

[J. E. Lewis](#)

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# **Empires of sentiment; intimacies from death: David Livingstone's death and African slavery at 'the heart of the nation'**

JE Lewis

## **I The 'pathetic' death of Bwana Ingeleshi: Introduction**

'By the candle still burning they saw him, not in bed, but kneeling at the bedside, with his head buried in his hands upon the pillow...he had passed away...But he had died in the act of prayer...commending his own spirit, with all his dear ones, as was his wont, into the hands of his Saviour; and commending AFRICA - his own dear Africa - with all her woes and sins and wrongs, to the Avenger of the oppressed and the Redeemer of the lost.'<sup>1</sup>

It was a Reuter's news agent based in Aden who broke the news in late January 1874 that David Livingstone was dead.<sup>2</sup> The agent had intercepted a secret telegram from Zanzibar to London<sup>3</sup>, symbolic of the growing power of a global news network. His body nevertheless was still on the move, heading home. A funeral in England was made possible because of the bold decisions taken by the African leaders of Livingstone's expedition. They had embalmed the corpse and buried his internal organs, before hanging it in the fork of a *mulowo* tree to dry,<sup>4</sup> later folding it into a neat package.<sup>5</sup> They carried it back to the east African coast on a pole, or on their backs when in danger; men *and women* taking it in turns.<sup>6</sup>

The account of Livingstone's last moments in the opening extract was written by his most influential and respected Victorian biographer, William Blaikie and first published in 1880. It reflects the potent mix of high emotion and religious feeling that would dominate contemporary responses. But the touching scene bore little resemblance to reality. Livingstone died on the ground, after falling out of a cot, possibly in the early hours of 1 May 1873, insensible from illness.<sup>7</sup> The death in prayer scenario was an embellished version of an already imagined death scene penned by another devoted male admirer, the Protestant missionary and anti-slavery activist, Rev Horace Waller.<sup>8</sup> Waller had drawn this version out of Livingstone's two longest-suffering servant or co-explorers brought to England in 1874, to help him complete Livingstone's journals for publication that year. Earlier, when Livingstone's servants had been subjected to 'careful cross examination' at Zanzibar, no mention was made of a death at prayer.<sup>9</sup>

This heavily romanticized picture survived longer than Livingstone's reputation and accounts in part for its endurance. Livingstone had ridden out the discrediting of empire, and decolonization up until the 1970s, remaining much adored particularly in Christian and juvenile literature, popular inspirational biographies and Scottish Livingstone studies (the three forms not necessarily exclusive).<sup>10</sup> Then a new biography exposed an explorer who had led himself to his painful death, through basic blunders, high-handedness, and blinding ambition.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, one respected Kenyan historian unleashed the frustration his generation at colonialism, branding Livingstone 'a nineteenth century hippy and spy... a very dreadful liar... [who] thoroughly enjoyed the flesh pots of Central Africa.'<sup>12</sup>

Yet still Livingstone was left dying in prayer until Helly showed in 1987 how Waller airbrushed the last diaries of Livingstone, and manipulated the accounts of his servants, to advance his and Livingstone's 'shared humanitarian aims...through the era of high imperialism in Africa'.<sup>13</sup> The falsity of the death in prayer scene had been suspected but never seriously pursued.<sup>14</sup> A duplicitous genius, Waller had shown Livingstone dying for God to 'break down the oppression and woe of the land, the slave trade. It is in the very image of the man at his death that the Livingstone legend was fixed'.<sup>15</sup> Waller's clear conscience likely stemmed from a belief that his version was what his beloved Livingstone would have wanted.

This article builds on Helly's revisionism. It stresses the connection between the death of Livingstone and the ideological 'soft-power'<sup>16</sup> of the British Empire in Africa by highlighting the crucial contribution of this 'theatre of death'<sup>17</sup> to the history of what Barnett terms 'humanitarian imperialism'<sup>18</sup>. It departs from Helly by stressing the importance of the funeral and a more spontaneous public outpouring of 'tender feelings', or sentimentality which will be illustrated by examining the national context in which those emotions were produced.<sup>19</sup> Its theoretical basis is the huge symbolic power that Livingstone's unusual death in central Africa generated, with his two burials drawn out over a year with Africans *at the centre of each*.

As Mackenzie observed, 'death raised Livingstone to the status of 'a Protestant Saint.'<sup>20</sup> Driver has argued Livingstone's death drew on an established taste in British popular culture for martyrology in Africa from missionaries to geographers.'<sup>21</sup> Woolf's study of *Great Deaths* uses Livingstone as an example of how a celebrity death can heavily impact, in his case, 'inspiring the religious and patriotic mythologies of empire', derived from the sacrifice of 'perceived martyrs'.<sup>22</sup> Thus mass shared emotion and from public mourning can unleash concerted political pressure capable of renegotiating the status quo, destroying consensus or even generating new political and social formations.<sup>23</sup>

Two more recent historiographies invite closer examination of the death of

Livingstone in relation to memorialization First, the reach and impact of a globalizing press machine in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As the 'technologies' of print became industrialised and global, Potter has argued, coverage and commentary in a national and regional press increased.<sup>24</sup> Cook has shown how press coverage of Livingstone during his life was consistent and positive.<sup>25</sup> Kitch has illustrated how journalism plays an important role in tragic deaths 'defining and preserving cultural mythology...through narrative and rhetorical analysis'.<sup>26</sup> Literary critics such as Pettitt have used newspapers to highlight the presence of Susi, Chuma, and Jacob, among the hidden 'Black Faces in Victorian Britain'<sup>27</sup>; Justin Livingstone uses the press to stress the importance of the verification of Livingstone's body, doubted by the government until days before the funeral. However there is little acknowledgement of the emotional response by non-elites or the broader historical context especially factors which united mourners.<sup>28</sup>

Secondly, recent history of the abolition movement has started to acknowledge the impact of the death, slotting it into the national selfie: Britain's as the world's anti-slaving power.<sup>29</sup> Huzzey's study of anti-slavery after 1833, invites a more detailed study of the intersection of the role of the press, the abolition movement, the evolution of a 'moral policy' on Africa: a British political agent in Zanzibar who interviewed Livingstone's servants when they reached the coast believed that 'cheap journalism' conveyed to politicians 'the unmistakable expression of the nation's wishes'...for the suppression of the slave trade.<sup>30</sup> Huzzey references Livingstone's funeral and Waller's editing.<sup>31</sup> Closer analysis of the 1874 funeral will reveal, how the abolition movement came to be so powerful in relation to Livingstone's memorialization. This is important since new research is highlighting the neglected role of anti-slavery feeling in Britain's decision to formally occupy eastern Africa: in part to honour Livingstone and to continue Britain's traditional obligations.<sup>32</sup> The funeral thus bequeathed the first major development plan for Africa through the practice of moral emotion.

This article will highlight the role newspapers played in the period between the announcement of Livingstone's death in January 1874 and his second funeral in April 1874. Without their coverage, the funeral would likely not have taken place; the press reflected public emotion, fuelling sentiments and sentimentality. Secondly, this article stresses the neglected domestic political and social context of the 1870s including the anger that Livingstone and his family, poor and humble in background, were being badly treated. It will suggest that the London funeral was more shambolic and disorganized in reality. And it will show that the nature of the death stimulated a groundswell of tears and sentimentality towards Livingstone and Africans. His death and Africa were interpreted through an image of Africa as the continent of slaves; Livingstone, its liberator; and Africans as his friends and admirers. Livingstone was celebrated as representing 'the heart of the nation' that had been lost and could be restored if slavery was finally extirpated in Africa. What the 'cult of the heart' meant at this time explains this moment in what Hume called 'the fluctuating situations' of 'moral evaluation.'<sup>33</sup>

The wider significance of this case for the study of empire is threefold. First, it

shows an early example of the power of humanitarian concern and empathy sustained by modern media coverage. The presentation of Livingstone's death as a humanitarian cry and of Livingstone as the underdog who gave his life for the underdog, produced a 'strongly moderating effect of empathy'<sup>34</sup> that pro-imperialists would draw on later. Secondly, the importance of intimacy. The death of Livingstone and the response of his African servants were experienced through an intimate portrayal of their close relations and lack of racial awareness; Livingstone wrote and published his field diaries as a process of emotional 'self-display', exhibiting a strong 'will to self-disclosure'.<sup>35</sup> Both are important milestones in the development an imperial culture that could draw on such vaults of 'emotion capital'.<sup>36</sup> 516 This positive intimacy would be re-experienced through countless books and pamphlets on him after 1874; an example of transformatory intimacy, manufacturing connectivity and disinhibiting. Finally therefore, this case study underlines the importance of factoring in the role of emotion in making and sustaining the empire. Rotter argues that 'imperial relations' were not just shaped by economic and political factors but 'by the five senses; how we understand others, and even more how we feel emotionally about them.'<sup>37</sup> This uniquely British event, diffused by a uniquely poly-phonic public created a powerful emotional resource and practice around an imagined Africa and intimate relations that understood humanitarian intervention to be the highest stage of (white) morality.

Finally, since such a funeral and outpouring of collective grief also belongs to a history of the emotions, it can add to the debate between the popular imperialism school and the empire-minimalists, carried out in this journal between John Mackenzie and Bernard Porter. Mackenzie's defense of popular imperialism as a continuing presence in British political and social life 1750-1950, charges Porter with neglecting newspapers and figures such as Livingstone.<sup>38</sup> Porter insists Mackenzie's position and that of English literature scholars generally who accept the 'ubiquity of the imperial discourse in Victorian society', is weak because they ignore the wider social and political context of 'lives lived'.<sup>39</sup> Rather, attitudes to empire were 'complex interactions between "imperial" and other contemporary discourses' always 'subtly transmogrifying and metamorphasising'; elites were not interested in public opinion in the absence of full democracy; and imperial policy came out of material conditions, only appealing occasionally to wide a range of discourses.<sup>40</sup> This case-study of unguarded sentiment at an intimate moment can close in on what people were feeling and why - the nub of the issue. And both views can be reconciled (or shown to have limitations).

## **II The first news of the 'pathetic death'**

Between January and April 1874, the 'facts' of the death and the passage of the body home were covered by a vigorous Victorian press enjoying a golden age by the 1870s. London was firmly established as the 'empire's news hub', commerce feeding 'the industrialising of the press', as telegraphic technology developed across the globe.<sup>41</sup> Higher literacy rates, faster networks of exchange, cheaper print and more professional news agencies were increasing receptive audiences, so much

so that in 1874, a Catholic Bishop described the British press as 'the most powerful engine in the armoury of the devil'.<sup>42</sup>

From the end of January, most British newspapers carried the announcement. 'Dr Livingstone is no more'; the *Edinburgh Evening News*; insisting it was delusional to hope otherwise. The popular *Penny Illustrated News* ran with the marriage of Prince Albert as its cover story but further in '[w]e recall the memory of our readers the familiar features of the illustrious explorer of central Africa whose lamentable death there is now alas no reason to doubt.'<sup>43</sup> Short factual pieces immediately circulated, giving basic details and mentioning harsh conditions of his last days: *The Cosmopolitan*, a London weekly, reported Livingstone had died of dysentery after a fortnight's illness.<sup>44</sup>

Highly emotional and sentimental responses immediately appeared in right wing and religious publications. 'LIVINGSTONE is dead', began the *Daily Telegraph's* editorial, an extensive eulogy using classic Manichean imagery and feminizing discourse:

...a man whose name will ever be a glory to his own country, and a portion of the unwritten History of Africa. The best and truest friend whom that dark Continent ever possessed....has perished opening up her unknown regions to light and knowledge. He has died – as he must have expected to die .... With the yearning desire to see once more the faces of his friends and the shores of his native land ...[but] he had faced the chance of 'death in harness' far too often not to be prepared for it.... we may say that no man ever better did his life work or kept a purer and kinder heart along with courage so dauntless, endurance so heroic, and purpose so resolutely fixed.<sup>45</sup>

In many accounts, the manner of his death was seen as upsetting of the natural order of things: a good man had not died a good death but a pathetic death. Protestant, pro-missionary publications like the *Christian World* did not hold back. 'Even in the midst of political excitement...' (a reference to the forthcoming general election which the Liberals would lose to the Conservatives) '...the heart of the nation was profoundly solemnised by the tidings that Dr Livingstone is dead. There are but few men in the world whose departure could have made the same impression at such an hour'.<sup>46</sup> A detailed biographical sketch on a rag to riches theme followed, stressing how the son of a poor man was now the envy of Kings because of 'the place he had won in the hearts of his fellow-men.'

Initial coverage has a number of themes: Livingstone being close to the heart, or representing the nation's heart; his humble, working class origins; and his super-human, masculine strength, which placed him above Africans even in their capabilities to survive local conditions. This last theme was part of a running discourse on the superior qualities of the generic white man. Racism was far more

overt in the press where doubts circulated that Livingstone was actually dead. The *Times* disbelieved 'negro attendants were capable of organising the return of his body'<sup>47</sup>; the *Aberdeen Journal* adding that 'the negroes of all savages, show the least consideration for their dead comrades'<sup>48</sup>. Livingstone's father in law, Robert Moffat, warned against believing the news because no European had confirmed it.<sup>49</sup> However, newspaper coverage also shows Livingstone was not a topic of universal interest. In the *East Kent, Faversham and Sittingbourne Gazette*, the death of a Peninsular War veteran received equal coverage. It remained steadfastly disinterested in the further doubts, circulating by mid-February, as to whether the body steaming towards London was that of Livingstone's. A meeting of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) had concluded that the case was still open and the remains would be examined when they arrived.): 'it is a real pity that the problem cannot be left to solve itself ...for the last dozen years we have been needlessly distressed and perplexed by contradictory reports...'.<sup>50</sup> The *Manchester Guardian* doubted he was dead, whilst the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* went with 'Alleged Suicide of Dr Livingstone'.<sup>51</sup> He had apparently shot himself.

The 'gruesome facts' about the death made it a good copy but the returning corpse was always peg for arguments about Britain and Africa. An editorial in the *Telegraph*, called for 'the pride of the country in the deeds of pure humanity' to find expression in the ending of the slave trade.<sup>52</sup> But theirs was not pure humanity. Their rationale was the formula: commerce. The paper called for the removal of obstacles to trade in Africa: 'the remains of our own heathenism'(slavery) so the 'Negro family' could be introduced into the 'body corporate of nations'. What helped give moral support to this apparent aspiration, was the rhetorical preoccupation in sections of the press with presenting Livingstone as an 'Anglo-Saxon man of peace'.<sup>53</sup> The *Telegraph's* first eulogy in late had January, revered a man, who 'without staining his hands with any man's blood' had given his life away 'to kill slavery and to open Africa to the light making it possible for the hateful manstealer to be replaced with free play for her marvellous products and industrious tribes'.<sup>54</sup> The new emphasis on Livingstone's pacificism needs to read against rival headline news hitting the 'imperial capital'. The famine in Bengal was one story that challenged the biscuit-tin picture of British rule. Likewise, the British war against the Ashanti Kingdom in west Africa, particularly preoccupied newspapers such as the *Manchester Guardian*. For some at least, this conflict raised issues about proportional violence and the very notion of civilization. The *Christian World's* coverage tried to reconcile high levels of violence by blaming the Gatling gun for inflicting head wounds that resembled 'those caused by small explosive shells when fired into small animals' and the way that locals kept hiding in the bushes.<sup>55</sup> Evidence of discomfort with violence overseas can be found in some of the death poems written for Livingstone and sent to organisations like the RGS. One writer cynically contrasted Livingstone's glories with those 'now from coasts where cheap are blood and gold...'.<sup>56</sup>

Press coverage also reveals the extent of the sensitivity of involvement in Africa through Henry Morton's Stanley's efforts to promote the good cause of commercial

expansion in Africa, in particular by praising Livingstone's pacifism. Stanley had surprised the Captain of the Malwa steamship which had the body of Livingstone aboard, by bursting into his cabin at 3am when the ship was at Aden.<sup>57</sup> His aim was to prepare Jacob Wainwright, one of Livingstone's African servants and that had his passage paid for by the Church Missionary Society (CMS), for the huge press interest to come. When the steamship docked at Southampton, Stanley was one of the first to board, organizing the press corps to report his interview of Jacob. He asked him: 'Did the Doctor ever have occasion to fire his gun?' Wainwright replied 'No sir...The Master was not fond of firing his gun'.<sup>58</sup> This was not accurate. Guns were vital to exploration and central Africa was awash with them. When Holmwood had interviewed Chuma and Susi they described Livingstone's technique for obtaining canoes from reluctant locals: 'he fired his pistol over their heads'.<sup>59</sup>

Religious press coverage reveals other anxieties. Livingstone's dubious missionary record was addressed a week after the news broke, in the *Christian World's* 'Sermons'. Rev New had addressed an audience Exeter Hall, to assure them (as Stanley had reassured him) that 'Dr Livingstone never forgot that he was a missionary'; reading the Bible and explaining Christian truths 'in a simple manner'. He appealed for 'sympathy for the much wronged African race, and for more vigilant efforts to put an end to the abominations of slavery and the slave trade'.<sup>60</sup> Livingstone was also be used to attack other kinds of apparent abominations. At the YMCA's annual meeting for 1874, Rev Donald Fraser lectured on 'Christian Manliness' using Livingstone as the prime example of 'real manhood' which 'young men, young ladies and lady-like young men ought to take heed of'.<sup>61</sup> If he was using Livingstone in a veiled attack on homosexuality, Fraser also had other scores to settle, invoking Livingstone as the antidote to 'a new kind of religion that denied the right and duty of private judgement, which diminishes the sense of personal responsibility'.

At this juncture, press coverage of Livingstone shows a lack of concern or precision over identities. Descriptions of Livingstone were at full stretch in their 'plasticity'<sup>62</sup>: explorer, missionary, scientist, humanitarian crusader, and usually English. Any revered characteristic of Livingstone was promoted as natural feature of Englishness particularly by upper class commentators. In 1872, Sir Bartle Frere, of the RGS fraternity, had described him as 'representative of the best features of England...an Englishman who has shown to have the best features of the Anglo-Saxon character'.<sup>63</sup> Knowing Livingstone well, he surely knew he was born in Glasgow. Livingstone could also be portrayed as he a man with 'a childlike simplicity', 'a simple but unbending character'; or just 'simple minded',<sup>64</sup> probably explanations that helped some Victorians come to terms with his apparent closeness to Africans. Indeed, Livingstone's identity became an issue for commentators in relation to his proximity to Africans. His death in Africa increased the anxiety in some quarters that he had 'gone native'. One of Stanley's aims along with finding him in central Africa, was to ascertain just how far he had abandoned civilized behaviour in his isolation. In this way, he was a living experiment for the home



audience, especially since his own Highlander ancestry placed him very low down the domestic racial ladder, being Gaelic by descent. Dean Stanley's funeral sermon in Westminster Abbey called him 'Cosmopolitan, catholic, almost African as he had become...'.<sup>65</sup> He had to reassure the public: 'let us not forget that he was bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh.'

Whilst Livingstone now enjoyed plurality and praise, the view of Africa was narrowing and becoming more negative: a place of death; the worst place for a white man to die; and it was a 'country' full of slaves. Africans were a race to be pitied: 'the forlorn condition of the African races' was an image that would increasingly dominate as the call to take up the anti-slavery cause increased as the funeral came closer. Whilst African skills, hard work and commercial aspirations were underscored in some reports, these would fade into the background, as Livingstone's earlier verdict - they are 'civilized, anxious to trade and skilful in the art of cultivation', and 'rather believe we are the savages' - receded.<sup>66</sup>

### **III The press and the pulpit: popular pressure for a funeral**

The initial emotionalism and sentimentality in sections of the press following the breaking news, started to link his pathetic death with anti-slavery atonement, and this may have resolved the Government not to make a fuss. What the new Conservative Government wanted to avoid was pressure to intervene in eastern/central Africa, having been forced to ban the slave trade off the coast in 1871 due to public pressure.<sup>67</sup> Neither the Government nor the RGS wanted to organize a funeral. As late as 13 April (the funeral would be on 18 April), the London Missionary Society (LMS) were writing with bewilderment asking what were the arrangements for their involvement, first raised in early March.<sup>68</sup> Intriguingly, the funeral that left in its wake, a strong political, religious and moral commitment to intervene in Africa as an act of memorialisation, nearly did not happen. Free donations and press coverage are crucial to explaining events.

Imperialism on the cheap started with his servants being paid a pittance for their brave efforts.<sup>69</sup> Livingstone's remains were then placed in a second wooden coffin provided free by local missionaries, before being picked up by a British Frigate HMS Vulture. Then began a series of donated passages: an Austrian war ship; a British Indian Steam Navigation Company ship to Aden; then onto the Pacific and Orient Ship, the Malwa, to Southampton; finally the South West Train company taking the body to London.<sup>70</sup> This journey was sensational in itself; a great peg for more Livingstone stories, which easily allowed for a dramatic build up in the press. Crucially it created enough time for three separate interventions by religious groups, with high and low political agendas and different interests, but all backing a revival of Christian mission as humanitarianism driven anti-slavery, understood as the highest form of civilization.<sup>71</sup> Significantly each acted on press information.

The interim period between the news breaking in late January and the body leaving Zanzibar in mid-February, created a window of opportunity for savvy

abolitionists. Jacob Wainwright (freed slave, educated and converted to Christianity in the CMS Nassick School, Bombay) would be amongst the returnees. His old headmaster contacted the CMS, who in turn contacted Arthur Laing, the English merchant in Zanzibar, tasked with bringing the remains home.<sup>72</sup> The CMS paid for Wainwright to accompany the remains, recognizing the opportunity in a global media age. Evangelicalism stagnated from the 1850s, the era of the so-called Victorian crisis of faith'.<sup>73</sup> Meanwhile, missions like the CMS feared the spread of Islam. Conversion was stalling, and by the 1870s so too had their campaigns.<sup>74</sup> The LMS might have fallen out with Livingstone earlier in his career but they quickly praised 'his integrity of Christian character; in the sight of the heathen, his indomitable energy and ecumenical activity...preparing the way for...British influence and commerce but also the freedom, the civilization and the spiritual regeneration of the African race.'<sup>75</sup>

Secondly, the Dean of Westminster Abbey, read about the death in the first newspaper accounts in late January whilst in St Petersburg attending a royal wedding.<sup>76</sup> He wrote immediately to the President of the RGS, offering to 'entertain the proposal' that the body be buried in Westminster Abbey, later claiming he had been 'morally certain that the only man who could have inspired such enthusiasm...for carrying a dead body' was Livingstone, although still requesting written proof from the surgeon who carried out the last-minute examination.<sup>77</sup> The prospect was not universally welcomed. Newspapers voiced criticism. One editorial argued it would have been better if he had been buried in Africa, 'whose people he loved so well.'<sup>78</sup> The Catholic press objected to the burial on the grounds that 'he had identified himself with a sect which...have no divinely appointed ministers or teachers...As well we might inter the Sultan of Turkey, his Majesty of Ashantee or the King of the Cambal Islands'.<sup>79</sup> And it provoked more standard criticisms; the *Cornhill Magazine* sneering at missionaries who do nothing but 'walk about with a Bible under their arm, preaching sermons to the natives'.<sup>80</sup> But the Dean also saw an opportunity to bring together fractious churches and a spate of intra-denominational Protestant fighting around this time. His funeral sermon in April would begin with St John 'Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold...there shall we one fold and one shepherd', but was not just directed towards Africa. <sup>81</sup> Although he would later reject the offer of help to conduct the service from a nonconformist minister, he insisted 'every consideration...be shown to the dissenting clergy'.<sup>82</sup>

Yet the Dean's offer was only accepted by the Government in early April because of a tight knit community of non-conformist, commercially-minded townsmen. Information in the press had galvanized them into action. Discovering that Malwa would be docking at Southampton, the town's Mayor, Edwin Jones, began planning a grand reception for the remains.<sup>83</sup> Jones was a Welsh non-conformist from a humble background, a self-made man and philanthropist. Southampton was experiencing a commercial lull; it was rumoured that the Pacific and Oriental shipping company might relocate.<sup>84</sup> The regional press covered the town council's extensive plans for an impressive municipal reception for

the remains organized by a special committee. These initiatives highlighted the lack of any sign of 'imperial ceremony' for the body in London and attracted national press attention. Southampton's MP, Russell Gurney, also an enthusiastic anti-abolitionist, raised the issue in the Commons, on 31 March 1874. It would be a 'great disappointment' Gurney insisted, to cries of 'hear, hear', if 'any disrespect were shown to the memory of the great explorer, for we all have reason to be proud of the glory that has been shed on this country by...one of her sons...'.<sup>85</sup> Only a few excused the Government's tardiness due to its preparations for the army returning from the Gold Coast.<sup>86</sup>

The RGS resisted organizing the funeral although it was usually the first port of call for many concerning Livingstone, most recently in its employ, and was the recipient of all formal government information about his death, forwarding letters to the family. But Livingstone had cost them two search expeditions already and the payment of his servants was an ongoing issue.<sup>87</sup> Socially, he was inferior to the usual upper class parentage of explorers and the RGS was in effect an exclusive Gentleman's Club. Moreover, the 'American' Henry Morton Stanley was acting as Livingstone's spokesman. Stanley was held in high disdain by the RGS elite, having beaten their Livingstone search party to find him; he published 'sensationalism geography', to them vulgar, wrong and commercially motivated; and was in any case a member of a little respected profession - 'a damned penny a liner'.<sup>88</sup> The first reports of his death were discredited at an evening meeting of the RGS on 26 January.<sup>89</sup> On 9 February, the Council considered a request from a member that the Society strike a medal in the memory of David Livingstone. The Council declined.<sup>90</sup> One elderly lady suggested a piece of plate be presented to the family.<sup>91</sup> No record of the response survives.

Nevertheless as the body moved closer and that it was Livingstone's seemed for likely, the RGS asked the Government for help with the funeral, aware that his family could not pay. However, the Government still refused. Lord Derby, the Foreign Secretary, knew Livingstone had children and maiden sisters, and warned the Prime minister: 'It is not supposed he can have left anything. He is a man whose life and work as an explorer have attracted an unusual amount of public interest.'<sup>92</sup> But the Government worried that the Americans - Gordon Bennett, Proprietor of the New York Herald and his protégé, Henry Morton Stanley - were making fools of them; Bennett having issued a detailed press release full of more 'facts' about Livingstone's last musings on the 30 March.<sup>93</sup> The RGS president wrote to Disraeli after Gurney's awkward questions in the House of Commons, offering to help.<sup>94</sup> Despite receiving a letter from Livingstone's sister assuring 'there can no longer be any reasonable doubt', the prime minister still feared a hoax, insisting in early April there were issues which required 'investigation'.<sup>95</sup> The Government's skepticism had some foundation. Authentication issues had been a national preoccupation following the sensational story in 1866 of the Titchborne claimant, who insisted he was the lost son and heir of wealthy Victorian aristocrats.<sup>96</sup> In 1874, he had been sentenced to fourteen years for fraud but 'many working-class people came to believe that the claimant was not only genuine but the

victim of a conspiracy by the elite'.<sup>97</sup> Likewise, when Stanley returned to London in 1872 with Livingstone's letters after claiming to have found him, he was disbelieved by many men in high places and reproduced in the press at the time. A canard did the rounds that 'Stanley had not been within a thousand miles of Livingstone but had simply acquired his diary and letters by robbing an African messenger...'.<sup>98</sup> Such was the hatred for Stanley, it nearly cost Livingstone his funeral but in the long run popular sympathy with a genuine underdog would add to the sentiments being expressed.

Finally, the press was used to resolve the impasse. The RGS was forced into organizing a funeral committee and this met on April 7.<sup>99</sup> Having agreed to store the body in its Map Room, it probably feared this implied it was accepting financial responsibility. *The Times* enjoyed a close relationship with the RGS and it published an unconfirmed report on the 9 April that the Government had agreed to pay for the funeral.<sup>100</sup> It had not but now the Chancellor was forced to award £250 towards costs. The Government made it clear the RGS were responsible for the event. This was *five* days before the body was scheduled to arrive in England. So, although Livingstone had been dead for nearly a year, his funeral was cobbled together in a week. The press had been instrumental in creating the problem of a funeral and in solving it.

#### **IV 'He is come home to us'<sup>101</sup>: letters, poetry and the groundswell of public sentiment**

Newspapers also played a vital role in the expression of public feeling. A steady trickle of news stories, letters and articles on Livingstone followed in February and March ensuring the drama and expectation increased. *The Telegraph* for example ran with a Reuter's telegram from Aden, reporting that body had left Zanzibar on 22 February before covering a discussion at an evening meeting of the RGS where his death was still doubted.<sup>102</sup> In early April, coverage increased substantially when letters written by Livingstone never posted, reached the Foreign Office and were circulated. Annoyingly for the authorities, these included letters to Gordon Bennett, and Henry Morton Stanley. Bennett sent a copy of his letter to the London office of his *New York Herald*. Subsequently, emotive headlines appeared in other papers such as: 'A last letter from Livingstone'; the 'Last Days of Livingstone'. In the *Christian World*, 'How he died', was introduced as 'a profoundly pathetic tale' which would 'move many a reader to tears'. The news that Jacob Wainwright - 'a noble lad' - was bearing the body home was comforting since it would 'do much to stir the missionary impulse in English hearts...'.<sup>103</sup>

Some newspapers chose to reproduce long extracts of Livingstone's own words. *The News of the World* and *Glasgow Herald* like many papers gave Livingstone a powerful posthumous platform on which to speak against against slavery.<sup>104</sup> His targeted letters had the desired effect of underscoring his liberal impulses (rather than imperial ones). One illustration of this was the coverage to his apparent promotion of the equal rights of women. 'Dr Livingstone's visit to a harem' was an attack on Arab barbarity. Livingstone had met 'a half-caste Arab prince' believed

all women were 'utterly and irretrievably bad'. But it was also a chance to publicise his apparent belief in the equality of women. In an age when the struggle for women to be enfranchised was beginning to take shape, this general, vague sympathy would have increased his appeal to women.

Secondly, the first myths about his death started to appear. The two great rivals for Livingstone's affection and close association, H M Stanley and Rev Waller, had much to do with this. *The Graphic* (which Stanley wrote for), told its readers there was 'something very touching in the details just received of the great traveller's death'.<sup>105</sup> 'Build me a hut to die in', encouraged a view of an agonized last few days; now his last words were 'I am going home'. Moreover, readers were confidently informed that 'one of the noblest souls of his generation' would be remembered by 'thousands in Africa...with far warmer feelings of affection and veneration...'. A rose-tinted view of a natural state of good race relations between the British and 'the African' was steadily being crafted.

This ever growing affectionate and sentimental coverage of Livingstone in Africa contrasted with - and was enhanced by - official indifference and helps explain the rising emotionalism through April as the body came closer. Rumours of slights continued, such as the accusation that his remains had been shoved in the hold of the *Malwa* and not in a cabin.<sup>106</sup> A letter sent to *the Times* and republished in regional papers including the *Western Mail* complained bitterly that Susi and Chuma had not had their passage paid for.<sup>107</sup> Horace Waller insisted they were 'amongst the greatest of African travellers' (note, not explorers). In the context of Titchbourne claimant and a feeling in some quarters that ordinary people were being ridden roughshod by the elite plus the controversy about the lack of a willingness on behalf of the government to pay for the funeral, a perception that Livingstone's family was now being badly treated further heightened popular feeling. With his government pension expiring on his death, children and unmarried sisters were now financially vulnerable. The *Glasgow Herald* was one of many papers critical of the government's 'trivial contributions'.<sup>108</sup> A number of his admirers, including Waller and Baroness Burdet Coutts, made a public appeal for donations to a Livingstone Testimonial Fund they had help set up.<sup>109</sup> The national press gave it much publicity in the weeks before the funeral.<sup>110</sup> 'We must no longer withhold from this nation a trust which has fallen to it by his death', was a call publicly endorsed by Southampton's funeral committee and RGS.

Significantly, the calls for a fund to honour his memory were now twined with calls for the final push in the 'crusade against African slavery', and 'the energetic action of the British Government' to extinct the 'horrid traffic'; such a 'noble example' could spur on 'civilised nations', reflecting the generally held view that Britain was a world leader in this area.<sup>111</sup> Livingstone had gone to the 'core of barbarism...to destroy the traffic in human flesh and blood', editorialised the *News of the World*.<sup>112</sup> Such an act out of duty rather than for 'money or fame' was, it lamented, 'just a little beyond the utilitarian spirit of our age' (a criticism of contemporary society that would be developed during the funeral).

Again the government had to back down, announcing that in view of the pension granted by the Gladstone government of £300 expiring on his death, the family would now receive £200 pension.<sup>113</sup> A deputation had visited the Foreign Secretary presenting a signed plea for a pension for his relatives in view of his services to humanity. Whilst he agreed that Livingstone's scientific contributions were immense he had not consented.<sup>114</sup> But even after the U-turn, the 'niggardly' attitude of the state regarding such a 'circumscribed fund' was still criticized. In late April, it was announced that the organisation raising a public subscription was now in abeyance pending the government's decision. Sections of the press were not impressed: 'We confess we do not see the necessity for this suspension...' until the sum was found to be adequate.<sup>115</sup> Henry Morton Stanley added his support, taking the opportunity to stress in life Livingstone never wanted any reward, other than Government stopping slavers, whether Arab or Portuguese. Such 'self-abnegation' was so rare in this age, Stanley pronounced, repeating a theme in other papers, that his family should be provided for.<sup>116</sup>

Thus newspapers had set the scene for the imminent arrival of the corpse of an apparently selfless, peace-loving old man whose poor treatment contrasted unfavourably with the response of his African servants and Glasgow, about to erect a statue.<sup>117</sup> Journalists flocked to Southampton to report the arrival of the body on 15 April. A large, official and somber reception led by the town council impressed all onlookers, with its massive but well behaved crowds, brass bands and military salute. This would be the grand Victorian ceremonial for Livingstone's remains, which were taken by train to Waterloo. Journalists were not impressed that poor organisation meant only six people received the coffin on the platform.<sup>118</sup> Meanwhile, adding to the drama, the press published the gruesome examination of the body, in some papers as the funeral was taking place. Livingstone's facial features had decayed but not his whiskers.<sup>119</sup> Such macabre details drew audiences in further; it fascinated even the surgeon, that 'one of the greatest men of the human race' was reduced to a small box of bones. Verification came from the wound he sustained fighting off a lion, reminding audiences of his heroism and could also draw attention to the honesty as well as courage of his African followers.<sup>120</sup>

However verification had not been necessary for a wider public whose strong feelings had already formed. Poems and eulogies written before the funeral, sent to the RGS or published in newspapers, suggest a long tail of genuine emotion and sorrow which took the authorities by surprise. Often poems were anonymous or just had initials suggesting that women were perhaps the authors. One sophisticated, printed eulogy began on expensive mourning paper: 'Who shall write the epitaph to the sainted dead'.<sup>121</sup> All classes and genders it appears. One writer described 'a surging wave of feeling rolls across the land'; another described a nation 'sadly mourning for the ending, of a brave and loving heart'. Others imagined the funeral when 'hearts of love, with tearful eyes, gaze upon the sleeping shrine'; or 'Open the Abbey doors and bear him in, To sleep with King and Statesmen...The missionary come of weaver-kin'. One hand-written eulogy from a self-described 'unknown

person' included: 'Calm lies the pilgrim old, still rests the martyr bold, Dead - his brave heart cold, oh how we loved him...'. Many poems dwelt on his physical sufferings. A poem in *Punch* described a 'worn frame', the 'agony of fever, brain and boil'; another 'his shrivell'd brow'.<sup>122</sup> Yet many also brought him back to life: 'He being dead, yet speaketh; another 'Speaks he yet, although now dead...'

When Africa did feature, it was in relation to slavery and often a mere stage for Livingstone's life and death where it could be imagined 'a palm tree like a hand came down at his death bed; a place where he did 'Toll, toll, toll...To raise as Man, the slave-doomed Africa'; or 'Striking the chains from the Slaves fettered hands'. Africans were becoming synonymous with slaves in popular discourse. Some newspapers for example, described a negro mounted on a box at Southampton quayside, waving a banner 'Livingstone: friend of Africans'; in other papers it was 'friend of slaves'. For an anonymous poet in Cardiff, the Abbey was the right resting place because Livingstone was being buried with men who 'fought for truth and right in evil days...struck off the gyres which manacled the slave...a brother and a man'; in a revealing but rare direct evocation of empire, these were men (i.e. Wilberforce) 'who spread her empire o'er the earth'.<sup>123</sup>

All these dynamics helped generate a state of funeral fever, further heightened by the novelty of the burial of a broken, worn out man, slighted in death, being buried inside Westminster Abbey. The *Christian World* hoped for a funeral that would be 'the most impressive spectacle which the present generation of Englishmen has ever witnessed' because the moral effect will surpass that which is produced by the burial of any mere King or woman, when he...began life as a factory boy...'.<sup>124</sup> Livingstone being 'the first of his class' to be buried in the Abbey was a regular theme especially in Welsh coverage.<sup>125</sup> For some this decision signaled a welcome reverse of the 'cheapening' of a burial in the 'Valhalla of the nation' or a peerage for just 'meeting with a volley a hoard of barbarians rushing down a hill, or else giving a vote to prop up a falling minister'.<sup>126</sup> Class politics, anti-imperialism even, as well as sentimentality, all combined to set the scene for a tearful finale with sorrow and shame in some quarters escalating with concerns about the moral decline of the ruling establishment at home and abroad.

### **V 'An incongruous group...that walked in a mob': the funeral ceremony**

The Special Livingstone Funeral Committee of the RGS had only met once and did not kept to its plan of allowing more time for the Scottish relatives to gather. Despite an embalmed corpse, it went for a quick funeral on the 18 April. It did manage to collect some Livingstone artifacts for a public display and to organize a private religious ceremony for the family in the Map Room, very early on the morning of the funeral. They were then instructed to be at Westminster Abbey by 9.30am and had to wait until 1.00pm - 'a long and wearisome time for us all', recalled Agnes his daughter.<sup>127</sup> Many newspapers had gone to much greater lengths, publishing souvenir editions containing lengthy and pages of illustrations, such as the *Penny Illustrated News* and *The Graphic*. Tickets were advertised last minute in the London press, as was sheet music for specially

composed Livingstone Anthems.

Newspapers carried detailed accounts of the funeral and editorials up to a week after Saturday 18 April. Many went out of their way to describe an impressive funeral, especially Scottish papers. The local *Kensington, Brompton and Fulham Advertiser* described a 'solemn and beautiful Church of England ceremony'; the pall 'remarkable for the beautiful wreaths of azaleas, white camellias, geraniums and spring flowers with a fern and African palm leaves contributed by Her Majesty and Baroness Burdett Coutts...'.<sup>128</sup> Journalists seemed generally impressed at the range of people. *The Times* pronounced that 'all ranks from the highest and humblest in the land vied to pay him honour'. This may have been an exaggeration. Dean Stanley had been disappointed in the few senior representatives from the churches, identifying 'a complete gulf between the highest and middle classes of society'. Few papers reported what had happened at St James' Street, where, according to the *Penny Illustrated News*, 'a deputation of working men obtained permission to add... a laurel wreath...'.<sup>129</sup> Verdicts on the respect shown were positive. The *London Illustrated* detailed the 'large concourse which had gathered in the streets...reverently uncovering here and there'. Virtually everyone was in mourning dress, creating a scene of 'sombre garb'. The bearers were complimented for representing three stages of Livingstone's life: as explorer; his activities in central Africa; and then his elusive phase, as the paper diplomatically put it. The *Glasgow Herald* interpreted Livingstone's life as the 'marriage of science and religion'.<sup>130</sup> *The Christian World* did not hold back: 'The famous church has never opened its doors to receive...more precious remains', with a procession first dominated by 'half-civilized men' but then by 'the most honoured men on earth'.<sup>131</sup>

Dean Stanley had salvaged the event. He kept costs to a minimum, billing for the basics plus a few extra choir boys.<sup>132</sup> The favourite non-conformist hymn, Dodderidge's 'O God of Bethel...Be the God of/Each succeeding race...', was for some the highlight of the service since it was unprecedented having such a hymn performed there. Newspapers show that his Sunday funeral sermon was widely reproduced. A packed Abbey, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and all senior figures of other denominations, listened to a long sermon. Newspaper evidence suggests churches, across denominations, also gave Livingstone-focused post funeral sermons. In Southampton, Waller had emotionally described how Livingstone had felt forgotten. Likewise, others pulled on the heart strings, dwelling first on his sense of failure and sad ending. But again his pacifism was stressed: he achieved what he did 'without blood stained banners', concluding that it was time to stop the disparaging of missionary work and instead make a final death blow to African slavery.<sup>133</sup>

However, media coverage was not always extensive nor positive. One Catholic newspaper carried an etching portraying a sombre graveside scene with weeping mourners but was a pilgrimage to the tomb of St Francis of Xavier.<sup>134</sup> A short announcement followed: Livingstone's burial had taken place in the Abbey 'according to modern ideas'. Likewise *the Cosmopolitan* was restrained. On the 23



April an eulogy by Lord Houghton entitled *Ilala* – May 1873 was printed; an extract from the *Daily Telegraph* detailed of the how the plot was chosen in the Abbey; and Dean Stanley's funeral sermon was noted under 'Weary at Rest'. 'The scene and the services were profoundly impressive', the paper judged, 'only a little too long'.<sup>135</sup> And biting criticism was voiced in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. An anonymous letter detailed how its author had returned from Westminster Abbey possessed of feelings which he felt many would share.<sup>136</sup> It was an occasion badly handled leaving onlookers 'puzzled and wearied':

It is difficult to conceive a more incongruous procession than that which followed Livingstone's coffin. Scotch municipal authorities, African travellers, medical men, missionaries, some men of other appropriate qualifications, and very many who appeared to have little or none, walked in a mob.<sup>136</sup>

Finally, he criticized the generally the lack of sentiment around the final funeral rite so that the full meaning of the final 'dust to dust' could be conveyed: 'There is no heart in the thing'; 'they had lost their heart.' It was in part perhaps a complaint about Stanley's lack of conservative tastes including his politics of inclusion. But with the Queen's flowers not arriving until a few days later, dirty looking choristers, and few high ranking guests, clearly the lack of resources, a disinterested commitment and a last minute approach by the RGS had taken their toll.

## **VII A father's love and the 'heart of the nation'**

Public feeling however once again upstaged official negligence. Newspaper evidence suggests onlookers were genuinely deeply upset; a people apparently unified in grief. From the time Livingstone's arrived in Southampton, journalists wrote of how the sight 'affected the spectator strangely'; the onlooker 'could not but help insensibly reverting to the place where he died...', and to him 'whose fate they pitied'.<sup>137</sup> Livingstone's daughter Agnes never forgot how, at the sight of the coffin at the Deanery door a 'strange thrill...seemed to sweep up the entire concourse...' *The Christian World* had initially assumed that time would have 'sealed up the fountain of tears...[but] a 1000 eyes were wet with tears; a 1000 heads were bowed in reverent sympathy and sorrow...'. Readers were comforted with the notion: 'We left him securely resting beyond the roar of the wild beast...he had come home in peace and [now]...sleeps, the sleep of the just'.<sup>138</sup> Henry Morton Stanley's lavish descriptions resembled evangelical press. Just as 'pathetic' as his last days, was 'the sight of weeping of sorrowing multitudes lamenting his loss', he wrote in a long essay in *the Graphic*, ending with 'Sleep, then O Livingstone, in thy dreamless bed'.<sup>139</sup>

Such a sentimental response was not untypical but the nature of the death, Livingstone's rag to riches story, the scandals and slights and sustained newspaper coverage of both had produced a surge of feeling: 'the romance of Livingstone', according to the *Edinburgh Evening News*, was now greater than that of Nelson or Wellington. The wider national context also contributed. The

recurring theme of Livingstone the heart of the nation, was also a product of a preoccupation with the way many Victorians melodramatically feared they had lost theirs. As Parry has argued, by the 1870s, many Victorians felt guilty about their aggressive materialism.<sup>140</sup> Newspapers covered the violent Ashante wars next to the funeral, many critical of its cost.<sup>141</sup> Updates on the Bengal famine were also published. Guilt about benefiting from the slave trade periodically surfaced and slothful governments blamed. The Gladstone government had been forced to ban the slave trade off the east coast of Africa in 1871 after smart lobbying by abolitionist network, deploying 'evidence' supplied by Livingstone.<sup>142</sup> A decade earlier, reluctance to act had been shown towards slavery on the West Coast; now Livingstone had died a Christ-like death in lonely, humble hut. Fear of retribution from God's wrath, for not acting with a heart (as previous generations of abolitionists had) lurked below the surface.<sup>143</sup>

Anxiety also bubbled up in some quarters from the extension of the franchise in 1867 and its perceived impact on electoral outcomes. Many newspaper owners, particularly of urban-regional publications, had liberal sympathies, and were still reeling from the 'downfall of the English Liberal Party'. Livingstone's death became a conduit for elite concerns about new voters' lack of conscience in the country. Turning to the Right, a long editorial in the *Pall Mall Gazette* warned that the extension of the franchise in 1867, gave ordinary men votes, who usually acted out of 'abject fear of the Pope or the Devil'. Men with the vote, the paper warned, did not become 'less ignorant, less superstitious, less envious, less greedy...'.<sup>144</sup> Thus the idealisation of Livingstone, his capacity for hardship and non-monetary rewards, was a way of holding up a template to hold the ordinary working man to conform to. Conversely, for the newly enfranchised (and the not yet enfranchised, including women) displaying their feelings was an opportunity to prove they did have a sense of value; a way of securing recognition of their humanity in a cruel, class ridden society. Tellingly, the *Cornhill Magazine* praised Livingstone by disparaging the lower class: he was apparently 'rare amongst the poor, in that he did not seek fame or fortune'.<sup>145</sup>

As Joyce has shown, the 'cult of the heart' in the nineteenth century was an important strategy to improve what Ranciere calls 'the proletarian situation', namely 'the assertion of the humanity this situation denies...'.<sup>146</sup> It was a device used by those with lives full of struggle and sorrow, to insist this did not deny them moral capital, because they spoke 'from the fullness of the heart'; had 'fine and pure hearts', as opposed to 'counterfeit humanity'.<sup>147</sup> This involved wisdom through simplicity, humbleness, ordinary human fellowship. Joyce identifies a 'discourse about the condition of humanity', and that 'the heart was the centre of humanity'. Livingstone was routinely praised in poetry and the press for having all these qualities; a strategy to drawing attention to one's humanity and to redefine the moral economy. Likewise, the death of Livingstone was a moment which unleashed great feeling partly because it drew out the inner emotional life of individuals. His life, death, poverty and ill-treatment symbolized a general 'struggle for the moral life', a struggle to overcome poverty, sickness, debt, self-loathing, and - interestingly

- also 'the collar of serfdom', since many compared their situation to 'the slave.' God and religion were the solution but for the poorer classes it was a religion born of the heart of true, honest working men: 'God is realized in the heart'; in the sincerity of the unalloyed human feeling...'148 through which *all* hearts respond, as the response of his African followers in carrying the body seemed to confirm. It was an occasion that was part of the ongoing 'civilising process' of the Victorian self and who could claim its rewards.<sup>149</sup>

Thus long term and short term domestic context, as well as the nature of Livingstone's death and the perceived upper class snubs to him and his family, all covered in a vibrant press, created an opportunity for the 'cult of the heart' to be activated and channelled toward African slavery. The image of the heart featured strongly in reflections on the funeral and what the death of Livingstone should symbolize. He was now the nation's heart: a heart that beat again with anti-slavery feeling inspired by Livingstone's doomed love affair with Africa and Africans. Sentiment thus slipped into sentimentality. Henry Morton Stanley's souvenir edition for *The Graphic* (and reproduced by other newspapers) recorded the sense of having lost their collective heart. The sight of weeping, he claimed had surprised him initially, since a younger generation had little knowledge of Livingstone's exploits. However all ages, he decided, were united in grief for man who lived by 'meekness, self-abnegation, purest philanthropy' especially because these were 'rare in an age like this' when there was 'an all-absorbing desire for the acquisition of wealth and luxury'.<sup>150</sup> Whatever Stanley's shortcomings, he was a clever observer. He narrated a cross-class, generational anxiety particularly strong on the Right, and within religious opinion about what the English had become morally, in relation to what they had once been. Livingstone's pathetic death was easily interpreted as a Christ-like act of sacrifice to show them what they had become in comparison, with the offer of redemption through reviving a very English pursuit - anti slavery.

Sentiment drifted into sentimentality when 'the heart' migrated to Africa. Africans, in their carrying of the body, seemed to some to kinder hearts than those in the most civilized nation. One anonymous poem sent to the RGS included 'But Africa's sons with loving hearts, Helped the man they held so dear'. H M Stanley's eulogy insisted that Westminster had been impressive but not more so, he wrote, than the burial in Africa a year before 'when the heart of Livingstone was committed to the soil' which had beaten 'for the enslaved children so long in sorrow over their sufferings'. Often it was Livingstone's powers of transformation that dominated. Dean Stanley's Sunday sermon spoke of Livingstone's followers, 'by whose faithful affection they were subdued', asking 'those African boys have done their duty. What is ours?' One anonymous eulogy in the *Western Mail* included the lines: 'thou has shown, that pity, gratitude and love still dwell within the harried bosom, of thy race...'151 and Wainwright was rhetorically asked to look 'statesmen in the face' and say all 'Africa's children', like himself, if given 'gentle treatment, culture...liberty and freedom...' could become like him, a very important point that abolitionists needed to make. Racially

patronising and infantilising, Livingstone and Wainwright were a crucial human embodiment of the mythical liberal imperial paternalism: Livingstone, a non-violent, loving humanitarian in Africa and an extension of the father-son-family relationship, the mechanism through which Victorian men of means expressed male feeling, men of lesser means displayed a 'civilised' sensibility and for women, many living in fear of male violence, he was the ideal man.

The importance of Jacob Wainwright's role and his impact thus can be better appreciated. He embodied the new figure of the African child that needed guidance but he also performed an established part, that of the passive, freed slave; the male supplicant on the abolition seal, pleading for help. Jacob was typically tagged as 'former or freed slave, and was the object of microscopic scrutiny. *The Times* for example wrote on his arrival at Southampton: 'Jacob...stands about five feet high and has closely cut woollen hair, a remarkable flat nose and heavy thick lips which today were thicker than usual in consequence of being struck on the mouth the previous day by a rope'<sup>152</sup> At the funeral the way he held 'the printed page in his hand, intently following the words as they were slowly uttered' was a fascination. He was lauded for being 'a good type of African'; and that all the 'good boys' with him should be rewarded.<sup>153</sup> He was 18.

Press coverage of funeral celebrated the relationship Africans had formed with Livingstone because of his apparent 'unique and rare' character: he had 'subdued' them; and 'he had a special gift of making people love him'.<sup>154</sup> For example, the *Leicester Chronicle* published an intimate portrayal of that relationship suggesting that his behaviour towards his 'good boys' included such acts as stopping if one was ill. His kindness had produced the African goodwill that carried his corpse home; the man they called 'Father' greeted them every morning, after his 'pet boy' had brought the tea.<sup>155</sup> One journalist remarked that Wainwright's devotion to Livingstone appeared 'almost romantic'.<sup>156</sup> Newspapers carried images of Livingstone reading from the bible to African children. He was described as leading the 'the guileless children of the African interior' like their father.<sup>157</sup>

Thus sorrow blended with shame; sentiment slipped into sentimentality. One anonymous poem sent to the RGS lamented how a general indifference to humanity had led Livingstone to his death, and now the children of 'the slave-doomed Africa' had lost their father. Prone to being inward-looking and self-preoccupied, Victorians were also grieving for themselves: their lost heart, symbolised by their indifference to Livingstone's cause, a cause which previous generations had apparently cared about; and their guilt over continually benefiting from the slave trade. Dean Stanley's funeral sermon, in 'the heart of England' as he referred to Westminster Abbey, invoked Wilberforce; pitting him against his audience; placing Wilberforce and Livingstone together in the same national heroic narrative (the struggle against 'that monster evil...a deadly serpent'). It was reprinted in many newspapers. The message from his grave, the Dean continued, was that 'individuals, the nation, and nations of the civilized world, must redeem...a whole continent and race of mankind ...'.<sup>158</sup> He ended with a call to 'the rising

generation...English lads...statesmen and merchants, explorers and missionaries' to carry out the work Wilberforce and Livingstone had begun. As the *Aberdeen Journal's* coverage reassured its readers, once more at the funeral 'the heart of the nation was with him'.

### **VIII An empire of sentiment and the 'project' of an Africa: Conclusion**

This article has examined in detail the period between the announcement of the news Livingstone's death to the internment of the remains, between January and April 1874 through an analysis of press, public opinion and popular feeling. It argues that an extensive bank of emotion capital through memorialization was created. Consequently Livingstone's posthumous influence becomes more understandable and significant in relation to the 'successes' of missionary expansion into central/eastern Africa, the scramble for Africa, imperial propaganda at home and in the empire, and the spread of African Christianity in British territories.<sup>159</sup>

Viewed as an underdog, badly treated by the authorities, sentiment bled into sentimentality as the manner of his Christ like, sacrificial death was heavily romanticized. Intimate details of his relations and death with Africans 'who loved him' engendered strong emotions, and were used to redefine or reiterate what a moral policy meant in the 1870s at a time of crisis, insecurity, inequality and exclusion delineated by the media. 'The heart of the nation' became an anti-slavery heart once more and capable of defeating a world full of evil, suffering and sorrow, at home as well as in Africa.<sup>160</sup> Livingstone's death became an opportunity to express a shared story of humanity-denied, of suffering and sacrifice. It was also a strategy for recognition through a display of one's capacity for humanity and therefore one's claim to be respected.

Yet it warns against embracing this as evidence of popular imperialism, as it might be defined for the 1870s. Enthusiasm for intervention in Africa was generally low; empire was a word seldom used. It took sectional interests, powerful individuals and press intervention to manufacture the conditions which eventually led to the funeral as an emotional ejaculation. Moreover, pro-abolition feeling was built out of a mixture of class issues, anxiety, guilt and self-interest which were a product of that particular moment and inwardness as much as looking out. Humanitarian concern fired by empathy could temporarily disable and disinherit.

Remembering 'doomed' Africa by ending her slavery and honoring good race relations was placed at the heart of the nation pushed by public sentiment; a benchmark of an adherence to a religion of humanity, by which Victorians could hold governments and each other to account. Livingstone's sacrificial death in prayer; a funeral of 'sacred tears'; the rhetoric of Britain's involvement in Africa as an anti-slavery tradition of Wilberforce; the myth of Livingstone's non-violence and gentleness with Africans; the exaggeration of their respect and love of him, were all crucial in fuelling the most ideological phase in Britain's imperial history. Intervention was experienced as an emotional practice in humanitarian concern born of empathy. This masked and excused systemic violence, racism and economic exploitation: sentimentality

and moral emotion functioned as a barrier to, or substitute for the critique of empire.

Livingstone's funeral produced a source of replenishable 'emotion capital' which became available to the Victorian 'project of an Africa', to paraphrase John Darwin. This case-study supports the view that such a project cannot be understood without acknowledging the role of emotion in that project. Here emotion has been fed in part by empathy and humanitarian feeling. Due to a specifically British tradition of sentimentality, the death of Livingstone became important in the making of the myth of British liberal colonialism in Africa. It bequeathed an important form of emotional practice to the imperial 'arena of moral discourse'<sup>161</sup>.

Africans were central to the 1874 moment of transformational intimacy. Livingstone's servants remained at the heart of imperial soft power propaganda sustained often through memorialization of this 'founding' myth. In 1935, the *Christian World* reported the death of Matthew Wellington, who had explained why his body was returned: because we 'We loved him'.<sup>162</sup> Africans could appeal to the empire of sentiment. They also used it to negotiate against hard power. In 1959, a dying Kenyan Senior Chief Kionange was imprisoned by the colonial government due to Mau Mau. His son, begged for his release arguing that it was 'pioneers of [an] Afro-Anglican relationship' from David Livingstone onwards that had been the basis for successful governance. He asked for his release to honour the good race relations and spirit of partnership embodied by Livingstone and his African followers.<sup>163</sup> In 1974, the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, organized a major act of memorialization at the spot where Livingstone's heart had been buried one hundred years before. Kaunda praised him then as Africa's first nationalist. And in 2005, and with tears in his eyes, he used the same phrase as Dean Stanley in his 1874 funeral sermon, to explain why Livingstone was remembered so affectionately: 'because he was one of us'.<sup>164</sup>

## Notes

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Correspondence to: Joanna Lewis, Department of International History, LSE, Houghton Street, London, WC2A 2AE. Email: j.e.lewis1@lse.ac.uk

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<sup>1</sup> Blaikie, *Life of Livingstone*, 376.

<sup>2</sup> *The Penny Illustrated Paper & the London Illustrated News* 31 Jan 1874.

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<sup>3</sup> W. F. Prideaux to FO, 12 Jan 1874; the first letter announcing the news had been from Lt Cameroon in charge of the search party, sent from the interior in October 1873 to the RGS who were funding it; rumours on the coast circulated in early January when the body arrived there. The Captain of HMS Briton in Zanzibar passed onto Rear Admiral Cummings the known details reporting that the flags on the island had been lowered on 5 January, Lt Cameroon to Sec of RGS, Unyamwebe, 16 Oct, 1873; Capt Lindsey Brine to Rear Admiral Cummings, 15 Jan 1874. DL 4/18/1-2. RGS.

<sup>4</sup> Poulett Weatherley: Diary Part 1, 1898-1899. Entry 14 Nov 1898, 47. PWE/1. RGS Archives.

<sup>5</sup> 'The history of Carus Farrar of finding Dr Livingstone in central Africa'. Signed typescript, 9 Sept 1874. CWM Africa – Odds – Livingstone Box 8. SOAS Archives; Crawford, 'Life of Matthew Wellington', 1965; Simpson, *Dark Companions*, 1975, 88-104.

<sup>6</sup> The role of women in the return journey was quickly dropped from popular accounts. Waller, *Last Journals*, 1879. See generally for the narrative of Susi and Chuma about the return journey, Chapter XIII, 319-46.

<sup>7</sup> For a full account of the various versions see Lewis, *David Livingstone and the empire of sentiment*, (forthcoming).

<sup>8</sup> Both Waller and Blaikie's texts should be understood as pro-British-Christian- humanitarian intervention propaganda. Similarly, Johnson has argued in relation to General Gordon that it is easier to establish what did not happen rather than what did: Johnson, 'The Death of Gordon', 1982, 286.

<sup>9</sup> Captain Holmwood to Sir Bartle Frere, RGS, 12 March 1874. DL/5/1/5. RGS Collection, London.

<sup>10</sup> The categories often overlap. A small sample would include: MacLachlain, *David Livingstone*, 1901; Starritt, *Livingstone the Pioneer*, (undated); Campbell, *Livingstone*, 1930; Macnair, *Livingstone, the Liberator*, 1940); Coupland, *Livingstone's Last Journey*, 1945; and Debenham, *The Way to Ilala*, 1955).

<sup>11</sup> Jeal, *Livingstone*, 1973; Pachai, *Livingstone: Man of Africa*, 1973; Linden, 'Livingstone: New Fig Leaves?', 1973, 518-9; Shepperson, George. 'David Livingstone, Scotland and Africa', in *David Livingstone and Africa: Proceedings of a Seminar to mark the Centenary of the Death of David Livingstone*, Centre for African Studies, University of Edinburgh, 4-5 May, 1973. RGS Collection. Cambridge University Library, 1-27.

<sup>12</sup> Ochieng, *Editorial*, 1974, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy*, 1987, 16.

<sup>14</sup> Johnston, *Livingstone and Central Africa*, 189, 355; and Bridges, 'The Problem of Livingstone's Last Journey'. In *David Livingstone and Africa*, *op cit*, 163-77, esp. 175.

<sup>15</sup> Helly, *Livingstone's Legacy*, 109.

<sup>16</sup> Joanna Lewis, 'The British Empire and world history: welfare imperialism and 'soft' power in the rise and fall of colonial rule', 2011, 17-36.

<sup>17</sup> Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Barnett, *Empire of Humanity*, 2011, esp. Chapter 2, 'The Humanitarian Big Bang', 49-56.

<sup>19</sup> Solomon, *In Defense of Sentimentality*, 2004, ix & 3-7. Emotions he argues are the substance of life; sentimentality is the expression of 'tender feeling' which is the prerequisite to ethical and moral engagement, whilst acknowledging such human feeling can be manipulated, excessive and superficial, vii; 3-19.

<sup>20</sup> Mackenzie, 'David Livingstone', 1990, 25.

<sup>21</sup> Driver, *Geography Militant*, 2001, 72.

<sup>22</sup> Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, 2000, 6.

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- <sup>23</sup> Lewis, 'Laying to Rest a Victorian Myth: the Death and Funeral of David Livingstone Reconsidered', unpublished paper, Relocating the Victorians Conference, (London, 2001) and Imperial and Commonwealth History Seminar, Institute of Historical Studies, (London, 2002) where I benefited greatly from the comments from Dr John Wolffe and Prof Andrew Porter.
- <sup>24</sup> Potter, 'Webs, Networks, and Systems, 2007, 621-46, esp. 623-4.
- <sup>25</sup> Cook, 'The Immortalisation of Dr David Livingstone', 2011.
- <sup>26</sup> Kitch, 'A death in the American Family', 2002, 296.
- <sup>27</sup> Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I Presume?*, 2007, 129; 137-56.
- <sup>28</sup> Livingstone, 'A "Body" of Evidence', 2012, 1-24.
- <sup>29</sup> Drescher, 'Emperors of the World', 2010, 129-49.
- <sup>30</sup> Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 2012, 174.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 152.
- <sup>32</sup> On the lack of substantial evidence for the strategic argument for annexation, see Jonas Gjerso, (forthcoming PhD thesis, LSE); and Miers, *Britain and the Slave Trade*, 1975.
- <sup>33</sup> Quoted in Rothschild, *Inner Life of Empires*, 2011, 4.
- <sup>34</sup> Newman, Todd, Hartman, Lown, & Fieldman, 'Easing the heavy hand: Humanitarian concern, empathy and opinion on immigration, 2013, 22.
- <sup>35</sup> Kohl, Gotzenbrucker, 'Networked technologies as emotional resources?', 2014, 516.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 516.
- <sup>37</sup> Rotter, 'Empires of the Senses', 2011, 4. I am grateful to Cees Heere for this reference.
- <sup>38</sup> Makenzie, 'Comfort and Conviction: A reply to Bernard Porter, 2008, 659-68.
- <sup>39</sup> B Porter, 'Further Thoughts on Absent Minded Imperialism', 2008, esp 107-10.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* & B Porter, 'Popular Imperialism: Broadening the Context', 2011, 834-44;
- <sup>41</sup> Jones, *Powers of the Press*, 2000; Potter, 2007, op cit.
- <sup>42</sup> *Christian World*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>43</sup> *Penny Illustrated News*, 31 Jan, 1874.
- <sup>44</sup> *Cosmopolitan*, 29 Jan, 1874.
- <sup>45</sup> *Telegraph*, 27 Jan, 1874.
- <sup>46</sup> *Christian World*, 30 Jan, 1874.
- <sup>47</sup> *Times*, 3 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>48</sup> *Aberdeen Journal*, 11 Feb, 1874, reproducing the *Times*' article.
- <sup>49</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 19 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>50</sup> *East Kent, Faversham and Sittingbourne Gazette*, 21 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>51</sup> *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 24 Feb, 1874. A member of the search party had shot himself.
- <sup>52</sup> *Telegraph*, 28 Jan, 1874.



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- <sup>53</sup> For a discussion of masculinity discourses, see Murray, 'H M Stanley', 2013.
- <sup>54</sup> *Telegraph*, 27 Jan, 1874.
- <sup>55</sup> *Christian World*, 27 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>56</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>57</sup> Reader responses to 'Do you Know....?'. *Southampton Evening Echo*, circa March 19-22, 1930.
- <sup>58</sup> *Southampton Observer and Winchester News*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>59</sup> Typescript of letter from Holmwood, DL/4/18/1 RGS Archives.
- <sup>60</sup> *Christian World*, 7 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>61</sup> *Christian World*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>62</sup> Driver, *Geography Militant*, 2001, 74. The term is used in relation to Livingstone's religious affiliations but can be widened.
- <sup>63</sup> Sir Bartle Frere, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 Nov 1872; Sir Henry Rawlinson, *Daily News*, 31 Jan 1872; quoted in Cook, 2011, 25.
- <sup>64</sup> *Catholic Opinion*, 18 April, 1874; *London Illustrated*, 18 April, 1874; Sir William Ferguson, writing of him in the *Lancet*, published in the *Times* and republished in the *Western Mail*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>65</sup> Dean Stanley, 'The Mission of the Traveller', Funeral Sermon, 19 April 1874, Westminster Abbey, 176. Westminster Abbey Collection.
- <sup>66</sup> *Telegraph*, 6 Jan, 1865; *Daily News*, 7 Nov, 1864; quoted in Cook, 2011, 22.
- <sup>67</sup> See Jeal, *Livingstone*, 2013, 364 and, generally, Miers, *Britain and the Slave Trade*, 1975.
- <sup>68</sup> LMS Board Minutes, 13 April, 1874. Item 2k, 551-2. Box 38 LMS Collection. SOAS Archives.
- <sup>69</sup> Many died in poverty and disappeared from the colonial records. However many also were central as co-explorers or servants working for many subsequent European expeditions in eastern/central Africa which increased the rivalry and set the boundaries for formal colonial rule; see Jeal, *Livingstone*, 2012, 380-1 and, generally, Simpson, *Dark Companions*, 1975.
- <sup>70</sup> Compiled from British newspapers that published detailed accounts of the funeral in April 1874.
- <sup>71</sup> Drescher, 'Emperors of the World', 2010, 146.
- <sup>72</sup> Simpson, *Dark Companions*, 1975, 101; account by Mr Hutchinson, Secretary of the CMS given to the RGS at a meeting on 23 Feb, 1874, reported in the *Telegraph*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>73</sup> Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 1989, 141.
- <sup>74</sup> Porter, *Religion versus Empire*, 2004, 191-224. Porter argues Livingstone's writings did much to popularise Islamic cruelty and fanaticism.
- <sup>75</sup> LMS Board Minutes, 30 March, 1874, 539-541. Box 38 LMS Collection, SOAS Archives.
- <sup>76</sup> Dean Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Book of Recollections, ms, fos 36-7. Westminster Abbey Library.
- <sup>77</sup> Certification Note from Sir William Ferguson, 17 April, 1874. RCO Box 5. Westminster

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Abbey Library.

<sup>78</sup> *Southampton Observer and Winchester News*, 18 April, 1874.

<sup>79</sup> *Christian World*, 17 April, 1874.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> John Chapter X, 16, 'The Mission of the Traveller', Dean Stanley's funeral sermon, 19 April 1874, Westminster Abbey Library, reprinted in his edited collection of sermons and in many newspapers as 'Dean Stanley on Livingstone'.

<sup>82</sup> Dean Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Book of Recollections*, ms, fos 36-7. Westminster Abbey Library.

<sup>83</sup> For the details of the impressive municipal reception and the politics of the funeral, see Lewis, 'Carry on up the Solent', 2006.

<sup>84</sup> Temple Patterson, *A History of Southampton vol 3*, 1963.

<sup>85</sup> Disraeli Papers, BodL, Dep.Hughenden, April 1, 1874, fos 65-66. Oxford University Library.

<sup>86</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 4 April, 1874.

<sup>87</sup> For example, Capt Prideaux wrote to the council that he had received payment for Haleema, Livingstone's cook; previously in July he had written that awarding the men medals was 'undesirable' but Chumah might have a 'silver watch'; Council Minute Book, entries for 10 Nov and 13 July, 1874, respectively. RGS Archives.

<sup>88</sup> See Driver, *Geography Militant*, esp. 127-31; on the continual snubbing and snobbery toward Stanley by the Establishment, see Jeal, *Stanley*, 2007, esp. 138-48.

<sup>89</sup> Council Minute Book, Entry Jan 12, 1874; Committee Minute Book, Entry Jan 23, 1874. RGS Archives; and Simpson, *Dark Companions*, 1975, 100.

<sup>90</sup> Committee Minute Book, 9 Feb 1874. RGS Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Council Minute Book, 23 March, 1874. RGS Archives.

<sup>92</sup> Derby to Disraeli, 2 March, 1874, Disraeli Papers. BodL, Dep.Hughenden, 55/3, fos 71-82. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. and fos 63-64; Northcote to Derby, 10 April, 1874, quoted in Wolffe, *Great Deaths*, 2000, fn 23, 140.

<sup>94</sup> Bartle Frere to Disraeli, 1 April, 1874. Disraeli Papers. BodL, Dep.Hughenden, 55/3, fos 61-2. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>95</sup> Reply to Gurney, Disraeli Papers. BodL, Dep.Hughenden, 55/3, fos 65-66. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>96</sup> McWilliam, *The Tichborne Claimant*, 2007. He argues that large sections of the working class saw the claimant as 'their champion and believed that if he could only achieve his inheritance, the world would somehow be a better place'; 2.

<sup>97</sup> Pettitt, *Dr Livingstone, I presume?*, 2007, 102.

<sup>98</sup> Jeal, *Stanley*, 2007, 138.

<sup>99</sup> This was chaired by Sir Bartle Frere, and consisted of four other persons: Committees Record Book; Special Committees, 103-4. RGS Archives.

<sup>100</sup> *Times*, 8 April, 1874, quoted in Wolffe, 2000, 139-40.

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- <sup>101</sup> Line from Dean Stanley's funeral sermon, 18 April, 1874, published in his collection of sermons, 181. Westminster Abbey Library.
- <sup>102</sup> *Telegraph*, 24 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>103</sup> *Christian World*, 3 April, 1874.
- <sup>104</sup> For example, this letter to Gordon Bennett containing the material was published over two days in the *Glasgow Herald*, 10 April and 11, 1874; and the *News of the World*, April 20, 1874.
- <sup>105</sup> *Graphic*, 4 April, 1874.
- <sup>106</sup> *Southampton Observer*, 1 April, 1874.
- <sup>107</sup> *Western Mail*, 1 April, 1874.
- <sup>108</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 14 April, 1874.
- <sup>109</sup> *Cosmopolitan*, 16 April, 1874.
- <sup>110</sup> *The Cosmopolitan*, *Leeds Mercury* and *London Illustrated News* illustrate the wide publicity this was given.
- <sup>111</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 15 April, 1874, editorial, quoting the *Daily News*.
- <sup>112</sup> *News of the World*, 19 April, 1874.
- <sup>113</sup> For examples, see the *Cosmopolitan*, *Leeds Mercury* and *London Illustrated News*.
- <sup>114</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>115</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 25 April, 1874.
- <sup>116</sup> *The Graphic*, Supplement: 'The Life and Labours of David Livingstone by H M Stanley', 25 April, 1874.
- <sup>117</sup> Notice in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 April, 1874.
- <sup>118</sup> Two of these were railway employees.
- <sup>119</sup> Letter of verification by Sr William Ferguson, reproduced in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 17 April, 1874.
- <sup>120</sup> Livingstone, 'Body of Evidence', 2011.
- <sup>121</sup> Extracts are from a large collection of hand-written and typed eulogies, mostly anonymous, sent to the RGS, DL/5/4.RGS; and from poems printed in newspapers before and after the funeral.
- <sup>122</sup> This was republished in many papers; for example, the *Glasgow Herald*, 4 Feb, 1874.
- <sup>123</sup> *Western Mail*, 18 April, 1874. For the popular view of the appropriateness of the Abbey, see also the *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 13 April 13, 1874.
- <sup>124</sup> *Christian World*, 10 April, 1874.
- <sup>125</sup> *Wrexham Advertiser*, 11 April, 1874.
- <sup>126</sup> *Western Mail*, 22 April, 1874.
- <sup>127</sup> 'Recollections of David Livingstone, by His Daughter', *Chambers Christian Journal*, (Dec 1938) p966. SOAS Archive.
- <sup>128</sup> *Chelsea Times/Kensington, Brompton and Fulham Advertiser*, 25 April, 1874.
- <sup>129</sup> *London Illustrated News*, 25 April, 1874.
- <sup>130</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 21 April, 1874.

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- <sup>131</sup> *Christian World*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>132</sup> The total cost was £37.4.6: 'Dr Livingstone's Funeral'. Manuscript 60086. Westminster Abbey Archive.
- <sup>133</sup> For example, a popular Biblical quote was Isaiah, 'I have labored in vain...'
- <sup>134</sup> *Catholic Opinion*, 22 April, 1874.
- <sup>135</sup> *Cosmopolitan*, 12 April, 1874.
- <sup>136</sup> 'A public funeral'. Unsigned letter to the editor, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 April, 1874.
- <sup>137</sup> *Times*, 25 April 1874 (reprinted in many regional papers).
- <sup>138</sup> *Christian World*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>139</sup> *Graphic*, 25 April, 1874.
- <sup>140</sup> Parry, *Politics of Patriotism*, 2006. For the *menage-a-trois* between Victorian politics, religion and culture, see Hilton, *Age of Atonement*, 1988).
- <sup>141</sup> *News of the World*, 19 April, 1874.
- <sup>142</sup> Jeal, *Livingstone*, 2013, 351-3.
- <sup>143</sup> Hilton, '1807 and All That', 2011, 63-82.
- <sup>144</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 March, 1874.
- <sup>145</sup> *Graphic*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>146</sup> Rancier, *The Nights of Labour*, cited in Joyce, *Democratic Subjects*, 1994, 27.
- <sup>147</sup> Joyce, 1994, 56-63.
- <sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, for a discussion of the civilising process through the outer display of the mastery of the technologies of a controlled inner self.
- <sup>150</sup> Stanley's essay in the *Graphic*, reproduced in other papers such as the *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 27 April, 1874.
- <sup>151</sup> *Western Mail*, 22 April, 1874.
- <sup>152</sup> *Southampton Observer and Winchester News*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>153</sup> *Dundee and Courier and Argus*, April 20, 1874; *Edinburgh Evening News*, 24 April, 1874.
- <sup>154</sup> *News of the World*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>155</sup> *Leicester Chronicle and Leicestershire Mercury*, 18 April, 187.
- <sup>156</sup> *East Faversham Gazette*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>157</sup> H M Stanley, *Graphic*, 18 April, 1874.
- <sup>158</sup> Dean Stanley, 'The Mission of the Traveller' in his collection of sermons, Westminster Abbey Library, 178-81.
- <sup>159</sup> Jeal, *Livingstone*, 2013, 382-96.
- <sup>160</sup> See, generally, Huzzey, *Freedom Burning*, 2012; and Joyce, *Democratic Subjects*, 1986, 41-48.

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<sup>161</sup> Peterson, *Abolitionism and Imperialism*, 2010, 5.

<sup>162</sup> *Christian World*, 13 June, 1935.

<sup>163</sup> Mbiyu Koinange to Fenner Brockway, MP, 31 Aug, 1959. CO822/1240. National Archives (Kew).

<sup>164</sup> Author interview, Cambridge, 19 Sept, 2005.

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