

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

David Livingstone

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[0001]

1 Malange 5th January
1855
My Dear M^r Gabriel

That I may not again
be in the sorry plight of scratching a few
trivial sentences on paper during the
last moments previous to my own
or the mail's departure I have
resolved to devote a little time to you
now. And first of all I may
mention that I left for your address,
Mr Schmit's tepoia and some odds &
ends I had picked up, in charge of
Mr Pires of Pungo Andongo who
promised to forward all with care
I delivered also a packet into his care,
consisting of a letter and note for Sir R. Murchison
with a rough copy of the same

[0002]

Also a short note for yourself. There
were a few specimens of the rocks
of Pungo Andongo but it being very
difficult if not impossible to get
a piece in which all the rocks are
embodied I had to select such only
as would convey to you an idea
of the great masses of conglomerate
which form the famous Pedras
There are different kinds of porphyries
also gneiss, granite syemite or
the granite of which the Egyptians
made so much use in their
sculpture - ^ sandstone - schist in lumps and
stratified clay schist and a pulverulent
light coloured rock containing silica &

something else. quartzite coloured green
greywacke &c &c. all rounded and
water worn as you will see

[0003]

in the specimens. Indeed to look at the rocks
they resemble gigantic banks of shingle
stuck in a matrix hard bluish pale
red sandstone - such banks are seen
near Kolobeng but only 2 yds thick
Here they are about 300 or 400 feet in
perpendicular diameter and rest on
horizontal strata of the rock which
forms the matrix. In strata
however and forming the earth's
crust down to the Coanza southwards
and 20 miles East of Pungo. It
has only a few pebbles in it these
gradually become smaller as we go
East until it is entirely a sandstone
rock. It would take a week to
collect all the varieties of rock in
the conglomerate of Pungo. I deferred
my excursion to the last partly

[0004]

in consequence of fever and partly
from being engaged in rewriting.
You must come and geologize yourself
I intended to examine the iron said
to exist but only saw broken
Haematite and an ore very much
like Litaniferous iron ore only it is
not magnetic. The Portuguese think
the Pedras are the result of volcanic
influence but I doubt the idea
The rocks lie in lines running
N and S. nearly and present the
appearance of having been left as
they are by denudation A more
extended examination however is
necessary and I hope you will
have health one day to perform it.

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

[0005]

2^d sheet

The seeds are wrapped up higglety piglety
-wise, but you will notice two fruits
which if I mistake not are among
our best wild fruits on the Zambesi
They are nearly ripe and may vegetate
some bulbs wrapped up in grass
Will shew you a species of flower
which abounds but of different
colours and sizes all the way to
Kolobeng. I have heard it called
"Watsonia" x The specimens sent are
tied to the pole of the Tepoia and the
colours are very lovely. I had not
time to put up wild vines but
Mr Pires promised to send one of
each variety. The country is literally
laden with either fruit or flowers
presenting a curious contrast to

Have seen Watsonia since. it is different

[0006]

the vines of Portugal and Trinidad
which are now reported to be perishing
by the disease. If I were in a position
proper for it I have a lot of experiments
in my head for them, but I suspect
my first permanent possession will
be in the narrow house with the "clods
of the valley over me" I sit on the ox
and think till the sun permits neither
thinking nor travelling. My poor
Bucephalus is none the better of his
sojourn at Ambaca and Pitsane's,
a perfect nonesuch, had become
so lean and haggard a council of
war decided yesterday that he must
be killed in order to save his (life)
carcase. Yet my rosinat preserves
his mental peculiarities entire. I never
could keep an umbrella up without

[0007]

imminent risk of a tumble. He has the
same aversion to my reading Punch
although I take it quietly out of my

pocket trying to prevent him seeing it
If he carries me back to the Zambesi
I must write his biography and get
the Poet Laureate Tennyson* to make
an epitaph for him.

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

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

A new society under the auspices
of the Duke of Wellington &c &c for
"the exploration of Africa with a view
or the author of Dido Pigmen, Arsenio

[0008]

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

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

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

[0009]

3^d sheet

The road from Pungo Andongo to Lombe
runs along the bank of the Coanza and
the straggling forest gives the exact picture
of the country near the Casai or Kasye
most of the trees are identical. A few
miles from Lombe there is a fine fall
of the Coanza as deep as your house
I did not go to see it because I had

no one to admire it with me. Mr. Pires has a house at Lombe and one half way there. I would recommend you to come as far as the water fall.

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

[0010]

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

[0011]

and Longitudes I did not feel annoyed more than that he might have waited my pleasure Well, from feelings of pity and a wish to enable him to make a good map I gave him a number of paints, but not being quite satisfied with Golungo Alto I reserved at for further observations From a short glance I had of his map I perceived it was enormously wrong

I had a feeling of compassion for he
had evidently laboured hard upon it
Cassange for instance was considerably
more than 120 miles too far North
and many other places were equally
misplaced, so I recommended to begin
again and measure from the points
I had given - all I expected or wished
being to acknowledge whence these
points had been derived. When I reached
Golungo and had made additional
observations I wrote him and gave
[...]some hints as to his measurements

[0012]

if in a hilly country to make allowances
for the greater distance traveled over-

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

[0013]

4th sheet
and in his example works out an observation
made of an occultation of a star by the
moon. The distance is then between the
edge of the moon and its centre and is

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

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

[0014]

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

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

[0015]

Cassange to some point near the ford at
probably not so far it took me 3 days
which I crossed ^that river bought some
to reach Cassange
slaves & took them back to Cassange
thence went to Malange or Ambaca
and followed the only route known
to slave dealers to Ambriz - Arsenio sent
his slaves, cattle meal &c. by the same
road. It lies North of Ambaca - and they
cross the Dande in their way to Ambriz.

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

[0016]

Have you wheat? Yes at Pungo Andongo
Have you grapes -? at Pungo Andongo
Have you butter, cheese, fruits, &c &c O
yes - at Pungo Andongo- I expected
wonders here but find all productions
are those of one man M^r P. and
he has only a small quantity of each
he has however lately planted a vineyard
and has a small patch of wheat. I
could not get any seed. Butter & cheese
are made for sale. The former very
good. The latter indifferent. I saw
butter packed in new & of course
perfectly clean whistling jugs, yet the associat[...][ion]
of ideas made me feel as some Indian
officers did when they went to dinner &
found a Nabob displaying a new set
of china. 1/2 a dozen unknown utensils
being arranged along the centre of the table
full of milk- When you meet a Carregadore
with one in full view of the sun, you
may be sure of a Portuguese being in his reas[...]
to be continued.

[0017]

2

I Cassange 18th January 1855. I recieved your welcome epistle of 30th Dec^r the day before yesterday and felt glad an opportunity had occurred for a health trip - I earnestly hope it has been successful in restoring you to your wanted vigour. I remained three days at Tala Mongongo waiting for an observation but was obliged to leave after all without one. I got one on the Cuije or Quize about 1½' distant which will do - Did not visit the Duque de Braganza it would have been considerably out of my way and funds are getting low, for though I have kept my companions on as small rations as I could the constant drain during my visit to Cazengo and subsequently during my long sojourn at Golungo Alto

[0018]

and Pungo Andongo reduced the sum in my purse to a very low figure. I have been giving fazendas since and now feel anxious to be as soon as possible in the country where we can use beads. I had 20 Carregadores besides my own party. These were never satisfied, and complained of me to every one we met: though I was instructed to give them nothing ^I gave a small ration viz. as much meal as they could eat - my men buying it and when we slaughtered an ox they got a quarter - The gentlemen once left it lying on the spot - saying they must have the half of the ox. I reduced their allowance one half every time they grumbled. This is one of the because already paid by the merchant

[0019]

odd things one meets with throughout Africa,

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

[0020]

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

[0021]

II. certainly send you a scrawl. If M^s P.
knew of any one going in the same
direction I take a few newspapers
might be forwarded to me as a
treat I shall remain in the country

of Sekeletu some months before
leaving for Quilimane. I hope M^r
P. sent you two good wild vines
he has enough of garden ones too &
fine young fig trees. There is one here
from his establishment brought
by the new chefe & already laden with
figs. This gentleman kindly invited me
to the residencia but I could not
properly prefer him to M^r Neves who
shewed his kindness when I was in
greater need. - M^{re} N. has a bad hand
arising from Lumphatic inflammation
caused by a mere scratch got in

[0022]

giving a slave a blow. It is getting better -
He has a magnificent crop of potatoes
only 2 ½ months old. Wheat I think
would grow but who tries it. I
cannot get a seed of it. - Well I saw
coffee growing at Tala Mongongo &
drank of it too. It is excellent and
the country to the North abounds in
it. In Cazengo I could not with
the utmost hatred I could muster
avoid tracing its present existence
as a self sown plant to the Jesuits
as the primary introducers for go
where we will we find South American
plants with it as well. Guavas
they grow wild along the rivers
here. Fruita da Coude. Jambos
Bananas. Ananas. and orange
trees even but here nearly 300
miles inland Has it spread thus

[0023]

for from San Salvador or St José de
Eucage. ? I am going to Look carefully
for it in Londa. I see trees resembling
it and the flowers may shew them
to be species of coffee - and if so it may
help to solve the question of the indiginousness
of the plant. Whether it is really so or
not we see in the plantations already
discovered one of the ways in which

God provides means for men to
abandon evil ways if they will
No man is forced to be a
sinner unless he chooses. There are
many loopholes made for him to
escape if he will - But in countries
entirely heathen as Africa for
instance as does not seem possible
to escape into the true path and
privileges in which it has been
our never to be forgotten privilege

[0024]

to have been born - They will no
doubt be judged and treated in another
way than we shall be if we fail to
embrace the offers of mercy through the
only Savior.

I have seen such beauties of flowers
on the road and regretted exceedingly
they are not in seed. The seeds I have
already sent may not be anything
worth while the beauties may all be
missed - I shall send a few bulbs
one is rather pretty having a dark blue ish red
flower and yellow tongue instead of a
pistil or stamina - The roots are nearly
fibrous - scarcely onion but approaching
that form - Another is I believe
what I have called watsonia perhaps
erroneously. It may be propagated by
cutting the bulbes into parts. I learned
this by cutting one by accident with a spade

[0025]

III I am ashamed to send more ^ bulky ones because
the mail goes so far - Cape bulbs abound A few seeds are
enclosed likewise one sort of pretty
blue flower which abounds near
Pungo Andongo- different varieties of
Asclepia abound - one blood red - another
blue with white stamens- and a third
covers the country with flowers about
3 inches long and like a convolvulus
It is pure white with a blush of red
in the interior - unfortunately not in
seed now - There is a little shrub which

attains a height of about a foot
Zambesians call it Maroro. It
yields a yellow fruit about the size
of a guava. some are pleasant
tasted - my men & the inhabitants
of the country eat it freely - I send
the seeds - It [...]resembles the sweet sop
or custard apple of India

[0026]

I send a full grown specimen of
the distiller in a quill - also a little
bit of the rock forming the descent
at Tala Mongongo and most of
the Cassange basin

I have not needed much coaxing
to loiter on the way for when one
receives the exciting news of the near
anxiety to hear how it has gone since
becomes exceedingly strong - I shall
of course wait till the mail of the
16th comes to hand - you will have
seen by one letter I sent from
Pungo Andongo that this would be
the case - I cannot remain longer
here on account of the scarcity
of native food - but when I
get the post letters will move

[0027]

on to the Quango and will remain a
few days there in order to write you for
the last time and send the Longitude
as well - Then I am over the border &
away - Sorry to hear our Admirals
[...] have turned out indifferent stuff - There
is plenty of new blood however in
the lower ranks of the naval service
and recourse must be had to it
for they are not a whit behind their
fellow countrymen in red jackets -
In one view it is fortunate the
defects appear in the old school
for had it been otherwise the blame
might have been cast on the
improvements in morals and
education which have been made

in the naval service. We must

[0028]

Captain Hall as belonging to the new school
Lord Raglan is a worthy old sturnper ^

[I beg his pardon for calling him so]
though no one ever heard his name before
If Sir Charles had said less before less
would have been said about him now
but poor old fellow he will catch it in
England Be sure & send me Punch on
that subject - I hope Lieut^t Hoskins'
removal to the scourge will secure his
promotion - The Baltic is not all glory -
no more than Ambaca indeed at present

Captⁿ Neves has published a
small journal of the expedition to
Cassange which contains some
information worth looking at I believe
though I have not read it - A few copies
have come to Loanda to D^r Begende
I have been presented presented with the only
copy here -

[0029]

IV. M^r. Neves informs me that Arsenio
mentioned to him that "I had been cheated
by a trader in Cassange in the affair
of the ivory and that I had told him
so" Now as I never understood the
price of the ivory we received I never
entertained suspicion of unfair play
I did not understand the money
and the goods were certainly more
than the man would have got
at Kuruman or even in the
colony I was very well satisfied
with what had been done - and
I am so still - We did the best we
could in the circumstances - and
that being my feeling hitherto I feel
certain I never spoke to any one
as if I had been cheated - Perhaps
you may remember when

[0030]

I was first visited by M^r Schut he enquired how much they gave for ivory in Cassange and I could not tell - I am not aware at this moment how much per lb. we got nor how much we got at all - for I paid away for food whenever we needed and never could get the relative value of Makutas and pence till I got it from you - I thought Makutas were about the value of half pence - M^r N. does not mention Arsenio's name but he is the only man I spoke to in Ambaca and I feel certain I did not speak about Ivory on Capⁿ Neves either it is vexatious to be misrepresented but we must put up with

[0031]

many disagreeables - The only persons in Angola whom I consider to have taken unfair advantage of my ignorance are Victoriano and his ferrymen over the Lucalla - Should you see my reference to him (Cap^{tn} Neves) in print I should feel obliged if you mention it to him if you can do so without inconvenience - It may serve to remove an unfavourable impression from his mind - which may still be lurking though he professes to have scarcely ever believed my having said - In my own mind I feel perfectly innocent

I hope I am not doing wrong in reference to M^r Candido, he promised distinctly to acknowledge the source whence he derived his positions

[0032]

but shews plainly he does not mean to do it even to myself - I suppose my part of the contract is invalidated thereby

I met a missionary at Pungo

Andongo - Antonio Francisco das Necessidades
Visitador em Missão fⁿ sua Ex^a Rev^a
et visitas the - He is a Canon of the
R. C. church - lately returned from
Portugal whither he had conducted
the Prince of Congo - An honour was
conferred upon him for it - He
says they have 12 churches in the
Kingdom of Congo ! but no padres
He is said to be a man of good
morals - black & about 45 years or
upwards - I believe he lives in
Loanda generally - This is not the
last or I should fondly drag it
out longer - Therefore I conclude with
affectionate salutations David Livingston

[0033]

Appendix !! 2

20th As the Mail is not to leave for another
day or two I add a little more to this prolix
production - The Mail of the 16th will
not reach this till the 5 or 6th of February -
I shall either wait or get the contents
on the Quango - So you need not be
apprehensive what you have dispatched
on the 16th will be in vain - I have
just learned from Capⁿ Neves that
he saw shells on the tops of the rocks
of Pungo Andongo - I feel quite
disgusted with myself at not seeing
them too - but in enquiring I was
told positively there were more - And
though I looked myself yet a careful
search in similar shingly branches
near Kolobeng had its influence on

[0034]

my mind and I saw more they must
be in the soft friable limestone looking
rock I believe I mentioned - I let you
know that you may discover them
and likewise ascertain by their
means the age of the rock in which
they lie - He says those he ascended
were in the centre of the town or presidio
I have written a something or other for
My Lord Celarendon or for your kitchen

fire - Its of no use saying why I make
such a wretched abortion - I could'nt
and thats all about it - If I tried to
give an agricultural Report I found
a want of materials - the general resources
and statistics - more materials but very
dry Then today I have finished a
real slave trade letter and I rely upon
your candour to put it into the
fire if you approve it not

[0035]

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

The bellies of the distillers shrivelled
up to nothing. They must have been
full of water - A note of thanks
is enclosed for Captain Need -
also a Letter for D^r Tidman
enclosing one for my wife
I send also another draught for
the £25 supposing the one already
given has gone down in the
Forerunner - that for £50 is I
conceive safe in England

[0036]

I have advised D^r Tidman in the
present letter of both bills - viz. - for
£50 and £25. and (my trumpeter being
out of the way at present) fancy you
wont - be able to pick a flaw in
the enclosed most business like
production! I have mentioned
too Woodhead & Co, as your agents.
I enclose also a thing which I have ventured
to call an ideal section of the country for
Sir Roderick. If he does not cry out, "My
dear fellow no more of your nonsense"
it will be because he is less clever than

I take him to be. The ideal section of the river Niger had however less in it than mine. I am too far last with Pungo but it is not geography I am teaching him The Mail takes about 20 days to go from this to that city and is often longer in coming so that of the 16th will certainly be my final one sorry such pleasant correspondence must cease

[0037]

A. 1. 3 Jan 23 ? 1855

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

[0038]

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

I have mentioned everything worth
mentioning and many that were not

[0039]

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

[0040]

orphanage - On their account I would
if a situation under Gov^t could fairly
be obtained ~~might~~ accept of it. But
it would be with a pang and on thei[r]
account alone. (He that careth not for
his own and especially for those of his
own house hath denied the faith and
is worse than an " infidel" St Paul). For
I always since I knew the value of
Christianity wished to spend my life in
propagating its blessings among men.
I have the same desire now undiminished
but to leave my family to the tender
mercies of a charitable institution. Some
of the members of which have a sort of spite
at my success in exploration, seems hard
I can only hope that He who has helped
and guided me hitherto will be with me
still - Into His Everlasting care I commend
you as your most affectionate Friend
David Livingstone