residents attended weekly mass. The town had just one school, and only Portuguese children attended it, being taught to read and write. Tete's African population was totally uncared for both religiously and educationally.

Livingstone planned to leave Tete to continue his down-river journey after the new moon appeared around April 7. He wished to make lunar observations along the way. But just at that time he, Sicard and many other townspeople were laid low by fever. Livingstone suffered two 'severe fits of intermittent' and two or three nights of vivid, restless dreams. But he soon recovered through the combined use of salts and quinine, the latter in heavy enough quantity that he experienced temporary hearing loss. Sicard was less aggressive in his use of medicine to treat the fever so slower in recovering from it, not being able to sit up until April 17. The Doctor was unwilling to leave the kindly commandant until he was more fully recovered.

Livingstone was at last able to leave Tete on Tuesday, April 22. Thirty-two of his men continued down-river with him while seventy of them remained behind at Tete. The plan was that the men who accompanied him to the coast would then rejoin their fellows at Tete to await his return about a year later. He intended to pay a brief

17. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 430.

18. Mummery is a ridiculous or ostentatious ceremony, especially of a religious nature.

19. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 433.

visit to England then return to Quilimane by the following April. At that time it would be safe to travel to Tete, from which he would take his men back to Sekeletu.

Sicard assigned one of his officers, Lieutenant Miranda,²⁰ to accompany and assist Livingstone in the journey to Quilimane. A number of Portuguese soldiers were also sent with the lieutenant. Sicard additionally presented the Doctor with a gift for his daughter Agnes – a gold rosary chain crafted by one of Tete’s artisans.

Upon reaching Senna on Sunday evening, April 27, Livingstone found it in a condition ‘ten times worse’ than Tete. Though occupied by the Portuguese for 125 years, Senna had fallen into an impoverished condition. One powerful Xhosa tribe in the region, the Landeens, exacted tribute from Senna each year, and only rarely were other area tribes willing to carry on trade with the town. The fort of sun-dried bricks was overgrown with grass, and in a number of places its broken-down walls had been replaced by palisades. The ruins of a church and convent could be seen in Senna but the village no longer had either a priest or a school.

Anselmo Henriques Ferrao, a landowner, merchant and occasional acting commandant of Senna, welcomed Livingstone to lodge in his home. Ferrao’s son-in-law, Isidoro Correia Pereira, the present commandant of Senna, was temporarily away at Quilimane. Ferrao kindly cared for Livingstone when he suffered a few days of fever at Senna, leading the missionary to remark with deep appreciation: ‘It would be unpardonable did I not notice the very great kindness shewn to me in sickness, and also in health, by Mr Ferrao. May God remember and bless him and his in their day of need.’²¹

In addition to fever, another circumstance may have made it challenging for Livingstone to sleep while at Senna:

A large species of bats abounds in all the houses here. They enter by the spaces between the tiles. And last night, while unable to sleep on account of rapid pulse, skin sometimes hot and dry or bathed in perspiration, it was interesting to observe how six or eight of them sallied into the room at ten o’clock and searched every corner of it for a place of exit to the open air. They often hover close to the face when the eyes are shut and produce a pleasant fanning sensation. I believed they were killing mosquitoes, and had no objection to their familiarity. Having bared the thigh, I gave them a fair opportunity of playing the vampire, but they did nothing.²²

Livingstone was delayed at Senna while awaiting an order from Commandant Pereira, then away at Quilimane. The Doctor had requested permission for sixteen of his men to be employed as boatmen in helping to transport some goods back up-river to Tete. After accompanying him to the coast, all but one of Livingstone’s other men would likewise return to Tete. Pereira returned to Senna on May 5 and granted Livingstone’s request that his men be hired as boatmen. The Doctor described Pereira, a militia colonel, as ‘a man of considerable energy’.²³ The commandant intended to have a palisade built around the entire village as a protection against hostile tribes, and work on the wall was set to commence the day after Livingstone’s departure down-river.

While the missionary was still at Senna the Landeens, who had been ravaging the Maganja territory on the opposite side of the Zambesi, came with their recently-acquired captors to sell them as slaves. While no one from Senna seemed to think it immoral to purchase slaves, some declined to do so, supposing it likely the Maganjas would soon escape back to their tribal territory. But others from Senna did purchase

20. Schapera (*ibid.*, p. 455) states: ‘Possibly Joaquim Romao de Miranda, born in Lisbon c. 1819; ensign and then lieutenant (1855) at Tete’.

21. *ibid.*, p. 465.

22. *ibid.*, p. 464.

23. *Missionary Travels*, p. 658.

some of the Maganjas as slaves, even thinking they were doing them a favor since the wretched captors had been without food for three days. A party of Landeens, fully armed and beating their drums to announce their arrival, entered Senna. They were welcomed into the home of one of the village's Portuguese residents, who served them a generous amount of beer.

Before leaving Loanda in September 1854, Livingstone had asked Edmund Gabriel to contact Lord Clarendon in his behalf, requesting that instructions relating to the Doctor be sent to the naval commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope. Specifically, Livingstone requested that British cruisers employed off the east coast of Africa would make occasional inquiries about his arrival at Quilimane, which he hoped to reach about November of 1855. Then, if necessary, he wished to be provided with passage to the nearest place from which he could sail back to England.

While waiting at Tete the previous month (March 1856), the Doctor learned that HMS *Frolic* had called at Quilimane in both October and December 1855, but failed to receive any news about him. Now on May 8, while still at Senna, Livingstone received a letter from the governor of Quilimane, Colonel Joaquim de Azevedo Alpoim. Governor Alpoim informed him that HMS *Dart* had touched at Quilimane in March and been gratified to receive the letters the Doctor had forwarded down-river upon first reaching Tete the opening week of March. The schooner had continued on to Mozambique for supplies but promised to return again soon.

Livingstone's men who had been hired to serve as boatmen left with the freight to be delivered to Tete on Friday, May 9. The Doctor and the rest of his men left Senna the following Monday, having been there for two weeks. All Senna's inhabitants saw them off at their boats. Commandant Pereira and Senor Ferrao supplied them with abundant provisions for their continued journey down-river.

Thirty-six miles below Senna they came to the confluence of the Shire River, which measured 200 yards across at its mouth. A few miles beyond the Shire the Zambesi left the hill country and flowed through an extensive flatland region. At Mazaro, located near the confluence of the Mutu River, Livingstone's party left the Zambesi which continued its south-easterly course to the Indian Ocean. The Doctor and his companions instead followed a more easterly course along the Mutu toward Quilimane.

The Mutu at that juncture was only ten or twelve yards wide, shallow, filled with reeds and heavily overhung by trees along its banks, making it impossible to navigate with their canoes. Leaving those crafts at Mazaro, Livingstone's company needed to carry their goods by land along the southerly bank of the Mutu for about fifteen miles to Mangara. Along the way the Doctor came down with fever: 'My fever was a tertian and excessively severe, from traveling in hot sun, and long grass blocking up the path so as to exclude the air. The pulse beat with amazing force, and the stomach swelled enormously ...'²⁴

As they continued to the east, other rivers joined the Mutu in forming a navigable waterway which Livingstone called 'the River of Quilimane'. At Interra, seventeen miles past Mangara and still forty miles from Quilimane, the Doctor met Francisco Maria de Azevedo, a prominent Portuguese merchant from Quilimane. The British Admiralty had presented Azevedo with a gold chronometer watch in appreciation for his assistance to English officers through the years. Azevedo now made available his commodious sailing launch, which was furnished with a house in the stern, for Livingstone's use. 'This was greatly in my favor, with fever upon me, and afforded by anchoring in the middle of the river some rest from mosquitoes at night.'²⁵

24. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 472.

25. *ibid.*

Sailing comfortably along on the large launch the remainder of the way to Quilimane, Livingstone reached that town on Tuesday, May 20. It had taken him six and a half months to travel the 1,000 miles from Linyanti to this coastal destination. Here he was welcomed into the home of Colonel Galdino Jose Nunes, whom the Doctor described as 'one of the best men in Quilimane'. Nunes was a militia officer of high reputation who had, on several occasions, served as commandant of Tete and governor of that district.

Some letters awaited Livingstone in Quilimane but none of them were from his family members or the LMS Directors. Four years had passed since his wife and children sailed back to Britain from Cape Town. His family had regularly written him throughout that period, but with the single exception of a missive sent three years earlier none of their letters had ever reached him. He did receive at this time a letter from Admiral Henry Dundas Trotter, Commodore of the British naval squadron at the Cape, conveying information about the welfare of Livingstone's family. Trotter also sent some newspapers which, according to the Doctor, were 'a treat indeed'.

It was under Trotter's instructions that the *Frolic* and *Dart* had called for Livingstone at Quilimane. After not finding him at Quilimane late the previous year, Captain Nolloth of the *Frolic* left the gift of a case of port wine for him, while the ship's surgeon, Dr James Walsh, left an ounce of quinine for the missionary. 'These gifts made my heart overflow,' Livingstone commented, ever deeply appreciative of the thoughtfulness of others toward him.²⁶

After reaching Quilimane Livingstone learned that in December 1854, the University of Glasgow had conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. In May 1855, he was now further informed, the Royal Geographical Society had awarded him its Patron's Gold Medal 'for his explorations in Central Africa, between Lake Ngami and the Portuguese settlements on the West Coast'.²⁷ The award was more commonly called the Queen's Gold Medal. Murchison had subsequently written to him: 'You will long ago, I trust, have received the cordial thanks of all British geographers for your unparalleled exertions and your successful accomplishment of the greatest triumph in geographical research which has been effected in our times.'²⁸

But bitter news also awaited Livingstone at Quilimane. H.M. brigantine *Dart* had returned there the end of April to pick him up. But tragedy struck when a detachment from the ship sought to navigate a smaller boat across the treacherous bar into the coastal harbor a dozen miles from Quilimane. The *Dart's* Commander MacLune, two officers (one of them a young second lieutenant in the Royal Marines named Henry Woodruff) and five other crewmen all perished by drowning. 'I never felt more poignant sorrow,' Livingstone wrote of this five days after reaching Quilimane. 'It seemed as if it would have been better for me to have risked my life for them than as it has happened. May Almighty God pour the balm of consolation into the bosoms of their relatives.'²⁹

The Doctor was further saddened to receive the news at that time that his nephew David, son of his brother John, had drowned in a lake three miles from his home in Lanark, Ontario, Canada. 'Was of a fine disposition, eleven years old. God takes unto Himself His own. We must bow to His will in all things.'³⁰

26. *Missionary Travels*, p. 672.

27. *African Journal*, Vol. 1, pp. ix-x, and Vol. 2, p. 472.

28. *African Journal*, Vol. 1, p. x. Murchison's letter was written October 2, 1855.

29. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 472-3. The Doctor later wrote similarly, 'It seemed as if it would have been easier for me to have died for them, than that they should all be cut off from the joys of life in generously attempting to render me a service' (*Missionary Travels*, p. 672).

30. *African Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 473.

The following day, May 26, Livingstone recorded his next-to-last entry in the journal he had kept since leaving Linyanti for the west coast of Africa more than two and a half years earlier: 'I thank the gracious God who has spared me thus far and kept me safe in many dangers not mentioned in this book. Accept my thanks, O God, through Jesus Christ.'³¹ Similarly, after expressing gratitude for several individuals who had offered him kind assistance and care at Quilimane, Livingstone offered his ultimate thanks and praise to God for such blessings throughout his travels:

One of the discoveries I have made is that there are vast numbers of good people in the world. And I do most devoutly tender my unfeigned thanks to that Gracious One who mercifully watched over me in every position, and influenced the hearts of both black and white to regard me with favor.³²

Quilimane stood on a great mud bank beside the river and was surrounded by extensive swamps and rice fields. The town's houses were well built of brick and lime, the latter from Mozambique. But as the town's water table was just two or three feet below the ground's surface, the houses tended to gradually and continually settle in the soft soil. Such a damp environment was extremely unhealthy and cases of severe malaria were common.

A vessel from Hamburg, Germany, had wrecked on Quilimane's coastal bar not long before Livingstone's arrival at the town. He helped treat some of the German sailors who contracted malaria while staying there. When the captain of the German ship fell gravely ill with the disease, he refused treatment with quinine, having a strong prejudice against it. But the Doctor reported obliquely that 'the captain was saved by it [quinine], without his knowledge'.³³

Livingstone's remaining African companions had begged him to allow them to come as far as Quilimane. Thinking they would see the ocean and British ships there, he consented. 'The sight of ships and commerce has such a good effect on their minds. For when they see such examples of our superiority they readily admit that the Bible has something in it, for those who read it and bow down before the unseen God "*are no fools*".'³⁴ But no British ships were to be seen from Quilimane's distant harbor while they were there. And as the missionary had anticipated, due to the food shortage then prevailing in the region, his men suffered not a little hunger while staying there.

Still they wished to remain at Quilimane, then to accompany him as he continued his journey to Britain. This they desired to do because Sekeletu, in sending them with the Doctor, had given orders that none of them should return until they had reached Ma-Robert (Mary Livingstone) and brought her back with them. Since Robert Moffat had a ministry relationship with the Matabele, Sekeletu believed they would not attack his people if Moffat's daughter was stationed among the Makololo. When Livingstone tried to explain to Sekeletu the difficulty of crossing the sea, the chief reiterated definitely, 'Wherever you lead, they must follow.'

But as Livingstone did not know for sure how or when he himself would be able to return to his homeland, he advised his men to go back to Tete where food was abundant and await his eventual return for them there. He traded ten of the smaller tusks they had in their possession for a quantity of calico and brass wire, sending the cloth back as clothing for those who had remained behind at Tete.

As there were still twenty tusks left, I deposited them with Colonel Nunes that, in the event of anything happening to prevent my return, the impression might not be produced

31. *ibid.*, p. 474.

32. *Missionary Travels*, pp. 672-3.

33. *ibid.*, p. 681.

34. *Missionary Correspondence*, p. 310.

COMPLETING THE TRANSCONTINENTAL JOURNEY

in the country that I had made away with Sekeletu's ivory. I instructed Colonel Nunes, in case of my death, to sell the tusks and deliver the proceeds to my men. But I intended, if my life should be prolonged, to purchase the goods ordered by Sekeletu in England with my own money, and pay myself on my return out of the price of the ivory.³⁵

When Livingstone explained all this to his men, they responded, 'Nay, father, you will not die. You will return to take us back to Sekeletu.' They promised to wait at Tete till he returned for them there, and he assured them that nothing but death would prevent him from doing so. All but two of the Doctor's men who had accompanied him to Quilimane then set out for Tete on June 2.

35. *Missionary Travels*, p. 676.