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Changing perspectives through experience

A study of David Livingstone's views regarding the native population while traveling Africa

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1. Preface

*“Whatever happens, we have got
The Maxim gun and they have not.”*

Hilaire Belloc

This is a well known quote from a perhaps not so well known man. Before going any further I'll try to analyze these few lines. The meaning of them gives, in my opinion, several strong connotations. First of all it creates a concrete distinction between us and them. They are seen as evil foes and we are seen as the good people. With the use of “The Maxim Gun” in the poem the purpose becomes all the much clearer. Examine the word “Maxim”. It's Latin for “the greatest”. In other words the poem says to the reader that we are over here, they are over there and they are not like us. It also conveys that we have the power and it doesn't matter who they are. They can not hurt us. We have the greatest power on our side. The connection with post colonialism lurks nearby. The mental image that this description builds up enables us to comprehend the nature of this study. The journeys of David Livingstone will be discussed in order to find out the alignment of his views regarding the native population in Africa during the 19th century. This is hence an effort to try to grasp the nature of the “we- and them perspective” in the mind of David Livingstone.

Africa has been a subject of Arab influence since 700 A.D. and Arab slave traders were during long periods of time very common before the extensive slave trade carried out by the British and the French. During 1795 the British captured Cape Town, which became an important connection point for further traveling into the African interior.¹ European activity existed in Africa before 1870 but it wasn't until that time that a full-scale colonization became possible. New types of industrial weaponry made it possible to combat African resistance with superior force.²

David Livingstone arrived in Africa in 1841 and there he also died in 1873.³ Since his time in Africa lies close to the general colonization of it, I have found it quite interesting to investigate his way of thinking in this transcendent time. Because he socialized with the native population the attitude of a sole man in a country far away from his own becomes interesting to me.

¹ Thomas Magnusson, *Europa i världen 1800-1900*, Falköping 2004, p. 231-233.

² Magnusson, p. 250-251.

³ Andrew Ross, *Livingstone*, Cornwall 2006, p. 27, 234-235.

1.1 Questions at issue

What was Livingstone's opinion of the native population in Africa? Did he see them as equals or as lesser beings? When I put forth these questions at issue I'm mainly concerned about his opinion of the African population as a whole. It is of course possible to divide these issues into further ones of detail, but then I'm afraid the main concern of my study will be lost. I want to emphasize that my aim is, as earlier noted, to study the African population as a symbolic group in the mind of David Livingstone. I am studying his opinions of them as a group regardless of gender, age or similar differences among them. A study including these aspects could of course be made but that is not the case here. Therefore, I want already now to stipulate a dominating term in this study. The term is the 'African population as an entity' and consists of the aspects explained above.

I'm also studying whether his opinions changed as his journey progressed or if they were static. While traveling Africa it is possible that he re-evaluated his earlier thoughts of the African population as an entity. My hypothesis is that his views had a slight turn in favor of the African population as an entity as time progressed. The premise to this preliminary conclusion is that it makes quite common sense that he was affected by some form of, as seen today, racist influence even though his concern during his journeys was to help the natives. When he then spent some time with the natives he probably altered his views. My main questions at issue are hence in conclusion:

Did he see the African population as an entity as equals or as lesser beings?

Did his views alter over time and in what way?

1.2 Outline

I will begin with a presentation of my sources and the editing authors. As background for this study I will then make a brief biographical summary of, what I believe, are the major turning points and events in Livingstone's life. Thereafter I will present the conclusions regarding Livingstone's views, made by two biographers by the name of Andrew Ross and Tim Jeal.

The next step will be to present the method, limitations and the theoretical framework. I am aware that at a first glimpse it might have been more suitable to place some of the things I have placed under the theoretical framework instead under the passage regarding method. Since several of these things are in close relation to the literature regarding theory I have therefore decided to keep them there, because a separation might then have seemed even more confusing. After presenting different theories I have also made a summary of the main notions and concepts to

facilitate the readers understanding of the analysis, followed by the analysis itself which is divided into two cross sections of time. Each section is then further divided up into different events from the entries in Livingstone's journal. Each of the main cross sections is followed by a brief summary of the conclusions made regarding that particular time. Finally I will present a summary of my findings as a whole.

1.3 Sources

The sources I have chosen in this study consist of two books. The first one covers the years 1851-1853 in his journals. It is an edition written by Isaac Schapera, who was a Professor of Anthropology at the London School of economics. The book contains the entire journal of the given time, with the exception of sixteen passages regarding matters such as astronomical observations and medical recipes. Furthermore, Schapera has divided the material into chapters that are not in the journal. Minor errors regarding slips of pen in Livingstone's journal has been corrected by Schapera as well.⁴

The second one is a part two volume regarding the time 1869-1873; with other words until Livingstone's death. This book is published by the IndyPublish Company in Boston, Massachusetts and contains Livingstone's journals from the above mentioned time.⁵ However, in some places the company's own explaining notes have been added. The book does not give any information of an editing author except for the company itself. The author's name is instead "David Livingstone". The reason for this might be that the editing notes are so few that it is not regarded as a real edition by the company.

The styles of editing differ a bit between the two authors. In the second one it is much easier to set aside what is author discussion and what are pure quotations. In the first book the editing author has sometimes integrated text from Livingstone's book *Travels*. This has somewhat complicated the matter because it sometimes might be hard to distinguish pure quotations written at the scene of the event and passages edited by Livingstone himself while he was writing the book. Thus, it could be argued that the two sources differ from each other in such a way that they can not be compared in the way which will later be discussed further under the section of method, because the mentality sprung from the two sources would then differ. It is however my understanding that such a small alteration done by Livingstone when preparing his journal for his book did not alter the sprung mentality in a significant way. The reason for this conclusion of mine is that even though the

⁴ Isaac Schapera, *Livingstone's private journals 1851-1853*, Glasgow 1963, p. xx.

⁵ David Livingstone (IndyPublish company), *Last Journals of David Livingstone, in Central Africa, from 1865 to His Death, The: Volume II: 1869-1873*, Boston 2006.

passages taken from *Travels* might have been alterations they are still Livingstone's, and edited by him relatively shortly after writing them in the preliminary journal. Differences in attitude between them would hence be minor. Furthermore, the sources will be examined both as remnants when looking for attitudes and as informing since they give information regarding his whereabouts. The latter is an addition to the first usage in this matter because it places the study in an obvious context.

1.4 Earlier research and background

Earlier research regarding Livingstone consists, perhaps not surprisingly, mainly of biographies of which I in this study have used two. The first one is written by Andrew Ross and I have already referred to this one in the notes during the preface. The second one however is the one that will dominate this section of background regarding Livingstone and it is written by Tim Jeal.

I have found that biographies regarding Livingstone emphasize his views of the native population very little. The works are for the most part strictly concerned with concrete events, and elaborative analyses are often not included to any greater extent regarding his views. In both Ross's and Jeal's book there is only a small chapter regarding his views of the native population. This is however not a criticism against these authors, since the purpose of a biography is to cover the person's entire life and doings; hence not only specialize in a certain matter. My statement regarding this is then merely an observation. Nevertheless, since their presented research regarding this matter is not so extensive, there is a "dark spot" of research for me to reveal. Further, neither Ross nor Jeal does a comparison analysis as the one I am doing here, which makes my research a further addition.

1.4.1 Biographical summary over Livingstone

David Livingstone came from a very poor working-class family which consisted of six other children, which of two died in infancy.⁶ Livingstone began taking lessons in the evenings at an early age. However, his father had already taught him many of the basic skills at home, so he started learning Latin in his freshman year of this evening school.⁷

In 1836 he began studying at a college in Glasgow.⁸ After completing his studies he chose the London Missionary Society as "spiritual employers" since he wanted to become a missionary in a foreign area or country. At this point his goal to become a missionary was however not yet attained, since he had to write proper answers to several questions required by the missionary society. It

⁶ Tim Jeal, *Livingstone*, Yale university press 2001, p. 7-8.

⁷ Jeal, p. 9.

⁸ Jeal, p. 15-16.

seemed to work out well and he was chosen for something which in a more informal way could be expressed as “elite missionary training”, where he was to advance in the fields of Latin, Greek, theology and medicine.⁹

On the 8th of December 1840 Livingstone departed from London on the sailboat the *George*. Three months later the ship arrived at Simon’s Bay and Livingstone traveled further on until he reached Cape Town.¹⁰ While there he stayed for some time at the house of another missionary by the name of John Philip, until at the 16th of April the same year he departed for Algoa Bay by sea. At this time Livingstone was to venture further up north to a missionary station called Kuruman. The path to this place however went through harsh lands where transportation was severely difficult.¹¹

As he arrived at Kuruman approximately two months later he became very disappointed. He had expected the village to be a lot more conformed to Christian values and aesthetics than he found it to be. Most of the natives around the village hadn’t even been baptized. The village he came to terms with was also a lot smaller than he had anticipated, which made him wonder what the prior missionaries had brought about.¹²

In June 1851 he was heading for the Makololo tribe in the north east, which he attempted to reach by following the Zambezi River. While arriving at the Makololo he was convinced that the area would be fruitful for missionary settlements but found that the Portuguese had already reached it before him and established slave trade. This was a major setback for Livingstone since he had hoped to find a tribe that was free of corruption.¹³ However, at first he was quite optimistic about the possibilities to turn the area into a Christian society. He also soon realized that to succeed with this alteration he had to combine spirituality with commerce. The work for establishing trade-relations in this area thereafter gradually shaped him to become an explorer instead of a pure missionary.¹⁴ He also came to realize that his wife and children couldn’t possibly endure more of the harsh environment he had dragged them through in Africa. Therefore, in 1852 he sent them to England a few months after arriving at Cape Town. The conditions for his family became unfortunately even worse while in England because they now weren’t being supported by Livingstone anymore.¹⁵

After further journeys through the African continent he in 1856 returned to England

⁹ Jeal, p. 17-19.

¹⁰ Jeal, p. 24-25.

¹¹ Jeal, p. 34-36.

¹² Jeal, p. 36-40.

¹³ Jeal, p. 99-103.

¹⁴ Jeal, p. 104-109.

¹⁵ Jeal, p. 117, 110-111.

himself.¹⁶ While there he published his book *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* in 1857, which became incredibly popular.¹⁷ After returning to Africa, Livingstone got the opportunity to depart on another mission. His target was once again the Makololo tribe.¹⁸ The relations with the native population in Makololo, who hadn't seen Livingstone for several years, went surprisingly well. He was greeted with joy even though he had been absent for a lot longer than he had predicted.¹⁹ Furthermore, his plans to settle a new missionary station combined with commerce among the Makololo around the Zambezi River failed since he was under the opinion that the area wasn't suitable for settlement. Instead he turned to the Shire which is a river that connects with Lake Nyassa further to the north east. Livingstone's expectation of this area was that it could be fruitful in growing for example cotton. He also believed that it was a place unspoiled by the Portuguese and Arabian slave trade. This second expectation became however disappointing for him. When he entered the villages alongside the Shire, people were often terrified of the newcomers and fled into their huts. Slave-trade was already established in the area and the Portuguese defended it strongly.²⁰

During the remaining time of this expedition, it became clear that it had been a failure and Livingstone got ordered to end it and return home. His popularity back home had also decreased since he had failed to live up to the expectations of turning the area into a fruitful one.²¹

This unpopularity also uttered itself strongly when he reached London in 1864. The gatherings he was invited to attend to were now a matter of formality rather than ones of enthusiasm.²²

In 1866 he once again returned to Africa but this time the destination was Zanzibar, which is an island outside the east coast. He had a great will to abolish the slave trade in the area but got more and more used to the, for him, depressing fact that such an action required government intervention; something which he was unlikely to get.²³ In 1866 he left Zanzibar and headed for the mainland.²⁴

At this point he had become more of a geographer than a missionary. His great interest at the time was now Lake Tanganyika, the rivers around it and those which connected with the lake. He also tried to investigate the direction of the water flow in Lake Tanganyika. These investigations did however not bear fruit.²⁵ Livingstone had during 1869 an interest in a particular river called the

¹⁶ Jeal, p. 119.

¹⁷ Jeal, p. 165-166.

¹⁸ Jeal, p. 169-174.

¹⁹ Jeal, p. 209-210.

²⁰ Jeal, p. 213-220.

²¹ Jeal, p. 267, 269.

²² Jeal, p. 277.

²³ Jeal, p. 294-295.

²⁴ Jeal, p. 322-323.

²⁵ Jeal, p. 323-325.

Lualaba. He figured that this river up north was connected with either the river Congo or the Nile and was eager to explore it further. However, this also failed because he at the time had become critically ill.

In November 1871 a caravan entered a town he was currently at and rumor was spreading fast regarding an approaching Englishman. Livingstone had previously heard of a white man in the area but had no idea of who he was and what he was doing in this part of Africa. Livingstone decided to greet the caravan and out of the crowded flock of people a white man stepped forward and uttered the words: “Dr Livingstone, I presume?”²⁶

The man who had arrived was a journalist who was working for a newspaper called the *New York Herald* and his name was Henry Morton Stanley. In 1867 the British were informed that Livingstone had died in conflict with the natives. The source of this report however was flawed. The story had originally been told by a number of men who had deserted Livingstone’s party.²⁷

The 30th of April 1873 was the last day Livingstone was alive. He had been lying in bed for quite some time and his native followers tended to him whenever he needed them. He did not say much this last day.²⁸ At one time he asked one of his followers by the name of Susi if they had reached the River Luapula. When he responded that it was three more days from them he first paused a little while and then said “Oh dear, dear!” and then fell asleep.²⁹ A while later he talked a little more with him but this was just regarding practical issues such as asking for more water. At 4 a.m. his followers found him dead. Somehow he had sensed that he would soon be dead and had slid down to the floor into a kneeling position. It looked like he was praying, but when they touched him they realized that he was cold and that he had been dead for several hours.³⁰

1.4.2 Jeal’s conclusion regarding Livingstone’s views

Jeal argues for the conclusion that Livingstone, when traveling Africa, did not seek to dominate the population. Instead he writes that Livingstone sought mutual benefit, spreading of Christianity and “diffusion of better principles”.³¹ It can be discussed whether the latter matter is some form of paternalism, but since this was put under quotation mark also by Jeal it seems reasonable to conclude that he was aware of this matter when writing the text. Jeal’s conclusion becomes however quite clear when he writes that:

²⁶ Jeal, p. 334-336.

²⁷ Jeal, p. 340, 343-345.

²⁸ Jeal, p. 358-366.

²⁹ Jeal, p. 366.

³⁰ Jeal, p. 366.

³¹ Jeal, p. 383.

He had also done more than any single man to break down Victorian stereotypes of the African, either as the humbly kneeling slave of abolitionist propaganda, or as the irredeemable savage described by many missionaries and travelers.³²

This quote tells us that Livingstone, in the eyes of Jeal, opposed the racial stereotypes. It is hence reasonable to assume that Jeal doesn't believe that Livingstone saw the African population as an entity as savages.

In the end of his book Jeal finishes by saying that "Undoubtedly Livingstone's greatest sorrow would have been that Africa never became a Christian continent."³³ Regarding this matter I feel it necessary to direct some criticism towards Jeal, since I regard this conclusion to be non-substantial. Jeal himself describes Livingstone at the end of his journeys, as seen above in the biographical summary, as much more of a geographer than a missionary. Hence, his conclusion that Christianity was his greatest concern doesn't seem definite, but instead somewhat paradoxical. I don't deny Livingstone's initial religious dreams, but since even Jeal himself denotes his larger geographical interest during the end of his life time; this is therefore something that would dominate his thinking to a relatively greater extent in my opinion.

1.4.3 Ross's conclusion regarding Livingstone's views

Ross argues for a conclusion similar to the one given by Jeal, since he writes that "Livingstone was a consistent opponent of white rule in Africa and of large-scale white settlement."³⁴ Ross further writes that Livingstone's attitude was often twisted in the works of pro-colonialist writers to morally justify colonial administration and the British Empire in itself. Ross remarks that Livingstone in reality often saw the native population as very close friends; especially since he many times sided with native tribes during wars.³⁵ Finally, Ross has a different take on what the word "savage" really meant to Livingstone, since he writes that:

To Livingstone 'savage' was a cultural condition that could apply to whites as well as Africans. By the 1880's, 'savage' or 'native' had become code words for the darker-skinned people of the earth.³⁶

³² Jeal, p. 375.

³³ Jeal, p. 384.

³⁴ Ross, p. 243.

³⁵ Ross, p. 242-243.

³⁶ Ross, p. 242.

He therefore makes the conclusion that this could prevent much of the ambiguity in Livingstone's writings, since it to him wasn't synonymous with only savages who were dark-skinned.

Unfortunately Ross makes no, in my point of view, valid deduction to this conclusion. Instead he merely states it like if it was self-evident; a conclusion I am not fully convinced to agree with without further or any premises.

1.5 Method

I have chosen to use a comparative method in examining my material. I will examine two cross sections of time in the journal writings of Livingstone. By doing so I will hopefully be able to first of all generalize a view from one part of his journal and then compare it to another one.

In examining the sources I have chosen to create an inductive method since I have found no already existing methods suitable for examining my material.

In the process of trying to find a general view of the natives in the mind of Livingstone I am going to use a three step process which follows:

1. Identify if the text describes native African people.
2. Analyze in what way the native people are described in the text.
3. Determine whether the statement or statements given by Livingstone in the current text is justified due to personal matters in relation to the native people at hand, or if it can be added as probable evidence for a more general view concerning the native population.

The sources will be analyzed in this matter by examining quotes from his journals. First the quote will be presented and then analyzed in an ordinary fashion by using this three step process. It should be noted that several, if not most, entries will not be presented. The reason for such an approach is that only quotes which have any relevance to this investigation of mentality is of interest here. Finally the results from the two time-periods will be compared with each other to determine differences. The created method of choice is furthermore inspired by the notion of the history of mentality. The history of mentality can be said to have had its beginning in the French periodical *Annales d'histoire economique et social*, which had become a reaction to the strict alignment of political historical research of the time. The periodical advocated for an alignment which more emphasized the significance of social psychological matters. Two key figures behind this periodical were March Bloch and Lucien Febvre at the University of Strasbourg. Febvres alignment in this matter was more concentrated on the psychology of the individual, where as Bloch had fetched an interest in the field of social psychology. With other words: Febvre studied the

individual and Bloch studied the group.³⁷ In this context my investigation is probably more aligned to the ways of Febvre, since I am studying the journals of a sole individual. My method also has the nuance of being a *systematical interpretation* in the field of the mentality historical analysis. A *systematical interpretation* in this field is a way of thoroughly relating one text to another. This can also be related to what I wrote regarding a comparative study earlier.³⁸

1.6 Limitations

Unfortunately this essay can not cover every part of Livingstone's journals. Therefore, I have been forced to make a narrow selection in conjunction with the essence of the previously mentioned comparative method. The first of the two sections will cover the time when Livingstone had just arrived among the Makololo. Earlier I wrote that Livingstone, when he came to the Makololo expected to face a society unspoiled by the white man and the slave trade. We now know this expectation didn't come true but the state of his mind at this particular time is still interesting. The fact that Livingstone was prepared to meet something unspoiled and fresh bears witness of a still active youthfulness in his own mind. Thus I find this choice of time to be justified.

The second period of time has been placed during the time just before his death, and the reason for this choice is that I want to capture as much of a difference as I can by widening the gap between the two selections. It could be argued that the first section then should be placed during his first time in Africa in 1841. This is indeed a valuable point. However, the access to material has in my case somewhat restricted such a possibility. That is why I have decided to use a later time period as the first cross section of my analysis. Further it could also be argued that since Livingstone in 1841 perhaps was not fully acquainted with the native population, the passages in the journals regarding native people would then very likely be few. The time period I have now chosen is less likely to make the analysis fall into such a pitfall.

1.7 Theoretical framework

1.7.1 Said

Edward W. Said describes in his book *Orientalism* how the Orient has become a definition of opposite ideas versus the western world, and has manifested itself in the minds of very influential writers such as philosophers and politicians. The concept divides eastern ideas, such as religion and other ways of thinking, from the ways of the western world. I think it can be discussed whether

³⁷ Stellan Dahlgren & Anders Florén, *Fråga det förflutna*, Lund 1996, p. 160-161.

³⁸ Dahlgren & Florén, p. 201.

these types of thinking are really divided or not, but the practical use of Orientalism is noteworthy. During the time of approximately late 18th century, Orientalism can be stipulated as the institution that was used to handle the Orient. The usage of the concept is regarding authoritarian matters such as describing it in a suitable manner for the western world.³⁹

Orientalism has, according to Said, divided the western world and the Orient into a we- and them perspective. This form of perspective creates a barrier of power which then the western world can make use of.⁴⁰ When Said discusses Orientalism he is referring to the Far East. I have chosen to connect to his theory but instead to focus on Africa. Keep in mind the things written in the preface. The Western world and Africa are divided into a we- and them perspective in order to be able to make authoritarian use of “them”. The trace of such a view in the mind of Livingstone is hence what I am investigating. By doing so I am not only connecting to Said’s concept but also to a more general history of mentality. The aim of the history of mentality is to investigate the relation between the individual and the collective as such.⁴¹ Even though the results of my study will be regarding Livingstone as a person I believe that the social aspects of his European heritage could have had a great deal of influence and therefore the history of mentality becomes related to this matter.

1.7.2 Loomba

Ania Loomba describes similar theories in her book *Kolonialism/Postkolonialism*. She writes that the European colonialism created an appearance of the subdued people as lesser beings, and that this matter was important for the construction of the European self.⁴² Furthermore, Loomba writes that racial stereotypes weren’t only manifesting themselves during the period of colonialism. The notion of seeing outsiders as barbarians began already in ancient Greece and Rome. During the time of colonial conquest these notions were molded together with Christianity into a view suitable for colonial occupation. Christianity was the measuring cup of the views of the European world during this time. However, the Bible clearly stated that all men are brothers and equal. How could one then use this in favor of colonialism when interacting with the subdued people? Well, “a possibility was to consider them as beings which by different reasons had contracted the anger of God”.⁴³ By declaring them lost it would then be possible, as a true Samaritan, to bring them back to the “true” path of Christianity. This becomes valid in the analysis of this study since his task as a missionary

³⁹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Stockholm 2004, p. 64-65.

⁴⁰ Said, p. 69.

⁴¹ Dahlgren & Florén, p. 161.

⁴² Ania Loomba, *Kolonialism/Postkolonialism*, Stockholm 2005, p. 117.

⁴³ Loomba, [my translation], p. 118.

was just that – “to bring people back to God”. If Livingstone then saw them as lost in the same manner, this could provide evidence that Livingstone saw the African population as an entity in a degrading manner.

Loomba writes that prejudices and stereotypes intensified when the colonial expansion began. The European colonial states also had similar views regarding the subdued people. Turks, Africans, native Americans, Jews, Indians, Irish among others were assigned characteristics of being lazy, aggressive, brutal, primitive and irrational.⁴⁴ A criticism that could be directed against Loomba in this matter is however that she doesn't in a satisfactory manner elaborate whether these views were typical for all of the population in these European states or if these views only belonged to a popular or ruling elite. In theory it could be possible for a large number of a certain group of the society to possess a view that expressed disliking against members of a certain race or religion. It could then also be the case that a large number of another group in the society differed in opinion regarding this matter. This is however a criticism that can be directed against several of the authors of the theoretical perspectives I'm bringing up in this section. Even though the purpose in this matter lies closer to the perspective of the African population in itself, it would have been better if these authors could specify if the population in the European states had different opinions.

Africans were connected with appearances regarding nudity which further enhanced the view of them as savages.⁴⁵ If Livingstone made entries including some of these notions; this could validate a conclusion that his writings correspond with such views. If he for example points out that the native population is lazy and primitive, then a conclusion could be made whether or not he saw them (and in conjunction the African population as an entity) as creatures of merely a state of nature.

Further, Loomba creates an analogy with Benedict Andersson's description of the nation as an imagined fellowship, when saying that the concept of race is also an imagined fellowship. The imagined fellowship binds a certain group of people together and polarizes them against another.⁴⁶ An interesting aspect which Loomba writes is that Hayden White brings up the notion of the “noble savage” in one of his texts. The noble savage is a description of an African person who is still seen as more civil than in the previous notion. For example, a converted African person might be seen as a “noble savage”.⁴⁷ Notice the somewhat paradoxical views from earlier. A subdued African person is seen as a lesser being. With Christianity on the other hand he can raise his value, but for the Europeans to still have leverage over the subdued he or she is still regarded as a savage even if

⁴⁴ Loomba, p. 199.

⁴⁵ Loomba, p. 124.

⁴⁶ Loomba, p. 127.

⁴⁷ Loomba, p. 128.

indeed a noble one.

In literature written during the colonial age another view is brought up. It is seen as dangerous for the Europeans to exceed boundaries. It's seen as especially risky for the non-subdued who sympathize with the subdued folk. In the literature it is feared that these types of people will be more like savages themselves if they identify themselves too much with the native population in the subdued countries. It is feared that they will retract to some form of primitive state of mind.⁴⁸ In relation to this it might be possible to find some kind of fear of "getting too close" to the native population in Livingstone's writings. This is a possibility but there is also a great contingency that a fear of this kind is far-fetched to find since he actively sought to be involved in their society.

1.7.3 Lindfors

Bernth Lindfors brings up similar issues in a writing regarding racist stereotypes in 19th-century Britain.⁴⁹ He starts his writing by quoting an author by the name of Nancy Stepan. In this quote it is explained that even though the fight against physical slavery was being won at the time, there was still a profound racism influencing Europe. Evidence to support this conclusion has been sought after in the mind and writings of "great men" at the time. Lindfors writes that:

The tendency has been to examine the words and deeds of the leading thinkers, policy makers and adventurers of those times – the scientists, the statesmen, the explorers and travellers – and to trace through them the evolution of a distorted image of black people that both attracted and repelled the fair-skinned, reinforcing irrational assumptions of fundamental racial difference.⁵⁰

The purpose of such an investigation is one that can also be seen in the study I am doing right now, since my purpose is to analyse the writings of a traveller. Lindfors furthermore writes that the British abolitionists had the goal of trying to protect the native African population from exploitation while the British government itself was aiming towards harvesting possible resources. This paternalistic harvestation was proclaimed to be of use also for the Africans themselves since this would "speed up" their civilised development; thus the moral implication that the African population was in need of European interference.⁵¹ Even though the real aim of the European governments was surely not to help but rather to invest in a profit making business, it could be argued to what extent the investment actually brought any good for the African people themselves.

⁴⁸ Loomba, p. 145-146.

⁴⁹ Bernth Lindfors, "Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir – The making of racist stereotypes in 19th – century Britain", *Encounter Images*, ed. Palmberg, Mai, Uppsala 2001, p. 54.

⁵⁰ Lindfors, p. 54.

⁵¹ Lindfors, p. 54.

By doing an analysis in this manner, it would seem possible that an abolitionist could make a claim to his or her own government that an area was unproductive and in so doing possibly saving that area from exploitation. On the other hand if an abolitionist would somewhat agree with the notion that European interference was beneficial for the African population it would hence be considered wise of him to, the other way around, promote interference in the current region. It seems adequate to stipulate that there is a possibility that Livingstone engaged himself in such a performance. This could hence give partial proof of his view of the African population as an entity.

However, to what extent European interference in the attempted process of African “enrichment” brought improvement is a matter that should be considered in another study and will hence not be deduced here any further.

Furthermore, Lindfors brings forth that “Throughout Europe native Africans were stereotyped as brutish, dim-witted, naive, emotional, undisciplined, uncultured – in short, children of nature who needed to be civilized and domesticated.”⁵² Lindfors makes a distinction in how these ideas were spread to the public. The first method was through fictional literature that had some anchoring in actual conditions. By abstracting and enhancing characteristics in for example novels such an approach would frame an obvious we- and them perspective and also undermine respect for the African population as a member of human kind. Such an approach was similarly seen in visual images. By abstracting characteristics of the African population this visual persuasion made it possible to reach out to the illiterate population in Europe as well. The other approach was made by contemporary scientists who formulated theories regarding race based on quantitative data. Lindfors concludes that even though these approaches varied in method they still had the same goal: to subdue the image of the African population.⁵³

The visual persuasion of the public was expressed by caricature drawings, where the characteristic body parts were highly exaggerated to monstrous proportion. The artists who made the images got first hand impression from “specimen” brought back to Britain for public display. A contemporary drawing of this kind was made by Frederick Christian Lewis, who used a “specimen” named Sartjee Bartmaan as inspiration. Bartmaan was an African female who in 1810 was viewed in public for her large rump. By emphasizing this in his drawing, Lewis also emphasized her nature as of being primitive and of untamed sexual excitement. Both in the drawing and on public display, the woman was dressed in garments which were so few and thin that she could almost be described as being naked. To the public this hence gave the message that she, and in conjunction the African

⁵² Lindfors, p. 54.

⁵³ Lindfors, p. 54-55.

population, was of a savage nature.⁵⁴ Other displays of similar types were made of the so called “Bosjemans”, who “owned very few possessions, used only the simplest tools, built no permanent structures and wore hardly any clothing”.⁵⁵ According to Lindfors, Livingstone made two remarks regarding these people and the display of them. The first one was that “the specimens brought to Europe have been selected, like costermonger’s dogs, on account of their extreme ugliness”.⁵⁶ In Lindfors’s description this gives partial evidence that Livingstone disagreed with the notion that the African population was a savage one, since he argued that the ones being on display were “few of a kind”. The second quote by Livingstone, brought forth by Lindfors is “That they are, to some extent, like baboons is true, just as these are in some points frightfully human”.⁵⁷ This view totally contradicts the first one and gives stronger partial evidence that Livingstone also saw the African population as savages. However, if I in my own material can find passages where he extensively denotes physical characteristics of this kind, it could mean that Livingstone had been influenced by the earlier mentioned kind of visual persuasion.

1.7.4 Vera

Yvonne Vera talks about the dehumanisation of Africans in her thesis “A Voyeur’s Paradise...Images of Africa”.⁵⁸ Just as in the notions brought forth by Lindfors, Vera insinuates that the colonial view of the Africans implied them to be savages. Her own presented notion, the “native’s existence”, describes the view as one you have when you watch an anthill:

They work ‘swiftly and silently,’ without communication, I suppose, for like the ants, they are not heard to speak. Their language is incomprehensible. The anthill image removes, from the Africans, the possibility of language and grants them instead, a telepathic effort.⁵⁹

In other words, the subdued African population is seen from an outside perspective. The people watched are little machines that do their work and have a purpose. However, if their work should somehow be scattered they will do their uttermost to forget and to rebuild without any remembrance of what caused the incident.

This dehumanisation puts the observed beings into a we- and them perspective.

Furthermore, the description of forgetfulness counts as another factor in which the beings loose

⁵⁴ Lindfors, p. 55-57.

⁵⁵ Lindfors, p. 62.

⁵⁶ Lindfors, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Lindfors, p. 64.

⁵⁸ Yvonne Vera, “A Voyeur’s Paradise...Images of Africa”, *Encounter Images*, ed. Palmberg, Mai, Uppsala 2001, p. 115.

⁵⁹ Vera, p. 115.

their identity and sapient ability. This perceived view can be utilized in this study by examining if the recollections made by Livingstone go in conjunction with such a view. In this study this concept would foremost be utilized when Livingstone observes a quantity of Africans doing labour; alternatively their group reaction to for example a dangerous or otherwise disturbing event, just like in the anthill. It is important to note that Vera, just like me, seems to describe a view of an African population as a whole or, as in my own terms, an African population as an entity. Criticism could be made against Vera that she hasn't made any clear elaboration whether these views were pointed at simple villages or large societies. However, the giver of such a criticism has then in some way misinterpreted the very nature of both the study made by Vera and the one made by me. The view of the African population as an entity does not differ regarding smaller or larger societies. Instead it transcends borders of social influence and wealth and in doing so only looks at the obvious characteristics of a race.

1.7.5 Theoretical summary

The works from the different authors previously presented in this section have all of them a unique theoretical part that can be utilized to examine if Livingstone had views which were in conjunction with such images. Said emphasized the notion of seeing oneself as authoritarian in relation to the other part.

Loomba brought up Christianity and the tendency to declare subdued people as lost, if they hadn't yet turned to "the ways of God". If Livingstone's views are in alignment with such a tendency, then this might give some proof of his mentality. Loomba furthermore brought up the tendency of seeing members of other ethnic or religious groups as savages, or of having some other demeaning characteristic. With this we have the notion of the "noble savage", who is a subdued African person who has turned to Christianity and in doing so has elevated his own position. The drawback is however that he, in such a view, never will be able to elevate himself to the position of his conquerors. Finally it was concluded in the passage regarding Loomba's material that it is possible that Livingstone feared that he might be getting too close to the native population, and in so doing degrade himself to a primitive state of mind.

Lindfors wrote about the purpose of investigating the works of "great men" in order to discern a common view. In relation to his material I also deduced that it could be possible that Livingstone presented a populated African area in a certain way to his government to either save or subdue them. Finally, Lindfors also wrote regarding the tendency to physical exaggeration in viewing the African population. If Livingstone in his writings denotes such characteristics, then a conclusion could perhaps be made.

The last author in this matter was Vera who wrote about the anthill and the tendency to observe a population in the same matter as one observes an anthill. If Livingstone did such a thing then we might come to a conclusion.

2. Journal analysis

2.1 First period of time – The time of interference with the Makololo and forth

2.1.1 Visiting Sebitoane

The first period of time begins with Livingstone meeting Sebitoane, the leader of the Makololo. On the 21st of June 1851 he describes his meeting with the chief and expresses no disliking of him. There is a slight passage where he describes him as bald. Even though such a description of a person today might seem slightly offensive, it is uncertain whether Livingstone had any bad intentions in mind. The reasons for this could be quite a few. First of all it is not even clear whether it was a negative thing to be bald in Britain in Livingstone's contemporary period. When it comes to the matter of the chief, he could then merely have made a description. Of course, it could be noted that such a neutral description could also be made in the modern days, but known normative understandings in the western world would restrict such statements. Later in the same passage he however describes the people in Sebitoane's tribe by writing that "His people are much more savage in appearance and modes of eating than any we have seen."⁶⁰ In expressing this he makes a comparison with the others. The given impression is that the people were more savage than the ones he had encountered before. When he writes "than any we have seen" he also expresses that the ones before were savage as well, although not in the same degree. This goes in line with Loomba's writing regarding seeing members of other ethnic groups as savages, and gives supportive evidence that Livingstone saw the African population as an entity as savages.

On the 6th of July he describes how Sebitoane dies from a time of illness caused by pneumonia. Upon this point he had become quite a good friend of him since he writes "Poor Sebitoane, my heart bleeds for thee, and what would I not do for thee now that nothing can be done".⁶¹ This conclusion becomes even more solid when he later in the same passage writes that "I will weep for thee, my brother, and I would cast forth my sorrows in despair for thy condition, but I know that thou wilt receive no injustice...".⁶² Even though he previously saw the current locals as people with savage behavior he still seemed to have strong bonds with them as well, since he later writes that "In the afternoon Mr. O and I went over to the village to condole with the people. They received our condolences very kindly and took our advice in good part."⁶³ After this he also writes that the people wanted him to stay even though their chief was gone.⁶⁴ In conclusion, Livingstone seemed to have a slight twitch in favor of the idea that at least the locals in this area were savages,

⁶⁰ Schapera, p. 16-17.

⁶¹ Schapera, p. 25.

⁶² Schapera, p. 25.

⁶³ Schapera, p. 28.

⁶⁴ Schapera, p. 28.

even though he saw them as very close friends. The controversial question is then whether a dear savage is a lesser being to oneself. This issue is closely related to what Loomba wrote regarding the “noble savage”. In these passages Livingstone seems to look upon them as savages who are his friends. However, the way this differs from Loomba’s theory is by its lack of religious involvement. Livingstone doesn’t describe them as good people because of their religious “salvation”. Instead he kindly describes their behavior towards him. This is not surprising though, since Livingstone seemed to take matters of faith more lightly than others.⁶⁵ This passage also gives us information about whether he feared “getting too close” to the natives, as Loomba told often was the case when Europeans interacted with the African population. Since he interacted with them on this level it seems correct to conclude that such a scenario of fear wasn’t occurring when Livingstone looked upon the African population as an entity.

Some days later on the 16th the same month he writes that two of the natives arrived with supplies, and he also describes the goods as being of good quantity.⁶⁶ This entry can be interpreted in several ways. On the one hand it shows gratitude against the native’s deed and it could therefore be that he thought kindly of them. This does not however contradict that he also saw them as subordinate people. In observing them and their characteristics he might have had the same approach as when one observes a dog or a small child. On the other hand it could be argued that perhaps he just enjoyed the goods as such and didn’t care what kind of people had brought them. I therefore don’t see any concluding evidence either for or against the African population as an entity.

Three days later there is an entry regarding dialects where he compares the African ones to the ones spoken by Europeans. This is a quite neutral entry and nothing further interesting can be said of it.⁶⁷

On the 31st of July the entry says “Receive a message by Ponwane that it was the will of Mamochisane that we should be treated exactly as if Sebitoane were alive, and that we should be taken wherever we wished to go.”⁶⁸ The Mamochisane, apparently a nearby tribe, has in this passage showed favor of Livingstone and since he made an effort by so clearly noting it, we should also note ourselves that he probably felt gratitude because of it. It seems that he at this point in his life got along well with the nearby tribes in general since he also in that same passage writes “The pleasure of seeing the Sesheke...”⁶⁹ This gives further evidence that Livingstone wasn’t a follower of the fear of “getting too close”, since he seemed to be closely interacting with them and also

⁶⁵ Ross, p. 6.

⁶⁶ Schapera, p. 29.

⁶⁷ Schapera, p. 30.

⁶⁸ Schapera, p. 36.

⁶⁹ Schapera, p. 36.

enjoying it.

2.1.2 The river Sesheke

Until the 1st of August Livingstone had been among Sebitoane's people. On the first of August he left a village called Linyanti and headed for a river named Sesheke, which he had been eager to visit.⁷⁰ Alongside the river there also seems to have been a town by the same name. Therefore, I urge the reader not to be confused about the recent names. Sesheke is not only the name of the river; it is also the name of the nearby town. Furthermore, while reaching the town he interacts with men from the Makololo-tribe, who apparently have taken prisoners which they are going to sell to nearby slave-traders.⁷¹

On the 4th of August he writes that the Makololo had taken slaves from a rival tribe. He also writes that "We protested against the trade in the bodies of men, and they seemed to understand that it was wrong. They cordially agreed to the statement that it was not right to break up the family ties."⁷² As seen here an understanding between Livingstone and the natives was made. Even though they had differing views at start he made them understand his view and therefore he must have thought that there was some sense in them. However, when he writes "they seemed to understand that it was wrong" he is taking on the same attitude as one has when addressing a child. The child is being scolded for its actions and rebuked in a proper manner. This goes in line with my modification of Said's theory since he is taking on an authoritarian attitude. Hence, this gives supportive evidence that Livingstone took upon himself an authoritarian attitude against the African population as an entity as such.

A couple of days later he writes about when he gave a sermon to a large number of nearby native people. In this passage he also praises them for being so eager to listen and learn. This gives further proof of his liking of the native population. Later regarding the same day he expresses his disliking of local merchants with the words: "Pity the market is not supplied with English manufactures in exchange for the legitimate products of the country. If English merchants would come up the Zambesi during the months of June July and August the slave trader would very soon be driven out of the market."⁷³ Even though he might be referring solely to the local merchants as bad, it is still interesting that he compares them with English merchants instead of general merchants from no place in particular. This matter might give some proof that he favored his own people in front of the native population, and thus the African population as an entity. This would

⁷⁰ Schapera, p. 36.

⁷¹ Schapera, p. 38-39.

⁷² Schapera, p. 39.

⁷³ Schapera, p. 43-44.

then go in line with what Loomba wrote regarding the notion of seeing members of another ethnic group in a demeaning manner, because of a degrading characteristic in the eyes of the beholder.

2.1.3 Leaving Sesheke and interacting with miscellaneous smaller tribes

On the 6th of August there is an entry in which he discusses malaria and the local population's response to their surroundings: "The River races do not suffer so severely. They are quite black, and their muscular system is strongly developed. They possess much animal life, are deep chested, and the muscles of the arms & chest are very large."⁷⁴ First of all this goes in line with what Loomba wrote regarding characterizing another ethnic group as savages, since Livingstone in this quote clearly says that the African population as an entity possess much animal life. Furthermore, the quote goes in line with what Lindfors wrote regarding the tendency of physical exaggeration in a description, due to Livingstone's description of the body parts of the river races.

On the 11th of August he writes that he is leaving a village and that the people there convey that they will miss him. He also brings up that they want to make a garden for him. Such a matter is truly an act of kindness and since Livingstone takes a note of this in his journal it could be argued that he is grateful. Furthermore, he writes that he himself conveyed a message to the villagers that he disliked the slave trade. His listeners appear to have agreed not to partake in such actions anymore. Nevertheless, he doesn't seem to have trusted them fully since he after this writes that "...the surest way of securing a fulfillment of their engagement would be to supply the market with English manufacturers in exchange for the natural produce of the country."⁷⁵ In this quote he expresses a clear we- and them perspective. "They" are not trustworthy and it is required to secure a way for them to not disregard our agreement. This goes in line with the we- and them perspective brought forth by Said.

The following days he rarely describes people he encounters. The entries on the 18th are for example mainly consisting of matters regarding animals like oxen and tsetse. The next day's entries are basically similar. The entries are regarding the tsetse, which seems to have been a real menace on his journeys. On one occasion on the 19th he writes that his guide refused to continue, but there are no remarks whether this was a good or bad move by the guide in the mind of Livingstone. He continues with descriptions of animals and writes that he the same day saw three tigers and shot a hippopotamus which was getting too close to them. Further he makes a brief description of a chief named Matsaratsara. Livingstone describes him as pleasant and honest and with this in mind I can

⁷⁴ Schapera, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Schapera, p. 49.

see no intentions of some ill-thinking against the native people.⁷⁶

In Schapera's edition he writes about a conflict that broke out in the area around Livingstone. This text could at first sight be useful in this study since it quite radically brings forth matters of native inferiority. Unfortunately, I have decided not to include this text in this study due to the lack of clearness in the edition. As noted earlier, it is sometimes difficult to set aside what was only written by Livingstone and the notes written by Schapera himself. This is such an event. The diffuse description regarding the rest of August, forces me to move along in my investigations to the next month.

On the 18th of September Livingstone mostly writes about river fever. On the 19th he writes a similar entry and also tells of a thunder storm. The following day's passages do not refer to any specific people in a manner that should be noted. These days consists mostly of notes regarding the surrounding nature.⁷⁷ At this point I have chosen not to include further entries. The reason for such an action is that I have found no further signs of any fruitful material to analyze, in conjunction with the African population as an entity, according to the three step process from this contemporary time.

2.1.4 First period of time summary

Livingstone expressed, in alignment with the theories of notion presented by Loomba, a view of the native population as being savage. This conclusion is drawn from the quotes regarding Sebitoane's tribes folk. After Sebitoane's passing Livingstone describes them as kind to him. Therefore, in conjunction with the above conclusion I draw the conclusion here that he saw them, and in conjunction the African population as an entity, as some kind of noble savages. The difference between Loomba's notion and the situation in this case is however that the quote had no religious implication. Since Livingstone interacted with the native people at this close level I draw the conclusion that he didn't have any concrete and clear fears of "getting too close" to them. In this chapter there is also a passage where he writes about local merchants. The information here gives the impression that he needed to have some kind of guarantee that the locals didn't trick him. Thus he had a tendency to see these people as being dishonest; at least if they had the opportunity to be. It also clearly shows that he put them in a we- and them perspective, in accordance to the notions brought forth in my modified version of Said's writings.

When discussing an issue with the slave traders he used an authoritarian attitude, which goes in alignment with the notion of my modified version of Said's notion of authoritarianism.

When discussing the river races he exaggerates and clearly denotes their physical

⁷⁶ Schapera, p. 53-54.

⁷⁷ Schapera, p. 69.

appearance in a way that gives the impression that he saw them as savages because of these physical characteristics. Hence, this goes in line with what Lindfors wrote regarding physical exaggeration. His view of the African population as an entity was hence primarily that they were savages which he also favored.

2.2 Second period of time – The time before his death

This second period of time is, as earlier noted, from the date of his death and back. The selection of passages is from early 1873 until his death the same year.

2.2.1 Beginning march towards Bangweolo through swamplands

The first entry begins after Livingstone sent out scouts to search for nearby villages: “1st February, 1873.-Waiting for the scouts. They return unsuccessful-forced to do so by hunger. They saw a very large river flowing into the Lake, but did not come across a single soul. Killed our last calf, and turn back for four hard days' travel to Chitunkue's. I send men on before us to bring food back towards us.”⁷⁸ As can be seen from this passage there is no sign of a view of the natives as being inferior to him, since it is merely a description of the scout's actions. It can also be deduced from the text that the current situation, which Livingstone and his followers are in, is dominated by hunger. This endeavor leads us to the passage that was written the following day:

“2nd February, 1873.-March smartly back to our camp of 28th ult. The people bear their hunger well. They collect mushrooms and plants, and often get lost in this flat featureless country.”⁷⁹

As can be seen, the passage describes the people around him. Further on, he compliments them for being good of bearing their hunger. It could be argued that his tendency to observe the native population in this manner goes in line with the notion brought forth by Vera regarding observing a population as an anthill; I find this passage to be too short to make such a statement. Hence, we can conclude very little of this in relation to the African population as an entity.

The next passage is from the 4th of February and tells that Livingstone has just arrived at the camp after a journey. He further describes how he and his followers have rested among deserted gardens and at such places found a quantity of food. This first description tells no agony against anyone among him but the last few lines in the text are a bit different: “The men who were sent on before us slept here last night, and have deceived us by going more slowly without loads than we

⁷⁸ Livingstone, p. 199.

⁷⁹ Livingstone, p. 199.

who are loaded.”⁸⁰ As seen, he speaks of deception, but it is merely a description of a few scouts in particular and there is no evidence of a neglecting view of the natives as such. Livingstone is in this matter very clear regarding the people he is referring to.

2.2.2 Visiting Chitunkubwe

During the following time Livingstone sets up camp at a village where a chief named Chitunkubwe is ruling. I have a few comments regarding this. First of all, Chitunkubwe is mentioned very often during the following days as well as his characteristics. Nevertheless, I have found no entry regarding this man in the biographies by Jeal or Ross and for this I direct some criticism towards them. My other comment is regarding the name “Chitunkubwe”. In the first passage below regarding him, his name is spelled “Chitunkue”. Later in the same passage Livingstone corrects this by saying that his name instead is spelled Chitunkubwe, which leads us to the conclusion that he in the beginning misinterpreted the chief’s name.

“5th February, 1873.-Arrived at Chitunkue’s, crossing two broad deep brooks, and on to the Malalenzi, now swollen, having at least 200 yards of flood and more than 300 yards of sponge. Saluted by a drizzling shower. We are now at Chitunkue’s mercy.”⁸¹ Neither this passage shows any evidence of an ill-will against the African population as an entity. Nevertheless, there is a sentence in the same entry where Livingstone writes that he found the chief to be more civil than both he and his party expected. Since he had a predetermined view of the chief as being savage, then it is possible that the passage goes in line with Loomba’s presented notion of seeing members of other races as savages. However, there might be another cause to why Livingstone expected him to be savage. He could have heard ill rumors of this chief in particular before arriving, and this could thus have interfered with perception of the chief before meeting him. With this in mind a view regarding the African population as an entity can not be determined from this passage.

Livingstone further describes his interaction with the man by writing: “I gave him two cloths, for which he seemed thankful, and promised good guides to Matipa’s. He showed me two of Matipa’s men who had heard us firing guns to attract one of our men who had strayed; these men followed us.”⁸² Just as in the previous matter no conclusion can be made of such a statement. It is merely a trade description.

“7th February, 1873.- This chief showed his leanings by demanding prepayment for his guides. This being a preparatory step to their desertion I resisted, and sent men to demand what he

⁸⁰ Livingstone, p. 200.

⁸¹ Livingstone, p. 200.

⁸² Livingstone, p. 200.

meant by his words; he denied all, and said that his people lied, not he. We take this for what it is worth. He gives two guides to-morrow morning, and visits us this afternoon.”⁸³ Apparently two possible reasons can be deduced from the chief’s behavior. Either he is being deceptive and using his people as scapegoats for his own intentions or he is having confrontations with his own people. The choice between these two premises is not easy but perhaps some additional proof of the second reason can be found. For this, let us examine the next passage:

“8th February, 1873.- the chief dawdles, although he promised great things yesterday. He places the blame on his people, who did not prepare food on account of the rain. Time is of no value to them.”⁸⁴ By placing further blame on his people it could at first be conclusive to rest on the second reason explained earlier. However, since Livingstone also tells that the chief is dawdling, this gives some evidence of him perhaps being sneaky. By saying that time is of no value to them he puts them in a we- and them perspective in alignment with my modified version of Said’s theory. By saying that they place no value in time he is also emphasizing a different set of values between himself and the observed group.

2.2.3 Leaving Chitunkubwe and continuing towards Bangweolo

After examining the entries regarding the time between the 7th and the 10th of February 1873, I have concluded that he sometime between the 8th and the 9th left Chitunkubwe and headed on to Bangweolo.

On the 9th of February the same year there is another interesting passage: “The human ticks called “papasi” by the Suaheli, and “karapatos” by the Portuguese, made even the natives call out against their numbers in ferocity.”⁸⁵ Notice the words “even the natives”. These are powerful words. By saying this he is putting the natives and he himself in a we- and them perspective and the them-part gets an enhancement by the word “even”. By saying this he mediates the connotation that the natives are stronger when it comes to enduring physically challenging hardships. From this it is very tempting to draw a parallel with what a person would say of perhaps an animal. An utterance of this kind could be for example that “the physically hardship made even the oxen cry out”. The tendency of this expression gives some form of interpretation that he saw them as savage, even if perhaps not savage as a whole while examining this passage. Thus, from this the African population as an entity is seen as somewhat savage and Loomba’s theory comes into place once again.

On the 13th of February Livingstone describes his guides on the journey by writing “The

⁸³ Livingstone, p. 201.

⁸⁴ Livingstone, p. 201.

⁸⁵ Livingstone, p. 201.

guides are more at a loss than we are as they always go in canoes in the flat rivers and rivulets.”⁸⁶ This entry is unfortunately not as interesting as the last one since he only describes some specific guides without any reference to some demeaning characteristic. Hence, we move on to the next passage.

“14 February, 1873.-Public punishment to Chirango for stealing beds, fifteen cuts; diminished his load to 40 lbs., giving him blue and white beds to be strung.”⁸⁷ The situation here is essentially the same as in the previous passage. According to the three-step process the entry does describe a native person. As in the former passage it only describes one or several specific persons and not the native population as an entity. Later in the same passage he informs how he was able to catch the thief by writing that “It was Halima who informed of Chirango, as he offered her beds for a cloth of a kind which she knew had not hitherto been taken out of the baggage.”⁸⁸ This gives further indication of what I was saying before. The event describes sole people interacting with each other. Race is not an issue here.

2.2.4 Sending away men to fetch canoes

On the 16th of February Livingstone writes that he has sent men to ask for canoes. It seems that he was eagerly awaiting their return. By now it has come to my knowledge that canoes must have been a serious issue in his traveling. I base this assumption on the fact that this and the following passages very often consists of descriptions of quarrels regarding canoes. Earlier I brought up that the natives sometimes refused to lend him canoes. Since the area Livingstone mostly traveled through was situated among several rivers it is very tempting to assume that the possession of canoes, and also the ability to build them, was a powerful advantage. This was an advantage that perhaps also had a great deal of bargaining power. This is an interesting speculation but I won't investigate it further since it is not the aim of this study. In the current passage he later on says that “The guides played us false, and this is why they escaped.”⁸⁹ This matter is regarding particular individuals and not the African population as an entity.

During the 17th of February Livingstone made the following note: “Suffered a furious attack at midnight from the red Sirafu or Driver ants. Our cook fled first at their onset.”⁹⁰ This entry is similar to the one we have encountered previously, because it again is regarding merely a particular individual. There is nevertheless a small difference that makes a distinction between this one and

⁸⁶ Livingstone, p. 201.

⁸⁷ Livingstone, p. 202.

⁸⁸ Livingstone, p. 202.

⁸⁹ Livingstone, p. 202.

⁹⁰ Livingstone, p. 202.

some of the following versus the previous. As seen in this entry he tells that the cook fled. Further on, he will be recalling the characteristic of fleeing among the natives. I ask the reader to keep this matter in mind as we progress further.

2.2.5 The return of the men who were sent off

“18th February, 1873.-We wait hungry and cold for the return of the men who have gone to Matipa, and hope the good Lord will grant us influence with this man. Our men have returned today, having obeyed the native who told them to sleep instead of going to Matipa. They bought food, and then believed that the islet Chirube was too far off, and returned with a most lame story.”⁹¹ As we can see in this entry, Livingstone’s attitude has somewhat changed and he seems to be accusing the men of being dishonest. Further on he says that “The men say fear of me makes them act very cowardly. I have gone amongst the whole population kindly and fairly, but I fear I must now act rigidly, for when they hear that we have submitted to injustice, they at once conclude that we are fair game for all, and they go to lengths in dealing falsely that they would never otherwise attempt.”⁹²

As the reader now hopefully can see, the description of cowardice is once again emerging. In this passage he also once again accuses them of being dishonest. As the reader puts his or her eyes on these conclusions of mine, that person might object to such a statement by saying that even though Livingstone is talking more regarding cowardice and dishonesty, this is in fact not something useful in this research because he is judging different people. Indeed this might be true, but keep in mind that he until now had judged them very little overall during this period. Also notice the radical ways in which he is expressing himself. Conclusively, even though he is talking about different people I find it unlikely that such a judgmental characteristic in the mind of Livingstone is situation based, when it has taken such radical ways of expressing itself. He has lately been scolding people for their dishonesty in an emotional way when he regarding the theft of the beds made no such statement. It is my understanding that we can see a changing view at this point in the mind of Livingstone regarding the people he surrounded himself with. Before going any further it could also be wise to speculate regarding the causes of such a drastically change of mentality. My own assumption is that the stressing health matter during the time period just before his death had a part to play in this endeavor. Weakening health perhaps then lessened his patience. I find this very likely, but even though these thoughts are mere speculations it does not remove the legitimacy from my conclusions regarding the questions at issue. With other words the reasons behind his change in attitude are quite interesting, but if they are not properly and clearly deduced it does not alter the fact that the

⁹¹ Livingstone, p. 203.

⁹² Livingstone, p. 203.

attitude expressed in his journals actually changed.

The insinuations of dishonesty aimed at people around him continued. On 19th of February he writes that “A cold wet morning keeps us in this uncomfortable spot. When it clears up we go to an old stockade, to be near an islet to buy food. The people, knowing our need, are extortionate.”⁹³ In this entry he is however making a we- and them perspective where there are native actors on both sides. Thus, this is not any supporting evidence of a normative view either for or against the African people as an entity. A couple of days later there is a similar entry:

“21st February, 1873.- The men engaged refuse to go to Matipa’s, they have no honour. It is so wet we can do nothing. Another man spoken to about going, says that they run the risk of being killed by some hostile people on another island between this and Matipa’s.”⁹⁴ This time the event is changed by another kind of perspective. The accusation is now evidently aimed at his men and the radicalism in his outspokenness has increased.

Four days later he has made another entry where he says that his men have brought home food but not cloth. He calls this an inconvenient matter but there is no support for appearance of agony in this entry.⁹⁵ From this subchapter we can see that he aimed a lot of criticism against his surrounding people for being dishonest. It could be argued that when he makes this assumption and uses a we- and them perspective he sometimes also puts African people in his own perceptual group, which therefore does not go in line with my modified version of Said. This is a valuable point. However, since he emphasizes this characteristic to such a great extent as we can see here, this hence points to a radical shift in his views. Thus, I argue that this radicalism does go in line with my modified version of Said regarding differing views. The occurrences are simply too many to be regarded as coincidences.

2.2.6 The matter regarding the canoes

On the 26th of February Susi, Livingstone’s messenger returns from Matipa with word that he is willing to carry him and his men to his destination with canoes.⁹⁶

On the 1st of March however he describes a wet journey where he and his men used the canoes in his traveling. During this day he reaches Bangweolo. Suddenly in the middle of the passage he writes that “The men are great cowards.”⁹⁷ This further supports his view of the people around him. Unfortunately no conclusion can be made whether he is once again directing his anger

⁹³ Livingstone, p. 203.

⁹⁴ Livingstone, p. 204.

⁹⁵ Livingstone, p. 204.

⁹⁶ Livingstone, [In the source it says that this date is the 25th which seems to be a typo. I have corrected this myself to the 26th in this study.], p. 205.

⁹⁷ Livingstone, p. 205.

to merely a specific group of people or if he is aiming it against the African population as an entity. This small journey continues further up rivers until after a long time of paddling they reach an island. The journey then continues further to another island where he meets with chief Matipa. Livingstone is at this point still depending on help with canoes and on the 4th of March he describes with a quite neutral view that “I spoke to Matipa, this morning to send more canoes, and he consented.”⁹⁸

On the 7th of March he describes one of the natives: “Abed was overjoyed by one I made for him; others are used to their bites, as was the man who said that he would get used to a nail through the heel of his shoe.”⁹⁹ The things he is referring to are in fact some form of mosquito nets. A notice regarding this quote could be made. By writing the last part in the sentence about the rough necked man’s statement he might once again be referring to the natives as stronger physically. I believe this to be true, but I am not under the impression that it goes in line with for example Loomba’s theory regarding savages. Indeed he is silently implying a description regarding the African population as an entity, but in this matter he simply describes them as being a bit rough necked; although the line between being a rough neck and being a savage sometimes can be a thin one. The negotiation regarding the canoes continues the next day:

“8th of March, 1873.-I press Matipa to get a fleet of canoes equal to our number, but he complains of their being stolen by rebel subjects.”¹⁰⁰ I find nothing peculiar in this entry but Matipa’s discrete refusal to lend canoes should be noticed. In a later passage the same day he also writes that “The eight men came from Motovinza this afternoon, and now all our party is united. The donkey shows many sores inflicted by the careless people, who think that force alone can be used to inferior animals.”¹⁰¹ Here we can see a distinction between values in Livingstone’s writings. The implication is that the native population, and in conjunction the African population as an entity, handled the animals in a savage way, while he as a European handled them with more care. This goes in line with my modification of Said’s theory where the we- and them perspective is supported by a notion of differing views.

On the 11th of March he tells that Kabinga has arrived with canoes: “Time is of no value to him. His wife is making him pombe, and will drown all his cares, but mine increase and plague me. Matipa and his wife each sent me a huge calabash of pombe; I wanted only a little to make bread with.”¹⁰² This passage is regarding a specific persons and I can make no conclusion of it regarding

⁹⁸ Livingstone, p. 207.

⁹⁹ Livingstone, p. 207.

¹⁰⁰ Livingstone, p. 207.

¹⁰¹ Livingstone, p. 208.

¹⁰² Livingstone, p. 208.

the African population as an entity.

Let us now continue with the passage written five days later: “16th March, 1873, Sunday.- Service. I spoke sharply to Matipa for his duplicity. He promises everything and does nothing: he has in fact no power over his people.”¹⁰³ Livingstone is most likely again referring to the dispute regarding the canoes. His agony against Matipa should be noticed even though this particular passage does not tell us anything we don't already know about the matter at hand. In the same passage he writes regarding a man named Kabinga and that his son has been killed by an elephant. A sentence later an interesting entering can be discerned regarding the death: “blame may be attached to Matipa, and in their dark minds it may appear all important to settle the affair before having communication with him.”¹⁰⁴ This entry is confusing to me since it appears very cryptic. Nevertheless, the utterance about dark minds should be noticed.

“17th March, 1873.-The delay is most trying. So many detentions have occurred they ought to have made me of a patient spirit.”¹⁰⁵ The context in this entry is not very surprising. Due to previous similar entries concerning delays, an outburst of this magnitude is expected.

2.2.7 Livingstone's raiding of Matipa's village

On the 18th of March Livingstone writes that he sent off men to scout at the area where Kabinga lives. He further describes the weather and miscellaneous small occurrences. By now Livingstone and Matipa had become some sort of rivals since he writes that Matipa is acting the villain. Surely, this endeavor is an escalation of the matter regarding the canoes. The last part of the entry is however the most interesting. We have earlier discussed Livingstone's view of his surrounding men as being cowards. The latter words in the entry are “...my men are afraid of him: they are all cowards, and say that they are afraid of me, but this is only an excuse for their cowardice.”¹⁰⁶ This situation might have infuriated Livingstone when not even his own men were brave enough to stand up against the raging chief. On the 19th of March Livingstone took matters in his own hands by seizing Matipa's village and firing a shot through his roof for dramatizing effects. He also posted his men to guard the seized village against intruders. Matipa didn't stay long with all this going on around him and fled to another village. Livingstone's intention was indeed not to harm anyone or getting anyone killed; instead it was a display of power so that he could get the negotiations regarding canoes and other supplies on their way. This display of power seemed to have worked

¹⁰³ Livingstone, p. 209.

¹⁰⁴ Livingstone, p. 209.

¹⁰⁵ Livingstone, p. 209.

¹⁰⁶ Livingstone, p. 209.

since Matipa a couple of days later sent him animals and two large baskets of flour.¹⁰⁷ The next passage also demonstrates my conclusions.

On the 21st of March the following entry can be seen: “I gave Matipa a coil of thick brass wire, and his wife a string of large neck beads, and explained my hurry to be off. He is now all fair, and promises largely: he has been much frightened by our warlike demonstration. I am glad I had to do nothing but make a show of force.”¹⁰⁸ Regarding this matter I find it proper to make a parallel with the notions brought forth by Vera, because there are similarities in this story to the notion of looking at a population as one does with an anthill. Livingstone observes the actors at hand from a mental distance. Then to require the specific outcome, he makes a show of force amongst the population similar to as when a small child pokes a stick in an anthill. Hence, we can conclude that Livingstone had a tendency to observe the African population as an entity in an anthill perspective.

2.2.8 Waiting for canoes and traveling down the river

After the show of force at Matipa’s village, Livingstone and his followers continued traveling with canoes down the river. From the passages it seems that most of the traveling the following weeks was made on different rivers. This was evidently a much easier way of traveling, opposed to the hard march through various jungles and swamps.¹⁰⁹ Ross also makes a note of this when bringing up information he himself has gathered from Livingstone’s journals. He writes that the area Livingstone was traveling through seems to have been filled with water.¹¹⁰ This is a somewhat cryptic statement written by Livingstone, since it is difficult to form an opinion whether the area was filled with water by default or of it had been filled after a recent flood or period of constant rain. At the beginning of April Livingstone’s health had deteriorated due to his constant anal bleeding. He was in fact, as Ross puts it “bleeding to death”.¹¹¹

“23rd March, 1873.-Men returned at noon. Kabinga is mourning for his son killed by an elephant, and keeps in seclusion.”¹¹² This passage is indeed regarding one of the natives, but merely describes mourning and no more interesting aspects can be deduced from it, except from the fact that he gives a humane description of the African population in the sense that they are able to express sadness and joy.

On the 29th of March Livingstone writes regarding a trade-deal he made with a local merchant. He tells that he thought he was being treated unfairly during this trade, but he does not

¹⁰⁷ Livingstone, p. 209-210.

¹⁰⁸ Livingstone, p. 210.

¹⁰⁹ Livingstone, p. 211-217.

¹¹⁰ Ross, p. 234.

¹¹¹ Ross, p. 234.

¹¹² Livingstone, p. 210.

seem to make a serious matter of it since the passage is very light.¹¹³

On the 30th of March there is an entry at 5 P.M. saying “Men returned, but the large canoe having been broken by the donkey, we have to go back and pay for it, and take away about twenty men now left. Matipa kept all the payment from his own people, and so left us in the lurch; thus another five days lost.”¹¹⁴ Apparently Matipa has at this point started taken matters in his own hands again and the show of force only brought his honesty this far since it was only skin-deep from the beginning. An interesting phenomenon to keep in mind is that it can be derived from the passage that Matipa and his population, just as in the anthill, strived to neglect any remembrance of it. As I have seen, this is the last entry regarding chief Matipa. No further show of force has been noted. This is not a surprising matter since we at this point in time are getting very close to his death. He was at the time plagued by fever and diseases. With other words: A dying man has very little lust for violence.

On the 31st of March he describes some of the natives in a short entry by saying that “Islanders are always troublesome, from a sense of security in their fastnesses.”¹¹⁵ Keep in mind that Matipa was living on an island and this is probably where some of this reference is sprung. However, this entry makes a distinction between natives living on an island and those who do not. If Livingstone is writing that islanders are troublesome then he is comparing them with something else; in this case of course non-islanders. Therefore this passage does not show him seeing the African population as an entity in a certain normative manner. Instead the views distinguish between different types of natives.

“6th April, 1873.-Leave in the same way, but men were sent from Kabinga to steal the canoes, which we paid his brother Mateysa handsomely for. A stupid drummer, beating the alarm in the distance, called us inland...”¹¹⁶ What I found interesting in this passage was the notion of the drummers because it could perhaps be argued that since the African population frequently used drums, then his statement regarding them as stupid would have become an agony against the African native identity as such. Unfortunately, after further analyze this thinking falls rather short. Plain common sense would argue that he just was annoyed with the current drummers and to suggest otherwise would be to greatly over interpret the scenario.

The next day there is however further writings concerning the drummers. On 7th of April he writes that “Our guides left us, well pleased with the payment we had given them. The natives beating a drum on our east made us believe them to be our party, and some thought that they heard

¹¹³ Livingstone, p. 211.

¹¹⁴ Livingstone, p. 212.

¹¹⁵ Livingstone, p. 212.

¹¹⁶ Livingstone, p. 212-213.

two shots. This misled us...»¹¹⁷ The latter way of thinking regarding the statement concerning the drummers now becomes conclusive.

On the 9th of April he writes that his men were exhausted and that he therefore had to hire some more. I have found this particular entry on this day to be quite cryptic. In this text Livingstone writes what I have interpreted to have the following meaning. Livingstone wanted the man he hired to call upon his friends to help him. While the man was doing so, his friends argued him to bring along one of Livingstone's men. The tasks which were appointed were probably about carrying some of Livingstone's supplies. Why they argued the man to bring along one of Livingstone's men does not, at least in my opinion, emerge. Furthermore, Livingstone writes that when the man returned he did not tell the party truthfully regarding this matter until the following morning. Perhaps this could be seen as a further sign of Livingstone's views of the African people surrounding him as dishonest, but it was most likely just a writing of confusion in his mind as well as in mine when I have contemplated this.¹¹⁸

2.2.9 The final weeks before Livingstone's death

During the following time Livingstone's health had deteriorated so much that his people several times had to carry him. At this point he rarely made any other entries rather than just the date until he at the 27th of April made his last.¹¹⁹

The last passage that I will bring up in this study is the one written by him on the 21st of April 1873. In this he writes that he was too exhausted to ride and that he had to be carried back to the village.¹²⁰ When he writes that he couldn't ride, he is referring to a donkey and not a horse. He is kind enough to express in this entry that the people in his party carried him back to the village. I see no indication of a demeaning view regarding the African population as an entity in this matter. It does however contradict that Livingstone feared getting too close to the natives in a manner similar to the notion brought forth by Loomba. It could be argued that he by writing this simply emphasized that he was the master. However, if this would have been the case I believe that the way of describing the occurrence would have been a bit different. In this entry he does not take on an authoritarian attitude in the same way as before. Rather he describes the incident in a way that makes him seem a bit grateful for the deed. After this entry I have found no more relevant ones that would make an addition to this study. The last entry I brought up was written just a few days before his death. There are other entries concerning practical matters following this one, but I have seen no

¹¹⁷ Livingstone, p. 213.

¹¹⁸ Livingstone, p. 214.

¹¹⁹ Livingstone, p. 218-221.

¹²⁰ Livingstone, p. 218.

reason for including them since they are of no relevant use here.

2.2.10 Second period of time summary

In the beginning of this period we could see that Livingstone complemented the surrounding African population for bearing their hunger well. He also described their actions in a manner that could imply that he viewed them similar as to the way someone might contemplate an anthill. This passage I however found to be too short to make a concluding statement regarding this matter.

On the other hand he at an occurrence considers them not to value time. By doing so he denotes a mentality that goes in line with my modified version of Said's theory of notions, since he makes a distinction between the "opponents" values and his own in a demeaning manner. Thus, he puts the African population as an entity in a we- and them perspective. Further addition to this is given when he in a radical way describes them as being dishonest in subchapter 2.2.5.

From the 9th of February we could see that Livingstone wrote that the ticks made even the native population cry out. By saying the word "even" in this context he made a similar expression as one does when describing the savage nature of for example an ox. This goes in line with Loomba's notion regarding seeing members of another race as savages.

On several occasions he accuses his surrounding people of cowardice, although regarding this matter I found the criticism to be directed against a particular group of people rather than against the African population as an entity. Similar on one occasion he sees them as being a bit rough necked since one of the people around him expressed that he would get used to a nail through his foot. This however was, as said, a description of a rough neck but not necessarily a savage.

On the 8th of March he expresses disliking in the way the native population around him handles animals, when he writes that the natives think that merely force can direct an animal in a desired way. By doing so he once again denotes different set of values between himself and the African population as an entity in a demeaning manner, which goes in line with my modified version of the notions brought forth by Said. By now we have seen several occurrences where Livingstone denotes different values in relation to the African population as an entity, which makes it one of the more concrete results of my study.

Regarding the dispute with Matipa, Livingstone first observes the actors from a mental distance. Then to require a specific outcome he makes a raiding against the village and stirs up confusion and despair. Thereafter he returns to observing the native population's actions once again while they retract to their original occupations. Hence, we can conclude that he in this matter observed the African population as an entity in an anthill perspective similar to the view brought forth by Vera.

During Livingstone's last days he got carried by the native population when he could no longer walk. By expressing this kindness of them I draw the conclusion that he did not fear "getting too close" to the African population as an entity in a manner similar to the notions brought forth by Loomba.

3. Concluding summary

When I began this study I put forth two questions at issue. The first one was whether Livingstone saw the African population as an entity as equals or as lesser beings. The second was whether his views altered between the two different periods in his life.

If we take a look at the entire analysis we can see that there are several aspects which have a tendency to express themselves more clearly than others. The first one is that Livingstone on several occasions denotes differences in normative and perceptual values when describing himself in relation to the African population as an entity. These differences are described in a demeaning manner and consist of matters such as dishonesty, disrespect of time and animal care. In subchapter 2.2.5 we could see Livingstone's radical outspokenness regarding dishonesty. Dishonesty was also denoted when he in the first period of time implied that he needed guarantees in order to prevent the local population from deceiving him. In subchapter 2.2.2 there was an entry where he uttered that time was of no value to the people he interacted with. Notions regarding animal care was expressed when he in subchapter 2.2.6 wrote regarding the treatment of the donkeys. These utterances of mentality by Livingstone go in line with the notions in my modified version of Said's theory. We can therefore conclude that Livingstone had a tendency to regard normative and perceptual values of the African population as an entity in a demeaning manner.

We can also quite clearly conclude that Livingstone did not fear "getting too close" to the African population as an entity in alignment with the notion brought forth by Loomba. The premise to this conclusion is that he on several occasions interacted very close with the native population, and also grieved the death of one of the chiefs. At the end of his journeys the native population carried him when he could no longer walk. This close interaction and friendship gives further support to my conclusion. The conclusion furthermore confirms Ross's research where he writes that Livingstone many times saw the native population as very close friends.

Regarding whether Livingstone saw the African population as an entity as savages, there are several events which point in the same direction. When interacting with Sebitoane's folk he clearly describes them as being savages. We can also see similar utterances in the passage regarding the river races, where he tends to exaggerate physical appearance in alignment with the notion brought forth by Lindfors. Finally he had a tendency to denote savage characteristics when describing the native population's ability to act in a harsh environment. Both Lindfors's and Loomba's theories can be tied to these utterances and we can conclude that Livingstone had a tendency to view the African population as savages. This conclusion hence contradicts both Jeal and Ross on the point where they imply that Livingstone did not see the native population as savages. A possible reason

for the polarities between our conclusions is that both Jeal and Ross regard Livingstone's mentality in relation to other people of his contemporary time. If this is the case then it could very much be accurate that both mine and the background author's conclusions are valid, since my investigation quite clearly contemplates Livingstone's mentality in relation to present day normative values in the European society.

In the analysis I found a passage where Livingstone decided to raid Matipa's village. While doing so he first observed the population from a mental distance, and then acted to create chaos in the village. Finally he retracted to observe what happened. Such an approach can be seen in subchapter 2.2.7 in conjunction with 2.2.8. In the latter subchapter it is also made clear that Livingstone deprived them of having the ability of historical remembrance. This I hence reckon to go in line with Vera's anthill perspective, and I can conclude that Livingstone had a certain tendency to view the African population as an entity in this manner.

A surprising matter is that I have found very few passages concerning religion. When I began this study it seemed self evident to me that a journal written by a man, who was a missionary, would contain a large number of passages concerning Christianity. This has not been the case in this matter. The notion brought forth by Loomba regarding the "noble savage" has not appeared clearly in either of the two periods of time.

Regarding the second question at issue I've made a comparison analysis of the two different periods of time. Throughout both periods Livingstone never seemed to have any fear of getting too close to the African population as an entity. This perspective was with another word static. An interesting change however was that Livingstone during the first period, when he was younger, had a greater tendency to denote physical characteristics regarding the African population as an entity in a demeaning manner. This can for example be seen where he discusses the characteristics of the river races. During the latter period this tendency had swift to instead describe mental characteristics in a similar way. Utterances regarding dishonesty can be seen in both the first and the second period of time, but during the second we can also see writings about differing values regarding time and animal care. A conclusion that can be drawn from this is that there is a possibility that Livingstone was more concerned with outward appearance when he was younger and that this declined with age. Another possibility is that he, at an older age, had experienced more contact with the personalities of members of the African population, and thus had changed his perspective. This would hence confirm my hypothesis that his views changed after spending time with the African population.

3.1 Further research

Finally, a continuing study that takes off where I now end could be to make a similar comparison analysis with other periods of time. It could for example be interesting to discover whether his views fluctuated between the two periods of time, which I have chosen in my study. Another possibility could be to make a deeper study regarding Livingstone's childhood, and the way Christianity affected him during this time.

I chose to do this study regarding Livingstone mostly because he was in the middle of what I reckon to be two large scenarios in time, namely Africa colonized versus not colonized. What further caught my interest was that I felt that Africa many times has been neglected in the teachings made by many of the Swedish schools. Swedish, European in general, Asian as well as American – history is taught extensively but somehow there often seems to be lacking information regarding Africa. The reason for such an approach seems, at least in my opinion, to be unknown. Additional research could then be to not only investigate Livingstone, but also to search for other missionaries and travelers which several times might have been the connection points between different cultures.

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