

Introduction

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I knew you would come out all right; I knew you would find the d...d old missionary, or his bones: and my only regret is that you did not bring him home, and chain him to a Scottish crag, with strict injunction to never hide himself again, not even though he may sometimes madly recall the charms of the dusky beauties of Unne . . . and Uupann . . . Is that the way to spell them?

—Edward King, journalist for the *Boston Journal*,
to H. M. Stanley, September 14, 1872 (S.A. 2754)

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS Henry Morton Stanley's diaries and field notebooks, along with relevant letters and accounts related to the *New York Herald* Expedition in search of Dr. David Livingstone. They are kept in the Stanley Archives (S.A.) at the Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA), and are the property of the King Baudouin Foundation (KBF).¹ We publish them to help conserve fragile documents and to offer researchers the opportunity to work with original manuscripts that have been scrupulously transcribed and thoroughly annotated.

These documents provide Stanley's views, thoughts, and perceptions on a variety of subjects as he prepares and carries out the expedition to find Dr. Livingstone. This volume does not provide a new history; nor does it attempt to scrutinize Stanley's mindset. The point of this work is to offer his day-to-day thoughts and actions contained in transcriptions of brittle and old papers, along with some annotation and context when needed. We hope our efforts will provide an invaluable source of information for curious readers and future researchers about an event that continues to capture attention.

1. For more about the story of the Stanley Archives at the Royal Museum for Central Africa, see Maurits Wynants, "The Trials and Tribulations of the Stanley Archives," in *Adventures of an American Traveller in Turkey*, ed. Mathilde Leduc-Grimaldi and James L. Newman (Tervuren, Belgium: RMCA, 2013), 15–27. The inventory of the Stanley Archives is online: https://www.africamuseum.be/research/collections_libraries/human_sciences/archives/stanley or <https://www.africamuseum.be/docs/research/collections/archives/henry-morton-stanley.pdf>.

A thorough and fair account of the expedition should not limit its sources to these archives, but rather should take into consideration oral history and other information available locally or scattered around the world (oral transcripts, memory studies in Africa, Livingstone's archives, and the like). Such extensive in-depth research was beyond the scope, time limits, and—to be frank—financial means of the editors and the institution backing this project. Our seemingly more modest objective has been to make these mostly unknown or unexploited private archives readily available to curious minds and scholars.

We have limited this volume to the story of the *New York Herald* Expedition proper, which ends with Stanley sailing back to Europe. His much-debated reception in England has been left aside. Interpretations can be found in the biographies of Stanley.

On January 6, 1871, the “Travelling Correspondent of the ‘New York Herald,’” as Henry Morton Stanley titled himself in bold letters on the first page of his journal S.A. 7, landed at Zanzibar. Seventeen months, three notebooks, and two journals later, he embarked at Zanzibar on his way to England to tell the world about having reached Lake Tanganyika to meet with Dr. David Livingstone. The mission was the brainchild of James Gordon Bennett Jr., who had taken over management of the *New York Herald* from his father.² It began in 1868 when concern about Livingstone arose because no word about his whereabouts in Africa had been forthcoming for well over a year. Was he lost somewhere in the interior of Africa? Married to an African princess? Perhaps even dead? Then a rumor suddenly arose that Livingstone was on his way home via Zanzibar. At Bennett's urging, the *Herald's* chief officer in London, Col. Finley Anderson, instructed Stanley to find out what he could about the doctor's status. To do so, Stanley first went to Suez, where an acquaintance of Livingstone gave him a letter of introduction. When nothing of substance could be had there, he tried his luck in Aden. Inquiries to the American consul Francis R. Webb in Zanzibar also failed to yield concrete evidence about Livingstone's return, other than to put the rumor to rest. Stanley thus abandoned the quest and took up several other reporting assignments for the *Herald*.

The project suddenly resurfaced when Stanley again met Bennett on March 25, 1869, in Paris.³ There is nothing in his journals about a new mission to Africa, but it is clear from a letter to Stanley from Douglas A. Levien, the new chief officer of the *Herald* in London, that one had been set in motion. Dated November 29, 1869, it contained “a

2. On Gordon Bennett Sr. and Jr. see James L. Crouthamel, *Bennett's New York Herald and the Rise of the Popular Press* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989).

3. Letter from Finley Anderson, London, October 20, 1868: “Having received the joyful news that Dr. Livingstone is on his way home, from Africa via Zanzibar, the *New York Herald* desires you to proceed to Suez, or if practicable to Zanzibar, to meet him.” Across the page, Stanley wrote “1st Search after Livingstone,” Appendix, S.A. 2588.

letter of credit for £600” and his “best wishes” for Stanley’s “great undertaking,” that of finding Livingstone.⁴

Although at first Stanley considered such a mission “a regular wild-goose chase,”⁵ the search for and the finding of Livingstone launched his career as journalist cum explorer. The journals and notebooks in which he reported his travels in detail became the sources for his ten dispatches to the *Herald*⁶ and his book *How I Found Livingstone*, which remains iconic among travel narratives. Hints and advice in letters from the *Herald* executives Anderson, Levien, and George W. Hosmer, to whom Stanley reported, reveal that he did not have full freedom of speech in his writings. Moreover, Gordon Bennett Jr. was a much-feared boss who had sacked many correspondents.⁷ As Stanley later told Livingstone, “I serve a hard taskmaster.”⁸ He also had to comply with the wishes of his book editor, Edward Marston, so as to suit the public’s desire to read about dramatic events and heroes.

The diaries, field notebooks, and related letters provided herein let us view the uncensored Stanley recording what he saw, whom he met, how he felt and, most importantly, how he acted. In many ways the words are more vivid than those in published form, and they provide historians and other scholars with more meaningful evidence with which to evaluate Stanley as a person and the role he played in shaping the views of, and actions toward, Africa during the Imperial Age.

Presentation of Journals or Diaries, Field Notebooks, and Accounts of the Expedition

The number of documents dating back to Stanley’s expeditions that have survived until now is remarkable, given that he had no home base and led a rather nomadic life. His “permanent” address was the *Herald* Office, care of the chief officer to whom and by whom letters and trunks were dispatched. Hotels, such as the Queen’s and Langham in London, also served as addresses. Still, somehow Stanley seems to have kept virtually every piece of paper, be it a letter, invitation, telegram, or whatever could be of future

4. S.A. 2626.

5. S.A. 4, February 16, 1869.

6. See *Stanley’s Despatches to the New York Herald, 1871–1872, 1874–1877*, ed. Norman R. Bennett (Boston: Boston University Press, 1970), 3–123. Bennett published an eleventh text on pp. 123–26 that is kept at the Peabody Essex Museum, which he called Journal. It is not a dispatch to the *Herald*, but rather part of a notebook relating Stanley’s last trek to Bagamoyo (April 29 to May 4, 1872).

7. Colonel Anderson was recalled to the United States and replaced by Douglas A. Levien on March 1, 1869. “This recall is as good as a dismissal,” Stanley notes in his journal (S.A. 2).

8. S.A. 11, November 14, 1871.

use to him.⁹ And he did so meticulously, as can be seen in a sketch of a trunk with compartments or drawers labeled “Lett’s Diary, 1 ream foolscap, copying press, letter paper, envelopes, pens & pencils, ink,” and a large compartment for “Written papers 4 by 12, 6 deep.”¹⁰

Two full journals (S.A. 7, S.A. 11) and three pocket-sized field notebooks (S.A. 8, S.A. 9, S.A.10) are entirely dedicated to Stanley’s travel during the *New York Herald* Expedition from his landing at Zanzibar to his departure from there (January 5, 1871–May 29, 1872). All five of those documents are reproduced here in full. In addition, excerpts from three other journals concerning Stanley’s travel to Zanzibar and departure for England (S.A. 4, S.A. 5, S.A. 12) are included in the Appendix. The transcriptions in this volume open with excerpts from Journal S.A. 73 (which was compiled later and covers many years), containing some further useful information about the expedition in search of Livingstone.

The Royal Museum for Central Africa (RMCA) also has a well-preserved account book (S.A. 74) covering Stanley’s missions from 1868 to 1879. It includes pages torn out of another account book, which is an original by Stanley of expenditures incurred during the search for Livingstone. The first page only is missing. Fortunately, the whole account of the *Herald* Expedition was transcribed later on (with some faulty readings of the original), and the copy provides the missing first page with expenditures on “Arms.”

At the end of these detached pages, figures for the original muster roll of the expedition, an exceptional document with names, salaries, fines, and rewards of Africans enlisted in the expedition, are included.

Table 1 summarizes the archival materials dedicated to the *New York Herald* Expedition, all of which are transcribed in this volume, either in full or in excerpts that directly pertain to the search for Livingstone.

The three field notebooks served as the primary sources for Stanley’s two journals. They contain notes jotted down in pencil on the spot in no apparent order and quite often not dated. He wrote from both ends of the notebooks, and thus one has to read backward and upside down for a time in order to connect the narrative. Some passages in pencil have been written over with black ink, with many letters dropped, an indication of haste. It is unclear whether Stanley intended that these passages in pencil should be left out when writing his journals.

None of the diaries or field notebooks is paginated. Dates, and occasionally Stanley’s notation “continued,” helped us correct the linking of the pages. Reconstruction of the

9. For example, see Hotel Bills at Bombay (Byculla Hotel), S.A. 4889, and receipts for passages from Bombay to Mauritius, S.A. 4891, and from Seychelles to Zanzibar, S.A. 4892.

10. See S.A. 10, sketch in pencil, last page; S.A. 9, pp. 103–4, two different sketches: “Writing tray for trunk, 30 inches long x 14 inches broad x 4 inches deep,” with measurements of each compartment.

Table 1. Summary of the Stanley Archives dedicated in full or in part to the *New York Herald Expedition**

	<i>Diary/ Source Notebook</i>	<i>Field Notebook</i>	<i>No. of Pages</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Pencil</i>	<i>Ink</i>	<i>Ink over pencil</i>	<i>Skets/ Maps</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
1	*Notes & accounts		30	8 vo.	*	*			Few pages excised
4	*		90	8 vo.		*			"
5	*		75	8 vo.	*	*			"
7	*		160	8 vo.	*	*	*	*	"
8		*	140	15.5 x 4	*	*	*	*	
9		*	135	15 x 9	*	*	*	*	Binding damaged
10		*	129	15 x 9	*			*	

*Manuscripts S.A. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 and accounts S.A. 74 (*New York Herald Expedition* into Central Africa) have been transcribed in full. For S.A. 1, 4, 5, 12, and 73, only excerpts concerning the search for Livingstone have been transcribed.

field notebooks with damaged binding, some loose pages, and “non sequitur” notes was more difficult to interpret. To make the text more comprehensible to readers, we relied on matching broken words or lines at the ends of pages.

Reconstructing the intelligible order of the field notebooks was thus a puzzling task. For example, in a note in S.A. 8 (which is non paginated), Stanley mentions that the page that would be numbered 132 follows page 71, which is clear enough. Most of the time, however, he left no indication about connections: for example, page 108 ends with “he has heard from” and is followed, on page 107, with “the natives repeatedly.” To ease the reading, pages are published in logical order.

Punctuation is often nonexistent, especially when lines end in the fold of the journal, or sometimes unorthodox. We have not bothered to make changes as long as the text is intelligible. Slips of the pen or misspellings are left uncorrected. Stanley made recurrent mistakes like “amunition” or “concieve/percieve” or let drop letters in his hastily jotted notes (narrow, maket, pifering, quinne for quinine). He frequently switched from American to English orthography (honor/honour, color/colour). Even proper names have no fixed spelling (William Farquahar/Farquhar, Livingstone with or without a final *e*). The editorial task becomes more difficult still when transcribing names of his African encounters, villages, and porters. Stanley knew some Arabic and Swahili. He could understand and give orders. But when it comes to writing indigenous names, he more or less relied on an approximate American phonetic transcription with conflicting cultural interpretation (Bilali becomes Bill Ali), without always maintaining the same spelling all the way through his diaries. Standardized transcription of local names was a constant concern of geographical societies and congresses of the nineteenth century, to establish accurate routes of exploration and maps of Africa. It is interesting to

Table 2. Months from January 5, 1871, to May 29, 1872, when field notebooks informed journals

#	J	F	M	A	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	May
73	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
7	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
8		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*					
9												*	*	*			
10															*	*	
11											*	*	*	*	*	*	*
12																	*

note Livingstone’s and Stanley’s different spelling of the Rusizi/Lusize River. It is even more curious to find French spellings for profound (*profond*) or courier (*courrier*). Stanley said he was not fluent in French, but he probably had a good knowledge of the language, which may have come from his years in Louisiana, where French was still in use. In transcribing his idiosyncratic notes, we took care not to misrepresent the original writing of the traveler. Stanley’s spelling peculiarities show his specific upbringing in some way and are part of his scribbling habits.

As can be seen in table 2, journals and notebooks overlap each other, especially for the months of November and December, when Stanley met Livingstone at Ujiji and then cruised with him on Lake Tanganyika to find out whether the Rusizi River linked the lake to the Nile watershed. It did not. The notes made were often as short as one word or a brief expression, such as “I am no short hand writer though I have a system of my own of abbreviating sentences which is intelligible to myself.” Stanley went on to say that he refrained from taking too many notes, as “it occupies too much of the night to write them up” (S.A. 11, November 11, 1872, p. 10).

Journals and Notebooks: A Firsthand Perspective

African explorers of the Victorian Age “have proved immensely popular subjects for biographical studies.”¹¹ With regard to Stanley, several earlier studies did consult some of the papers kept by the family at its Furze Hill estate in Pirbright, Surrey. By far, at that time, the best of the lot is Richard Hall’s *Stanley: An Adventurer Explored* (1974). When the archives moved to RMCA, the documents were not immediately available to the public. In

11. Felix Driver, “Henry Morton Stanley and His Critics: Geography, Exploration and Empire,” *Past and Present*, no. 133 (November 1991): 134–66.

1997 James L. Newman became the first researcher to gain access to them. Further visits resulted in his book *Imperial Footprints: Henry Morton Stanley's African Journeys*.

The Museum hired local historian and archivist Maurits Wynants in 1998 to re-catalogue the collection with a view to make it more accessible to scholars. His work, with the assistance of Peter Daerden, resulted in *The Inventory of the Henry M. Stanley Archives* in 2003.¹² Maurits Wynants had envisioned producing a series of publications based on the Archives, but his untimely passing left the project in abeyance. In 2010 the editors of this volume decided to begin a series of transcriptions to honor his memory. Three years later the first was issued—a manuscript by Stanley relating his travels in Turkey during 1866.¹³ After its release they began transcribing the documents presented herein.

Finding Livingstone: A Synopsis

In *How I Found Livingstone*, Henry Morton Stanley claimed that on October 17, 1869, his boss, James Gordon Bennett, owner of the *New York Herald*, told him to “FIND LIVINGSTONE.” A meeting between Stanley and Bennett did take place in October 1869, although on the 28th, not the 17th, and, indeed, instructions to search for Livingstone were given, but only after Stanley completed other assignments that would take him from the Suez Canal to India and possibly beyond.

On August 1, 1870, Stanley reached Bombay (Mumbai). After weeks there, mostly spent writing up his notes, he decided that the time had come to head for Africa, not knowing Livingstone's fate. To get there required Stanley first to board a ship bound for Mauritius, then to pick up another headed for the Seychelles, where he boarded a third that dropped him off at Zanzibar on January 6, 1871. Good news awaited: the doctor's whereabouts still remained a mystery.

A possible journalistic coup, thus, lay before him. But achieving it would require forming a caravan for a long march inland. Local Arabs familiar with the booming trades in ivory and slaves from inland regions provided information about the route and the necessary supplies. Stanley, however, had little money to cover the considerable costs of an expedition, and an expected bank deposit from the *Herald* had not arrived. To his great good fortune, the American consul Francis R. Webb agreed to guarantee Stanley's needed purchases and to safely store them. On February 5, four dhows filled to the brim left Zanzibar for Bagamoyo on the mainland, a favored place along the coast for hiring *wapagazi* (porters).

12. Online revised edition, 2005.

13. Leduc-Grimaldi and Newman, eds., *Adventures of an American Traveller in Turkey*.

The Men in the Shadow, the Wapagazi

Wapagazi were recruited under a written contract, with names, salaries, duration of the expedition, function (as boys, porters, or soldiers), and the promise to remain with the chief of the Expedition until the end of it, “to obey orders promptly and do all in their power to promote harmony, and the interests of the Expedition” (S.A. 4745, 4748, 4749). Several of them could be listed on the same contract signed or marked by all the parties. They received part of their annual salary upon signing the contract, thus giving them the opportunity to do business in the markets along the road. There was a strict hierarchy among them. Lacking soldiers during the episode of the war against Mirambo, Stanley offered some of his porters the opportunity to become soldiers for twice their original salary. Needless to say, they accepted.

On average porters toted sixty pounds on their heads, and Stanley knew exactly who was carrying what (S.A. 9). In addition, a porter might have to clear a path through low branches and thorny bush. Contingent on the difficulties of the terrain, access to water and markets, and their loads, they normally marched from 2 to 4 or 5 hours per day, but sometimes longer marches or “terekeza” up to 18 or 20 miles were required (S.A. 7, 9). The kirangozi woke up and grouped the muster, blew his horn to give the signal of the march, and showed the road, though Stanley noted that his kirangozi lost the road several times, so that he had to guide the caravan by himself. A caravan was not an army in marching order, and porters arrived in disarray at the end of the march. Stanley mentions several cases of desertion, and penalties for those caught included fines and chaining during a day or more. Unfortunately, a deserter alone was an easy prey for slavers.

The chief of the expedition, like the captain of a ship, had sole responsibility for the success of his expedition and thus had to oversee virtually everything: route, food, dangers, and physical condition of his employees. Accounts must be kept along with a logbook, and the camp secured, with the bales and arms accounted for. Fights or misconduct sometimes required intervention and esprit de corps must be maintained. Such constant effort led Stanley to regret that he had no “kidogo” (second in command) to assist him. The absence of a kidogo, besides the smaller figures given for the caravans in S.A. 7, could be an indication of a less numerous muster than Stanley reported in his printed narrative of the expedition.

Stanley certainly was a demanding master, but he knew the importance of rewards and kept a chart of those deserving of such, cloth being the usual payment (S.A. 74). He made special efforts to recruit skilled Swahili personnel: servants, cooks, tailors, carpenters, hunters, and above all, scouts and speakers of vernacular languages. Stanley

preferred to hire professional carriers well known to European travelers from their previous travels, like Baruti the soldier and Mabruki Speke, both of whom had traveled with Burton and Speke, but unfortunately died during this expedition.

When back at Zanzibar in 1872, many of them signed a two-year contract with Livingstone, then later joined Stanley for his trans-African Expedition, and a few were still serving him in Congo in the 1880s.

From Bagamoyo to Tabora

A cholera epidemic had taken a large toll on life in the area, and only recently had able-bodied survivors begun to show up. In all, more than a month passed before enough men could be hired. Following advice from several locals, Stanley formed six smaller caravans designed to meet at Tabora, an important commercial center, some 430 miles away as the crow flies, but more than 500 miles on the ground. The first caravan left on February 18, the last one, with Stanley in charge, on March 22.

Right from the start Stanley faced one difficulty after another. Muddy riverbanks slowed the pace, especially of the pack animals, and the *masika*, or long rainy season, soon broke to make conditions worse. Thick stands of thorn bushes tore at clothes and skin, and an array of diseases afflicted man and beast alike. The first to go down were two horses given to Stanley by Arabs who wished him well: one died from worms, the other from horse sickness spread by bites from midges and gnats. Badly needed donkeys fell by the wayside on a regular basis due to disease and overwork, while regular bouts of dysentery plagued the porters, and several of them succumbed to smallpox. Stanley himself experienced two debilitating attacks of malaria, at the time mistakenly attributed to *miasma*, or “bad air.” All along the way, porters deserted at every opportunity. Following caravan practices, Stanley responded by lashing those caught with a whip he carried. Such punishment did little good in halting the exodus, and the whippings would later be used against him as an illustration of his brutal nature.

Upon reaching Ugogo, about halfway to Tabora, Stanley fumed over numerous demands for *hongas*, a customary payment to local African authorities for right of passage through their lands. It took hours, sometimes even a day or two, to reach an agreement about the amount of cloth and/or beads to be handed over. Beyond Ugogo, the caravan passed burned villages and abandoned fields, testimony to the horrors caused by the slave and ivory traders that recently visited the area.

After ninety-four days of travel, Stanley’s caravan reached Tabora, where Arab traders welcomed him warmly, providing foods and comforts not seen for quite a while.

Pleasant quarters awaited in the nearby village of Kwihara. Despite the safe arrivals of the other caravans, only twenty-five men signed on to continue the journey. Hiring replacements thus became a top priority. The destination would be Ujiji, another trading town on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, where rumors now suggested Livingstone either resided or would arrive soon. A serious obstacle, however, confronted Stanley: Mirambo, a local strong man, had assembled a highly disciplined army in an effort to secure the region's trade, and he now controlled the direct way from Tabora. No caravans could thus pass. To break Mirambo's blockade the Arabs prepared for what they thought would be a quick victory. Instead, the resulting battle turned into a disaster for them. Stanley had joined their ranks and almost certainly would have been killed or severely wounded, save for the quick action of his personal servant Selim Heshmy.

From Tabora to Ujiji, and the Meeting

The party endured days of sitting around, exacerbated by an attack on Tabora by Mirambo, this time aided by groups of Wangoni, offshoots of marauding warriors set off earlier by wars in southern Africa, who had been creating havoc in their northward-bound search for booty. As a result, Stanley decided that he needed to reach Ujiji via another route, one that would first head south to avoid conflict and then turn north at some point when conditions in that direction looked safer. The march began on September 20, despite Stanley suffering from another bout of malaria. It took them through uncharted territory, and porters began slipping away as before. This time Stanley tried using a neck chain that he had seen on passing slave caravans as a way to keep men in line. It had no more effect than the whip.

Stretches of the country were mostly uninhabited. A large woodland area harboring swarms of the tsetse that spread sleeping sickness kept people out, and beyond it others had fled or been killed by recent raids in search of slaves and ivory. Scarred bodies by the wayside revealed the presence of smallpox. Sensing precious time slipping away, Stanley ordered the men to turn north in hopes of reaching the Malagarasi River, the mouth of which lay just south of Ujiji. Thus began what Stanley labeled a "series of troubles." The most serious involved running short of food, to the point where starvation loomed. Good fortune, though, eventually came their way in the form of a village with ample provisions to sell. On November 1 they reached the Malagarasi. A passing caravan brought word about a white man spotted in Ujiji. Stanley thus decided to abandon the river route and take a more direct one overland. Now in populated country, onerous *hong*a demands again had to be met.

On November 10 Ujiji finally came into view. Stanley saw a bearded, pale-looking man standing amidst a crowd and presumably uttered the words that would follow him the rest of his life and are parodied to this day: “Doctor Livingstone, I presume?” The answer was reportedly a simple “Yes.”

Livingstone had a reputation for disliking intrusions on his privacy, even running away from would-be visitors, and thus Stanley worried about how he would be received. He needn’t have, for the two men spent the remainder of the day in pleasant conversation, with the doctor thankful for the supplies Stanley brought with him. Further conversations deepened their relationship, and Livingstone even suggested that they join forces to “finish his discoveries” about the sources of the Nile. Stanley, still not seeing himself as an explorer and also not wanting to engage in what he thought an onerous distraction from his primary purpose of reporting on the encounter, balked at the idea but then agreed to a simpler plan that involved determining whether the Rusizi River flowed into or out of the northern end of Lake Tanganyika. Slowly making their way northward by boat, they found that the river flowed into the lake and therefore could not be part of the Nile drainage system.

Their Return and Parting at Kwihara

Upon returning to Ujiji, the two men confronted the question of what to do next. After evaluating the options, they decided to head for Kwihara, so that Livingstone could pick up supplies left for him there in anticipation of continued explorations. The journey began on December 27, following a circuitous and uncertain route designed to avoid areas where they might encounter conflicts. After fifty-four days, they finally reached their goal, with all in poor shape due to various illnesses and lack of food. Making matters worse, they found Livingstone’s supplies in shambles, due to spoilage and theft. Stanley quickly went about finding replacements, but no porters could be found. Mirambo still held the upper hand in the region, and thus caravans of any kind had come to a stop, meaning no job opportunities existed. Stanley concluded that the only way to hire porters for Livingstone was to return to Bagamoyo. The thought of leaving the doctor pained Stanley to the core. Livingstone had become a beloved father figure, and when the time to leave came on March 14 Stanley recorded: “The regret I feel now is greater than any pains I have endured.”

The small party he managed to pull together moved fast at the start, but on March 18 the *masika* rains broke earlier than usual, forcing them to ford rivers in high flood, a challenge made worse by a rare tornado that turned the countryside into a scene of

devastation, a “howling waste” according to Stanley. On May 6, the exhausted men reached Bagamoyo. Upon hearing that Livingstone had been found, the Search and Rescue Mission sent out from England disbanded, leaving a large cache of goods up for purchase, and on May 27 fifty-seven men, none slaves, set off for Kwiwara. His task completed, two days later Stanley boarded ship, headed for England.

Stanley’s Diaries and Notebooks: More Than the Making of an Author?

As a correspondent for the *New York Herald*, Stanley’s first duty was to send dispatches to the newspaper’s offices in New York or London. He always followed the orders given and was quite anxious not to make a decision that the *Herald* could judge wrong or risky. As noted, Bennett regularly sacked people, and Stanley did not want to join them. As he recorded regarding the search for Livingstone, “I should say Bennett would never forgive me for running away from my duty to him. From what I know of him he would even begrudge the few days I must naturally stay here, & would say ‘Your duty was to ask questions & note answers, obtain a formal acknowledgement that you had seen him, & hurry back to the Coast with the news.’”¹⁴

There is no doubt that the Livingstone assignment provided a golden opportunity not to be missed. Fame would come Stanley’s way, with a best-selling book a possibility. As he noted, S.A. 7 was designed “to contain as much information respecting myself as may be condensed to the limits of the pages within.”¹⁵ He expanded upon this in *How I Found Livingstone* by remarking, “It must be remembered that I am writing a narrative of my own adventures and travels, and that until I meet Livingstone, I presume the greatest interest is attached to myself, my marches, my troubles, my thoughts, and my impressions.”¹⁶

To solve both the material and financial issues of arranging his expedition, Stanley had to rely on himself for most things. Views about this are clear in S.A. 7, as are his concerns, including his inexperience as chief of the expedition, the lack of a valuable second in command, his bouts of illness, his knowledge of the country only from books, the secrecy of the whole operation, and finally having no precise budget from the *Herald*. In addition, Stanley felt highly insecure about having little in common with scientific travelers, or with literary tourists.¹⁷ Plagued by such doubts and the fear that he

14. S.A. 11, 31.

15. The same expression appears at the end of Journal S.A. 5, December 31, 1870: “For further information about myself and Expedition, and daily incidents turn to Diary 1871.”

16. *HIFL*, “Introductory,” xxii.

17. On this distinction, see Felix Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 51–53.

might not succeed in his quest, this journal shows Stanley not as a triumphant hero, but rather more as a vulnerable human being struggling with self-doubt.

After having achieved his goal at Ujiji, Stanley's introspection sank into the background. As S.A. 11 shows, Livingstone, and Stanley's growing affection for him, became the center of attention. Their meeting and time spent together also sowed the seeds for Stanley to become a traveler and a man with a mission in life.