SUMMARY

For the tourism industry the exploration legacy is of great relevance and explorers are regarded as important contributors to our modern day travels. However, from a critical theoretical perspective this exploration heritage is related to colonial practices. Supporters of this view claim that explorers used their travelogues to emphasize African ‘otherness’. These thoughts can mainly be seen in connection to explorer Henry Morton Stanley. Based on Stanley’s writings, critical theorists claim that he used his travelogues to construct a stereotypical image of Africa that led to extensive colonial practices. However, these allegations are often ill supported by only a few sentences from Stanley’s travelogues.

As so far an extensive textual analysis of Stanley’s writings in relation to colonial practices has not been conducted, this research performed such an analysis of Stanley’s travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872), to find answers to the questions ‘What did he actually write?’ and ‘To what extent are his writings related to colonialism?’ The combination of these two questions created the need to investigate both the text and the context of the travelogue. To find out what Stanley actually wrote, quantitative content analyses were conducted on the textual parts from the travelogue that were related to ‘people’ and ‘scenery’. From the ‘people-analysis’ it appeared that Stanley did not create one specific, stereotypical, image of the people he met during his journey. Instead he constructed many personalized descriptions of individual people, which were based on his direct experiences with people during his expedition. From the ‘scenery-analysis’ it became clear that Stanley was mostly focused on describing the scenery’s esthetics. The qualitative socio-historical contextual analysis followed the textual analyses. It revealed that Stanley’s prime motive for exploration, during his search for Livingstone, was journalistic, and not exploitative as is claimed from the critical perspective. From this contextual analysis, his main actions and behavior couldn’t be related to forms of exploitative exploration for civilization/economic purposes.

The findings from the textual and contextual analyses were compared with the major viewpoints within the critical theoretical perspective. Apart from a few corresponding keywords, the critical view on the relation between exploration and colonialism, and on Stanley in specific, could not be recognized from the analyses. Therefore the overall conclusion can be drawn that Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) should not be seen as an incentive for Western colonial practices. This possibly also makes the stories from this travelogue (more) suited for use in tourism product development related to exploration, such as the project FootstepsAfrica.
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A. Verdonschot
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Illustration 2: Stanley’s journey. P. 17. Scanned illustration from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (Stanley, 1872).


CHAPTER 1  INTRODUCTION

The discoveries of the world’s famous explorers such as Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan and James Cook, are still abundantly present in our modern-day lives. Not only are their journeys part of our current-day popular culture utterances, such as our books, films, television series, documentaries and video games, but their explorations and travel writings have also significantly influenced the scope and mode of thought of a great variety of scientific disciplines such as Geography, Anthropology, and Human History.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THIS STUDY

The exploration legacy is of great importance for tourism studies and the tourism industry. One does not need to look for long at travel sites or travel brochures to see that the concept of exploration is often used. A quick internet search already revealed a great variety of tour operators, travel agents and other tourism related organizations that have the names of great explorers interwoven in their company names. The words ‘explore’, ‘discover’, and ‘adventure’ are clearly present on tourism internet sites, in travel brochures and in travel guides. Next to that, travel companies also offer travelers the opportunity to follow the footsteps of great explorers, to enable them to get personally acquainted with their legacy while travelling.

Currently, the Jaap Lengkeek Center for Scientific Research and Advice on Tourism, Heritage and Landscape is working on the project ‘FootstepsAfrica’. This project is a joint venture in which the activities of tourism organizations, tourism research, higher education, and NGO’s in the field of sustainable development are connected. The aim of the project is to stimulate, prepare for, mediate in and organize tourist travels in Africa in the footsteps of early explorers. It focuses on special interest, niche (small scale) tourism in Africa that is based on the accounts of 18th and 19th century explorers, by the reconstruction of their travels, routes, and narratives, and turning these into tourist sites and products. One of the goals is to relate writings by explorers to contemporary research, in order to contribute to the reconstruction of the historical past, to enhance historical awareness, and to further develop cultural heritage. This thesis was conducted in the light of this project.

This tourism based perspective concentrates on explorers as contributors to our modern day society, scientific (geographical) knowledge and travels. However, there is also quite an opposite way of regarding the explorer legacy, namely in relation to colonial practices. A good example of this critical
perspective on exploration, and therefore initial starting point for this thesis, is the article “Fear of a black planet: anarchy, anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa” by Kevin Dunn (2007). This article refutes the view of explorers as heroic, adventurous discoverers that made a great contribution to science and modern day life/travel. Instead it emphasizes the colonial construction and consumption of African otherness through explorer’s travelogues. Dunn claims that European colonial policies were “greatly informed by the travelogues of the great explorers” (Dunn, 2007, p. 484).

Within this perspective, Dunn relates exploration to the concept of orientalism/otherness by leaning on the work “Orientalism” (Said, 1979). According to Dunn, this work emphasizes how the differences between the Orient and the West have been used by the West to portray the identity of the ‘The Other’, in terms of its people and its scenery, as uncivilized, backward, exotic, and sometimes dangerous. He stresses how the West used these same differences as starting point to create theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning ‘The Other’ (Said, 1979). Said states that, eventually, these forms of identity forming have served as a justification for Western colonial practices (Said, 1979). Dunn himself makes the statement: “It is clear that Africa is often presented as an exoticized destination in which to see and consume both ‘nature’ and the ‘native.’” (Dunn, 2007, p. 487).

1.2 REVIEW OF CRITICAL THEORY BASED LITERATURE ON EXPLORATION

From the broad and varied literature review on the subject of exploration that was conducted for this study, it appeared that Dunn’s view on the relationship between exploration and colonialism isn’t unique. According to writers from the critical perspective a variety of influential critiques were published, during and after processes of decolonization, which changed the relationship between the social sciences and processes of exploration and colonialism (Blais et. al, 2010, p. 146). They regard exploration based geographical knowledge in essence as imperial knowledge that was of great relevance to the history of empire building, and they claim that geographical knowledge became an “effective instrument for colonial practices of oppression and control” (Blais et. al, 2010, p.146). These critical scholars argue that one should step away from the heroic image of explorers, and instead concentrate on the wider (contemporary) context of the ideas and practices of exploration (Livingstone, 1984; Stoddart, 1986), and on the relationships between exploration and empire building (Rotberg, 1970; Bridges, 1973). Critical theorists state that especially travel writers had a crucial role in creating both the physical and mental space for colonization, by transforming the African interior from a dangerous and unmapped environment into an arena for collective colonial practices (Polezzi, 2010, p. 31).
They also claim that Africa was represented by explorers as a “negative mirror-image” (Polezzi, 2010, p. 33), as the ultimate ‘other’ that was allowed to be beautiful at certain moments, but was mostly depicted in a generalizing way as treacherous, violent, hostile, and devoid of any history (Mazrui, 1969, p. 667). They state that explorers also emphasized these violent traits to maintain their own heroic status, as they felt they would appear far braver when conquering savagery than when encountering friendly and familiar human traits (Mazrui, 1969, p. 667).

According to the critical perspective, explorers’ quest for heroism also distorted their observations and perceptions; although kings, chiefs, headmen, operating markets, manufactures, tracks and admirable cultivation could be found throughout the whole African interior, most explorers were too focused on themselves to even recognize this (Mazrui, 1969, p. 668). Next to that, it is claimed that explorers were more interested in Africa as a geographical phenomenon than in the African society; while they resolved mysteries of lakes, rivers and mountains, at the same time they created an obscure perception of African life and culture, as a result of their limited interest in the way and habits of the indigenous people (Mazrui, 1969, p. 668).

From this review of literature on the subject of exploration it became clear that the critical view on explorers as instigators/predecessors of colonial practices (Driver, 1992) could especially be observed in relation to explorer Henry Morton Stanley (Mazrui, 1969; Koponen, 1993; Stone, 1988; Driver, 1991; Dunn, 2007; Darwin, 1997). For instance, Dunn describes Stanley as “the authoritative Western voice on Africa at the end of the 19th century”, who used his travelogues to construct an image of Africa that led to extensive Western practices of colonialism in Africa (Dunn, 2007, p. 485). Other critical theorists describe Stanley in general as a proponent of commercial and political intervention in Africa, whose goal was to clear the path for commerce, often by exploration by warfare (Driver, 1991, p. 137). According to them, however, he should not only be seen in his role as an instrument for imperialism, but also as someone who defined the African space as a suitable place for European undertakings, by presenting Africa in a stereotypical way as “a primeval place, untouched by history, yet full of possibility” (Driver, 1991, p. 133).

According to Driver (1991), this is not quite surprising as Stanley has become one of the most controversial explorers. On the one hand he has become famous for his contributions to the development of geographical/cartographic knowledge of the so called ‘Dark Continent’ and his search
for Livingstone, and on the other hand quite infamous, for a great part as a result of his assistance to Belgian King Leopold II in the founding of the Congo Free State (Driver, 1991). He states that these diversified actions were time wise possible as Stanley’s career bridged the so called Golden Age of African Exploration, that lasted from about 1851 to 1878, and the era of The Scramble for Africa from 1884 to 1891 (Driver, 1991, p. 137).

### 1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

In his article “Fear of a black planet: anarchy, anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa”, Dunn (2007) specifically focuses on the African explorations of explorer Henry Morton Stanley. He states that Stanley, mainly through his famous travelogues “How I Found Livingstone” (1872), “Through the Dark Continent” (1878) and “The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State” (1885), used his authoritative traveler’s perspective to portray both African people and African nature in a way that gave occasion for Western colonial practices and violent conquests (Dunn, 2007, p. 486).

However, Dunn makes these statements about the nature of Stanley’s travelogues without properly substantiating these claims to his readers in this article. He only quotes one short sentence, namely: “All is nature, large ample, untouched and apparently unvisited by man” from the travelogue ‘The Congo and the Founding of its Free State, vol. I’ (Stanley, 1885, p. 93). Dunn states that from this quote it can be concluded that: “Of course, the ‘man’ Stanley refers to is the white man. His colonizing gaze removes the African inhabitants to portray a primordial terrain teeming with wildlife” (Dunn, 2007, p. 488). Considering that the three mentioned travelogues written by Stanley altogether consist of well over 3000 pages of text, one can wonder whether Dunn’s statements should not have been founded on more direct references to Stanley’s writings, that on just this one specific quotation.

This leads to the following problem statement:

*What has Stanley actually written in his travelogues about both the people and the scenery of Africa, and to what extent can his writings be seen as an incentive for Western colonial practices?*

### 1.4 SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

After a preparatory search it appeared that so far an extensive textual analysis of Stanley’s travelogues in relation to colonial practices has not been conducted. Therefore, to bridge this gap in existing knowledge, this thesis focused on such an analysis.
As mentioned before, Stanley’s three main travelogues consist of well over 3000 pages. Therefore, analyzing all three of them within this one thesis proved to be too all-encompassing and, because of that, was not manageable. The choice was made to extensively analyze the text of one of his travelogues, namely from “How I Found Livingstone” (1872). The rationale for this choice was that this was Stanley’s first travelogue of the three, which gives great insights in his introduction to the African interior. Chronologically seen, starting with this travelogue is most logic as it forms a basis for reading and understanding the other two travelogues, and because it can form a starting point for a similar analysis of the other two travelogues, if desired in future research.

The scientific objective of this research was to explore how Stanley described both the people and the scenery of Africa in his travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872), and subsequently to assess to what extent his writings should be seen as an incentive for Western colonial practices. This led to the following two research questions:

- What did Stanley write about both the people and the scenery of Africa in his travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872)?

- To what extent can Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) be related to Western colonial practices in Africa?

1.5 RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

This research was primarily fundamental as it mainly had a theoretical focus. It focused on bridging a gap in current knowledge about how Stanley, textually seen, described both the people and the scenery of Africa, by dissecting and describing what he wrote in his travelogue “How I found Livingstone” (1872). Next to that, this research related Stanley’s writings to both a larger socio-historical context and to the critical theoretical context, in order to assess to what extent his writings can be seen as an incentive for Western colonial practices.

Next to this main theoretical research focus, the findings of this study might be as well of practical use to organizations and projects related to tourism and/or exploration, such as the project ‘FootstepsAfrica’. Within this research some general suggestions were made for the use of the stories from Stanley’s travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ in tourism development projects and tourism products.
1.6 THESIS OUTLINE

Including this introduction, this thesis altogether consists of seven chapters. The overview that is presented below reveals what can be expected.

Chapter 2 presents a short analysis of a variety of biographies on the life, explorations, and accomplishments of Henry Morton Stanley’s. Next to that it presents the reader a brief overview of Stanley’s personal account of his life, which provides general background knowledge that can be useful for a broader understanding of the textual and contextual travelogue analyses in this research. Finally, it gives a summary of Stanley’s journey to find Livingstone, based on his travelogue writings.

Chapter 3 presents the research method, as well as the rationale for this choice. It informs on data collection, analysis, and quality procedures. It reveals how the research method is related to the theoretical scientific objective and the research questions.

Chapter 4 outlines the textual analysis of the writings from the travelogue “How I found Livingstone” (Stanley, 1872) about the people that Stanley encountered during his journey.

Chapter 5 outlines the textual analysis of the writings from the travelogue “How I found Livingstone” (Stanley, 1872) concerning the African scenery that Stanley described.

Chapter 6 presents a broad, literature/content based analysis, in which Stanley’s travelogue writings from the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) are related to the larger socio-historical context and to the main ideas on exploration and colonialism.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions of this thesis and relates them to the scientific critical theoretical context. Next to that, the relevance of this research for tourism practices is indicated.
CHAPTER 2  STANLEY: A PERSONAL HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

This chapter focuses on presenting a variety of views on Stanley’s life, explorations and accomplishments, as well as an overview of Stanley’s own written personal historical account. Reason for adding this chapter to the thesis is to enable its reader to get briefly informed on the life of explorer Stanley. This can later on facilitate a deeper understanding of the more detailed analyses of Stanley’s travelogue “How I found Livingstone” (1972) in chapter 4, 5, and 6. To provide the reader with more information on Stanley’s actual journey to find Livingstone, in paragraph 2.4 a short summary of his travelogue writings on his search for Livingstone is given, together with a map.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Originally, the approach to creating a brief historical account of Stanley’s life for this research was to combine information from a diversity of biographies that were written about Stanley. However, after reviewing several biographies, it appeared not feasible to integrate biographic material from these various sources into such an account. As it turned out, there were substantial differences between the separate biographies, which made turning them into one all-encompassing story impracticable. There were quite a few dissimilarities in ‘factual’ information between the biographies, such as variances in dates and the exact names of people and places. However, the most striking variation could be found in the biographers’ personal views on Stanley.

When reviewing the list of biographies that were written about Stanley, it appeared that there weren’t many biographical accounts produced during his actual expeditions up and until the time of his death. However, in those few available, Stanley is mostly described as a hero and is praised for his contributions to exploration, geography, commerce and the spread of Christianity (Newman, 2004). Johnston wrote in his biographical notice on Stanley merely about all the accomplishments of Stanley, by stating that Stanley is “without a doubt, as far as geographical achievements are concerned, the greatest of African explorers” (Johnston, 1904, p.449). Mark Twain used one of his speeches to express his admiration for Stanley’s accomplishments, for instance by using the following words during a 1886 speech: “When I contrast what I have achieved in my measurably brief life with what Stanley has achieved in his possibly briefer one, the effect is to sweep utterly away the ten-story edifice of my own self-appreciation and leave nothing behind but the cellar” (Baumeister et al., 2011, www.smithsonianmag.com).
Although these biographical accounts also address the doubts at that time as to whether Stanley’s stories were true and whether his geographical knowledge was reliable, and although they mention that Stanley’s alleged harsh behavior towards the African native people wasn’t approved of by the British Royal House and the broader population of England, in these works he is mainly praised for his achievements. According to Johnston, these achievements translated themselves into an audience with Queen Victoria, two golden medallions from the Royal Geographic Society, and the granting of the title ‘Sir’ in 1899 (Johnston, 1904).

When further reviewing the list of produced biographies on Stanley, it appeared that in the decades after his death Stanley seemed to have fallen somewhat into oblivion, as only a few biographical works were written. This also became apparent from what Wasserman, one of those few biographers, stated in the preface of his work ‘Bula Matari: Stanley, Conqueror of a Continent’: “A good while ago, some of my friends asked me what I was working at. When I told them that I wanted to write about the life of Henry Morton Stanley and had, with this end in view, been studying the subject for several years, they were very much surprised. What, they enquired, could interest me in a man whose doings had been of little moment in his lifetime and would leave no conspicuous traces in history – a man whose name had already lapsed into oblivion?” (Wasserman, 1933, Preface). Both Wasserman’s biography and the biography ‘H.M. Stanley, the Authorized Life’ by Hird (1935), seemed mostly focused on restoring the recognition of Stanley’s achievements.

After that phase it took almost forty years before another biography was written. This biography was called ‘Stanley, and Adventurer Explored’, written by Hall in 1974. This work, alike previous mentioned biographies, also contributes to the readers’ geographical and exploration related knowledge of Africa. Next to that it specifically focuses on Stanley’s personality, by trying to resolve mysteries about Stanley such as ‘What was his real name’, and ‘Why did he sometimes claim to be an American, and at other times to be a Brit?'

Between 1989 and 1991 a renewed interest in Stanley could be seen in the form of three biographies that saw the light of day. Those are: ‘Sir Henry M. Stanley: The Enigma Review of the Early Years’ (Jones, 1989), ‘Stanley: the Making of an African explorer’ Volume 1 (McLynn, 1989), ‘Stanley: Sorcerer’s Apprentice’ Volume 2 (McLynn, 1991), and ‘Dark Safari: The Life behind the Legend of Henry Morton Stanley’ (Bierman, 1990). These works focus further on unravelling and analyzing the personality of Stanley, but appear however mostly aimed at emphasizing the dark side of Stanley’s personality. Bierman, for example, describes Stanley as a suspicious and paranoid little man, who was a bully, a
braggart, a hypocrite and a liar (Bierman, 1990). He regards Stanley as a significant player in the extensive geopolitical practices of the nineteenth century, and in creating the Congo Free State for King Leopold II (Bierman, 1990). McLynn states in his work that Stanley was revengeful, distrustful, and suspicious because of his unfortunate youth (McLynn, 1989). Next to that he claims that Stanley might have been a repressed homosexual, and that he was brutal and self-righteous (McLynn, 1989). In ‘Stanley, the Sorcerer’s Apprentice’, McLynn creates the image of Stanley as a puppet of King Leopold II, that enabled the King to brutally exploit the Congo (McLynn, 1991). About Stanley’s own biography McLynn states that this is mainly a work based on fantasy from which, however, valuable insights in Stanley’s inner life could be derived (McLynn, 1989).

In 2007 the biography ‘Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa's Greatest Explorer’ by Jeal was published (Jeal, 2007). This biography approaches Stanley from a totally different angle. Jeal states that Stanley was not a brute, a racist or an instigator of colonialism, but a tortured and misunderstood man who was a proponent of abolitionism, free commercial trade, and the equality of black and white (Jeal, 2007). Jeal states in his work that Stanley had a great aversion of slavery and regarded black and with as equal. He emphasizes that Stanley only used violence when absolutely necessary, and that he possessed little political skills (Jeal, 2007). Jeal describes Stanley as a part of “an extinct species and all the more remarkable for that” (Jeal, 2007, p. 470). Next to that, in his biography he attempts to investigate why specifically Stanley is nowadays often remembered in a negative way, whilst fellow African explorers appeared to have had committed more terrible deeds that Stanley himself ever did (Jeal, 2007, p.12).

From the review of these various biographies it became clear that there’s a variety of lenses through which one can look at Stanley, and that the kind of lens is decisive for how Stanley and his achievements are regarded. As described above, views on Stanley can vary, for instance, from describing him as the greatest African geographical explorer, as a hypocrite and a liar, as instigator of colonialism, and as an advocate for equality and the abolishment of slavery. As a result of these different views, combining information from these various biographies wasn’t feasible, as this would have led to a confusing historical account with many contradictions.

However, to deeper understand the textual and contextual analyses that were performed within this research, a short overview of Stanley’s life and his accomplishments can be of great use. One of the biographies that hasn’t been mentioned so far is Stanley’s own autobiography, called ‘The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley’, which was released in 1909. In this work Stanley wrote
extensively about his childhood, his family, his life in America, his job as a journalist, and the many expeditions that, partly, came with this line of work.

Within the empirical analyses of Stanley’s travelogue for this thesis, Stanley’s own words were the focal point. Therefore, the choice was made to also use Stanley’s own words from his autobiography to create a short overview of his life and achievements, in order to provide the reader with the needed background information. However, this overview should be regarded for what it is, meaning that it is Stanley’s own personal account and representation of history that exists between a variety of views, as elaborated on above, and has not been a sole point of reference for the analyses within this research.

2.2 BRIEF OUTLINE OF STANLEY’S PERSONAL HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Stanley was born in 1841 in Denbigh, South Wales, under the name of John Rowlands. He never knew his father and only in his ‘teens’ he found out that he had died a few weeks after Stanley was born. His mother was not able to take care of him and went back to her parents in New York. She left Stanley with his grandfather, Moses Parry, and his two uncles Moses and Thomas. Although Stanley wrote to have positive feelings regarding his grandfather, he doesn’t remember all too much, as he was only four years old when his grandfather passed away at the age of 84 (Stanley, 1909, pp. 3-10).

Soon after that, his uncles placed him in the care of Richard and Jenny Price, an old couple that also lived in Denbigh, at the cost of half-a-crown a week. However, not long after taking Stanley in, the couple demanded a higher rate for his maintenance. As both of his uncles got married in the meantime and no longer wanted to support Stanley financially, Stanley was brought to the St. Asaph Union Workhouse in 1847 (Stanley, 1909, pp. 3-10). Stanley described that, as the door closed on him with an echoing sound, he experienced for the first time the “awful feeling of utter desolateness” (Stanley, 1909, pp. 3-10).

The workhouse was an institution for poor and superfluous children because, as Stanley described, “civilization knows no better method of disposing of the infirm and helpless than by imprisoning them within its walls” (Stanley, 1909, p. 10). Within this workhouse, Stanley stated to be subjected to severe torture and disciplinary measurements, that “afflicted the mind and broke the heart” (Stanley, 1909, p. 11), especially by James Francis, the one-handed schoolmaster. All throughout his time at the workhouse Stanley kept being focused on his religion, and the comfort it brought (Stanley, 1909, pp. 3-35).

In May 1856, Stanley escaped from the workhouse, believing that beyond the walls he would find happiness. However, outside he was treated like an outcast. He went and found his grandfather, the
father of his biological father, and asked him for help. However, he sent Stanley away with the message that he did not want to have anything to do with Stanley. Also his uncles Moses and Thomas did not want to take Stanley into their homes (Stanley, 1909, pp. 35-69).

As Stanley’s last option was his nephew Moses Owen, school-master in Brynford, Stanley was very relieved to hear that Owen agreed to employ him as a pupil-teacher with payment in clothing, board, and lodging. Although it started out promising, and Stanley learned a lot from Owen, it only lasted for nine months. Under the influence of Aunt Mary, Owen’s mother, Owen decided no longer to take care of Stanley. After a short stay at a family farm in Ffynnon Beuno, Stanley was sent to Liverpool to stay with family members (Stanley, 1909, pp. 35-69).

Shortly after arriving, Stanley found out that this family in Liverpool had severe financial problems, so he started looking for a job. As there were no jobs to be found in Liverpool, Stanley accepted a job as a cabin boy on a sailing ship, called the ‘Windermere’, to America. He described that as he was abused during the whole journey to America, he decided to board the ship as soon as possible at the first port; New Orleans (Stanley, 1909, pp. 69-86).

In New Orleans Stanley found his ‘new’ father; Henry Stanley. This man delivered Stanley a job at a local store, for which mister Stanley was a merchant himself. In this period Stanley became more and more enthusiastic about America, as he enjoyed the “privileges of free speech, free opinions, and immunity from insult, oppression, and the contempt of class” (Stanley, 1909, p. 101). Stanley described that Mister Stanley ended up adopting Stanley as his son, and gave him his name. After traveling together as merchants, Mister Stanley left for Havana to visit his sick brother. Although his departure weighed heavily on Stanley, he knew that this was only for a few months. However, Mister Stanley died during his journey, so they never saw each other again (Stanley, 1909, pp. 86-140).

After the death of his adoptive father, Stanley eventually joined the army of The South in 1861. As a result of the battle of Shiloh he was held captive by Union soldiers and eventually deserted to them. He managed to escape and went back to Liverpool on a ship called the ‘E. Sherman’, again as a cabin boy in 1862, and went to see his mother. She told him that “he was a disgrace to them in the eyes of their neighbors, and they desired him to leave as speedily as possible” (Stanley, 1909, p. 227). Through 1863, and the early months of 1864, he went from one ship to another to work as a merchant and sailed to the West Indies, Spain, and Italy. In August 1864, he enlisted in the United States Navy and was assigned to the ships ‘the North Carolina’, ‘the Minnesota’, and subsequently ‘the Moses H. Stuyvesant’ where he
served in the capacity of the ship’s writer. His reporting of the first and second attack of the Federal Forces on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, was welcomed by the newspapers. Three months later, in April 1865, the war ended and Stanley left the navy (Stanley, 1909, pp. 140-219).

In the years that followed, Stanley became a correspondent for the ‘Missouri Democrat’, and contributed to several journals, such as the ‘New York Herald’, the ‘Tribune’, the ‘Times’, the ‘Chicago Republican’, and the ‘Cincinnati Commercial’. He became especially known for his reports on the Abyssinian campaign. For the ‘New York Herald’ Stanley went to Athens, Smyrna, Rhodes, Beirut, and Alexandria, and subsequently to Spain where he covered the Queen Isabella related outbreaks. In 1869, Stanley was invited in Paris by Mr. Bennett jr. himself, the proprietor of the ‘New York Herald’. Bennett requested him to discover and, if necessary, extricate Livingstone, in the heart of Africa. But this was to be only the climax of a series of preliminary expeditions; the opening of the Suez Canal; observations of Upper Egypt, underground explorations in Jerusalem, Syrian politics, Turkish politics at Stamboul, archeological explorations in the Crimea, politics and progress in the Caucasus, projects of Russia in that region, Trans-Caspian affairs, Persian politics, geography, and present conditions, and a glance at India. Stanley carried out the whole program within the next twelve months, and eventually produced a book of all these journeys called ‘My Early Travels and Adventures’ (Stanley, 1909, pp. 219-251).

As, by the end of 1870, there was still no sign of life from Livingstone, Stanley went from Bombay to Zanzibar where he arrived on the 6th of January 1871. Here he started his expedition, and plunged into an unknown tropical Continent, with no experience with Africans or with organizing and leading an expedition. This search for Livingstone took its toll as Stanley encountered many problems such as horses that died, the escape of porters, diseases, dangerous animals, heavy rainfall, tribal chiefs that made life difficult, and war. Despite these difficulties, Stanley managed to reach the location Tabora in a relatively short period of time. Tabora was the point of junction where traders of slaves and ivory met. At that point in time, Tabora was dominated by Arabs who were in conflict with a local tribal chief named Mirambo. The Arabs convinced Stanley and his men to battle with them against Mirambo. Stanley did so, but not with success. Mirambo ambushed a part of the troops and killed many men. After that, Stanley was glad to see that Mirambo left him alone, and carried on with his mission to find Livingstone (Stanley, 1909, pp. 251-285).

After quite some more hardship, Stanley finally reached Ujiji, found Livingstone and, according to Stanley himself, used the famous phrase “Dr. Livingstone, I presume?” (Stanley, 1909, p. 272). Livingstone and Stanley got along well. They were both religious and had a great amount of curiosity for the unknown.
They explored Lake Tanganyika together in an attempt to find out whether the earlier found river Lualaba was the starting point of the Nile. After that exploration Stanley had to return home, but Livingstone had no intention to join him. They travelled to Unyanyembe together, and there their ways parted. Stanley described that his farewell to Livingstone felt worse than any pains he had endured during his search for him, and he described Livingstone as “consistently noble, upright, pious, and manly” (Stanley, 1909, p. 291). Livingstone gave Stanley his last journal and several letters, which Stanley took home with him. In these documents Livingstone wrote about his geographical discoveries and the terrible cruelties of slavery. In May 1872 Stanley left Africa from Zanzibar (Stanley, 1909, pp. 251-285).

Back in England, Stanley got the cold shoulder. Sir Henry Rawlinson, President of the Royal Geographical Society, wrote to the 'Times' that it was not true that Stanley had discovered Livingstone, but that Livingstone had discovered Stanley. The 'Standard' sifted through Stanley’s stories looking for suspicions and misgivings. And there were those who publicly questioned the authenticity of the letters from Livingstone. At a meeting of the Geographical Section of the British Association, Stanley spoke to an audience of three thousand. There was quite a bit of criticism on the geographical findings, especially on Livingstone’s theory that the river Lualaba was the source of the Nile. Although Stanley himself as well had serious doubts about this theory, it was hard for him to see how these ‘arm chair’ geographers spoke with so little respect of Livingstone’s work. Also Stanley’s own writings weren’t taken seriously, as could be derived from the remark that the society didn’t meet to listen to sensational stories, but to serious facts. However, both the ‘Daily Telegraph’ and the ‘New York Herald’ stood up for Stanley, which eventually resulted in the rehabilitation of Stanley by the Royal Geographical Society, and in an audience with Queen Victoria herself. Nevertheless, Stanley described that “the storm of abuse and the wholly unjustifiable reports that had circulated about him strongly colored him” (Stanley, 1909, pp. 285-296).

After that, Stanley worked as a correspondent for the 'Herald,' and reported on the British campaign against the Ashantees, in 1873-1874. On his way home from the Ashantee War he arrived at the Island of St. Vincent, and was shocked to hear that Livingstone had died on May 4th, 1873. Stanley was determined not to let Livingstone’s mission cease and wanted to make sure that “the shining light of Christianity” (Stanley, 1909) would open the interior of Africa, and that the mystery concerning the river Lualaba would be resolved. Stanley pointed out to the proprietor of the 'Daily Telegraph' how much was still uncovered in “Dark Africa”. Both the ‘Daily Telegraph’ and the ‘New York Herald’ decided to sponsor an expedition, and as a result Stanley went back to Zanzibar in 1874 and started this second journey. His expedition consisted of 228 people, of which four were white. Next to that Stanley had a great array of
measuring instruments, and an iron boat named Lady Alice at his disposal. Stanley’s journey had to answer many questions such as; ‘Is Lake Victoria one big lake or does it consist of separate lakes that are linked to one another?’, ‘Are Lake Albert and Lake Tanganyika one lake or two separate ones?’, and of course the question ‘Is the river Lualaba the beginning of the Nile?’ (Stanley, 1909, pp. 296-333).

With eleven men on board of the Lady Alice, Stanley travelled Lake Victoria. During this journey he met Mtesa, the Kabaka (emperor) of Uganda. Stanley stayed at his court for about twelve days. As Mutesa, who saw the advantages of Europeans over Arabs, indicated to be willing to convert from Islam to Christianity, Stanley wrote the ‘Herald’ and the ‘Telegraph’ that it was time to send preachers to civilize Uganda. When Stanley left Mutesa’s court to continue his journey around Lake Victoria, and to catch up with the rest of the expedition he left behind earlier, he and his men got attacked by hundreds of local men with spheres and rocks, who lived on a large island which they passed. Stanley described how he and his men barely survived this attack. When Stanley finally reached the expedition members he left behind, he bought canoes for them, and together with the Lady Alice they all went back to Mutesa’s court. Again, they got attacked by the local men from the island. However, this time Stanley and his men were prepared and used rifles to shoot the island men, who had never seen such weapons before. When these actions became known to the people of England, Stanley’s reputation got severely damaged and led to a personal condemnation by Queen Victoria (Stanley, 1909, pp. 296-333).

Stanley continued his journey north towards Lake Tanganyika. Stanley went down the Lukuga River that flows into the Lualaba River. At the banks of the river Lualaba Stanley met Arab Hamid bin Muhammad el Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tip. Tippu Tip was one of the most powerful slave traders in East and Central Africa. Tippu Tip was willing to provide Stanley with armed men as he hoped that Stanley would lead him to new areas with ivory and slaves. Stanley accepted his company, as he lost many men during his expedition so far and got more and more into unknown and unsafe areas. After a while Tippu Tip returned and Stanley pursued his journey, partly over land and partly over water. He described how he encountered hostile indigenous populations, had to cross an enormous waterfall (later called Stanley Falls), and ran out of food and ammunition. Eventually the expedition reached a gigantic lake which they named Stanley Pool. From Stanley Pool, Stanley and the remaining part of his expedition went to Boma, a Portuguese trading post at the estuary of the river Congo, which he reached after several months, in Augustus 1877. Stanley and his expedition members were brought back to Zanzibar, by a British war ship. On December 13th of 1877 Stanley left for England, after an emotional goodbye to his expedition
members. Stanley described his expedition members as true heroes with loyal hearts that never failed him (Stanley, 1909, pp. 296-333).

In January of 1878 Stanley was on his way to London, but decided to make a stop in Marseille to address the local geographic society. At the station where he arrived, he met two representatives that were sent by King Leopold II of Belgium. These representatives uttered Leopold’s wish to colonize the Congo to be able to abolish slavery and to bring civilization. Leopold hoped that the experienced Stanley would go back to the Congo to support and accomplish this mission (Stanley, 1909, pp. 333-353).

Although Stanley at first did not return to Brussels with these representatives, but carried on to England for recovery from an exhausting journey, King Leopold’s presented motives appealed to Stanley. Stanley’s highest goal was to “transform millions of African people from barbaric, ignorant, superstitious and cruel people into happy and virtuous men and women” (Stanley, 1909, p. 347). Although this goal was more or less the same as Livingstone’s, Stanley was more focused on realizing this goal by beneficial, traffic related, activities than on solely the efforts of isolated missionaries. A way to accomplish this traffic was by use of the vast waterway of the Upper Congo, which Stanley had just discovered (Stanley, 1909, p. 333-353). For support of this mission Stanley looked to the English people and the English Government. He spoke to merchants in Manchester and Liverpool, and to members of Parliament, to promote the immense advantages for trade. However, no one would listen, and some accused him of putting commerce before religion. But, in Belgium, King Leopold was already keenly interested in these African possibilities. In the summer of 1877, he had convened a company of geographers and scientific men, who were organized in the ‘International African Association’. In November 1878 Stanley accepted an invitation to the Royal Palace at Brussels, and signed a five year contract with king Leopold. In this period Stanley left for the Congo with a mission to create stations between the coast and Stanley Pool, and to create a connection for transport between the upper and lower Congo. As Stanley had to use great amounts of explosives to blow up rocks to create this transport connection, the local community gave him the name ‘Bula Matari’, meaning ‘he who breaks stones’. In this period Stanley negotiated treaties with local chiefs, to gain political jurisdiction over the territory, and to create the foundations of Leopold’s Free State. In 1884 he returned to England from this mission (Stanley, 1909, pp. 333-353).

On January 26th 1885, General Charles George Gordon was massacred and the Egyptian population reduced to slavery by Madhist forces. The only Egyptian force in the Soudan that escaped this disaster was led by German governor of Equatoria; Emin Pasha. He sought refuge among the tribes on the left bank of the Nile. To relieve him, an expedition was organized. Stanley was asked to lead this
expedition that eventually lasted from 1886 to 1889. As Stanley was still employed by King Leopold II, he needed permission from the king to go on this expedition. The king agreed under the condition that Stanley would take a longer route up the Congo River, so that at the same time he could further contribute to the founding of the Free State. Stanley declared that this relief mission was non-military and the purpose was not to fight, destroy or waste. He stated that although he valued the life of Emin Pasha and his men, this expedition was not worth the devastation of the natives and their country (Stanley, 1909, pp. 353-392). Stanley went up the Congo and finally met Emin Pasha on April 29th 1888, at Lake Albert. To Stanley’s amazement Emin Pasha didn’t want to be relieved. It finally took up until April of 1889 before Emin joined Stanley on the expedition back to the coast. The whole expedition was characterized by hardship caused by extreme weather conditions, diseases, death of expedition members, violence, and famine. In 1890 Stanley returned to England. Although back in England opinions varied on the accomplishments of Stanley, the violence used by him during the expedition, and his treatment of Emin Pasha, Stanley did receive a golden medallion from the Royal Geographic Society for his geographical discoveries (Stanley, 1909, pp. 353-392).

Stanley’s relief mission of Emin Pasha was his last expedition. He married Dorothy Tennant in 1890, and became a member of parliament from 1895 to 1900 (Stanley, 1909, p. 409-482). In 1899 he became ‘Sir’ Henry Morton Stanley, in recognition of his service to the British Empire. He died of pneumonia in 1904 (Stanley, 1909, pp. 512-517).

2.3 CONCLUSION

After comparing Stanley’s own autobiography to the other reviewed biographies, the conclusion can be drawn that not one of the biographies is (exactly) in line with Stanley’s own autobiography.

The one biography on Stanley that is most similar to his own autobiography appeared to be the biography ‘Stanley: The Impossible Life of Africa’s Greatest Explorer’ by Jeal (2007). Both combined the description of the actual expeditions with the influence of an awful childhood and the role of father like figures such as Livingstone (Stanley, 1909; Jeal, 2007).

Next to that, both emphasized Stanley’s motives in a positive way: Jeal describes Stanley as a proponent of free commercial trade, abolitionism, and the equality men (Jeal, 2007); Stanley stated that his goal was to transform millions of African people into happy and virtuous men and women, by providing them with beneficial, traffic related activities (Stanley, 1909, p. 333).
2.4 OVERVIEW OF STANLEY’S JOURNEY TO FIND LIVINGSTONE

The map below reveals the route Stanley took in order to find Livingstone.

Illustration 2: Stanley’s journey
Stanley started his journey in Zanzibar. He stayed there for a while to prepare his expedition into the interior. For instance, he calculated how much cloth and beads were needed for negotiations with the many African chiefs he would encounter during his journey. Much of this knowledge he acquired through reading the works of previous African explorers, such as Speke and Grant. Here he met a courteous Sultan who offered him two fine Arab horses to take with on his journey, and who made sure that Stanley would get assistance from his Arabs contacts in the interior. At Zanzibar he also met two men he felt could be of added value in leading the expedition, named Shaw and Farquhar, who he persuades to join him. He ensembled members for his expedition by, again, making use of the information from Speke and Grant about which men were most ‘faithful’. Stanley tried to gather as much of Speke’s and Grant’s ‘faithfuls’ as he could, such as ‘Mabruki’ and ‘Bombay’ (pp. 1-40).

From Zanzibar he went to the coast and started his expedition. His first stop was Bagamoyo, where he stayed a few days and was treated well by the Jesuits that had settled there. At this place he tried to gather more pagazis (carriers) for his expedition. Finally he left Bagamayo with five caravans (pp. 1-40).

On his way to Useguhha he made several stops, during which he got irritated by the Wagogo people who were, according to him, impertinently curious, and during which he met the first of many African chiefs he would encounter. During this journey he saw a large number of hippopotami. His Arab horses died, most likely from the tsetse fly, which brought Stanley to investigate and dissect some of these flies. During this first journey one of his expedition members, named Khamesi, was the first of many to desert. After he was caught and brought back to the caravan he was punished by Stanley (pp. 69-120). When pursuing the expedition to Ugogo, Stanley and his expedition members suffered from the effects of the rain season, which made it especially difficult to cross the Makata swamp (pp. 121-170).

Illustration 3: Struggle through the Makata swamp
More expedition members deserted and were captured again. During this phase Stanley got fed up with Shaw’s dilatoriness, and he had to leave Farquhar behind in Mpwapwa, because of sickness. The water in this area was scarce and bitter, and the expedition members at one point survived thirty-six hours without water (pp. 121-170).

Ugogo appeared not the best place to be, as the expedition encountered a furious mob of Wagogo people. On their way to Mukonduku however, Stanley met the Wahumba people who he extensively described as a fine race (pp. 171-257).

Then, the journey went on to Unyanyembe, where he met the hospitable Sayd Bin Salim. It is here where the Arabs asked Stanley and his men to join them in the battle against Mirambo, chief of Uyoweh, who at that point was violently conquering many parts of the interior and threatened to invade Tabora, the principal Arab settlement for trade in ivory and slaves, as well. Stanley decided to join them, but he and the Arabs were defeated by Mirambo, and many men were lost. Stanley’s disappointment in the Arabs was huge after they left him and a few of his men behind on the battle field, while saving their own skin as they fled back to Tabora. During this part of the journey Stanley suffered from some of his most severe fevers (pp.258-286).

Somewhat later, the Arabs asked him to join them in the battle against Mirambo once more, but Stanley refused, as he had no trust in the Arabs anymore and wanted to focus on the reason why he was there, namely to find Livingstone (pp.258-286).

As chief Mirambo blocked the route that Stanley wanted to take on his way to Livingstone, he tried a different route. During this route he heard that Mirambo defeated the Arabs at Tabora and that Tabora went up in flames. He also heard that Farquhar had died (pp.258-309).

From Kwihara they travelled further via Kasegera, towards Ukonongo. Shaw kept feeling sick and travelled back to Kwihara. At first, Stanley had a severe dispute about the tribute to be paid to the sultan of Manyara. But after they came to an agreement, they spent several hours full of laughter together, as Stanley led the sultan and his men smell concentrated ammonia, which led them to commit ludicrous things, according to Stanley (pp. 310-360).
After a stay at Mrera, the expedition pursued their journey towards Ujiji and passed Ukawendi, Uvinza and Uhha. Along the way they encountered lions, monkeys, buffalos, and leopards. Later on, the environment was less bountiful, and due to a shortage of food they suffered from severe famine. During this trajectory, Stanley received the news that Livingstone was most likely at Ujiji. He also heard that Shaw had died. During the stop at Kawanga Stanley got angry about the exorbitant tributes that were demanded by the local chief. To avoid paying this tribute, Stanley passed the village at midnight, so that no one would notice. Finally they heard the thunder like noises of the Tanganika and arrived at Ujiji where Stanley met Livingstone and used his famous words “Dr. Livingstone I Presume?” (pp. 361-419).

Together with Livingstone, Stanley and a few of his men explored the Tanganika Lake, to find out whether the Rusizi River was an effluent or influent.
During this trip they encountered hostile natives, and a large part of their goods got stolen by African natives from their canoes while sleeping. After about a month they returned to Ujiji (pp. 475-515).

Although Stanley tried to persuade Livingstone to return to England, Livingstone declined to go home until his work was done. He did however join Stanley and his men back to Unyanyembe, to pick up new supplies and carriers. The first part of this joint journey was down the Tanganika, in two canoes; one with the American flag, and one with the British flag (pp. 558-607).

In Unyanyembe the ways of Stanley and Livingstone parted. Livingstone gave Stanley his journals in which he described his journeys, as well as letters for his family. Stanley returned with his remaining expedition members to Zanzibar; a journey during which they suffered from terrible floods and storms caused by the Masika (rain season), which swept away about a hundred villages. Finally they reached Zanzibar again, where the expedition ended (pp. 608-657).
CHAPTER 3   METHODOLOGY

This chapter concentrates on the methodology that was applied to this research by informing on research data, analysis, and quality procedures. This research took the supposed relationship between exploration and colonialism, which can be found in the works of critical theorists such as in Dunn’s article “Fear of a black planet: anarchy, anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa” (Dunn, 2007), as a starting point. As not only from Dunn’s article, but from a broader literature review as well, it appeared that especially Henry Morton Stanley’s writings have been connected to colonial practices (Mazrui, 1969; Koponen, 1993; Stone, 1988; Driver, 1991; Dunn, 2007; Darwin, 1997), this desk research concentrated on performing an inductive textual analysis of Stanley’s travelogue writings, followed by a contextual interpretative analysis.

3.1 DESIGN

As the goals of this research were to find out what Stanley exactly wrote in his travelogues, and to find out to what extent his writings can be related to Western colonial practices in Africa, there appeared to be a need to look at both the text and context of his writings. If only the travelogue writings themselves had been analyzed, this would not have given insights in the broader context outside these writings. It would not have led to finding out to what extent there’s a relation between these travelogue writings and colonial practices. And the other way around; it would not have been possible to draw conclusions based on Stanley’s travelogue writings without extensively analyzing first what he actually wrote.

Therefore, within this study, text and context were clearly linked as “language and society should be seen as inseparable units that should not be investigated independently from each other” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 7). Language, in this case written text, is a “form of social practice” (Fairclough, 1989, p. 20; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 258) that should be considered in its context, in order to gain insights in the relationship between language use and the broader social context.

This research combines a quantitative content analysis of the text from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) with a qualitative contextual socio-historical analysis, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the (recent) discussions concerning the presumed relation between exploration and colonialism.
3.2 RESEARCH DATA

3.2.1 TRAVELOUGE CHOICE

As the first research question of this thesis concentrated on finding out what Stanley himself actually wrote, the textual analysis of this research was based on Stanley’s own travel writings. Dunn (2007) states that all three of Stanley’s travelogues “How I Found Livingstone” (1872), “Through the Dark Continent” (1878) and “The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State” (1885) gave occasion for Western colonial practices and violent conquests (Dunn, 2007, p. 486). Although the initial research intention was to textually analyze all three travelogues, eventually for this thesis only the first travelogue “How I Found Livingstone” (1872) was analyzed. The reason for this choice was that Stanley’s three travelogues altogether consist of more than 3000 pages of text, which appeared too many to analyze extensively within this one thesis, and was therefore not feasible.

The choice for the first of the travelogues was made from a perspective of chronological logic. This was Stanley’s first travelogue of the three, and one that gives great insights in his introduction to the African interior. It also forms a basis for reading the other two travelogues. Although travelogues two and three can be seen and read as separate documents, the many references in them by Stanley to his earlier experiences, which he described in his former travelogue(s), made it that a chronological treatment of the travelogues appeared to be most logical in terms of understanding what was written.

However, the analysis of just one of the three travelogues can be considered as a limitation of this study. The findings of this research could only be compared to the critical theoretical perspective on exploration and colonization for this one specific travelogue. Nonetheless, to make sure that the reader of this thesis isn’t limited to just gaining insights in the part of Stanley’s life where he searches for Livingstone, an overview of Stanley’s own personal historical account regarding his life and accomplishments was added in Chapter 2. To warrant that this would not result in one, biased, account written by Stanley himself, a review of several biographies on Stanley took place that was elaborated on in Chapter 2 as well. Amongst the variety of biographers’ views on Stanley that was presented, the critical view on his life and achievements could be found as well. This presented perspective can lead to giving the reader more insights in where critical theorists base their presumed relationship between Stanley’s explorations and colonialism on.
3.2.2 FOCUS

Stanley’s travelogue “How I Found Livingstone” (1872) contains a substantial amount of information on a great variety of topics varying from extensive descriptions of the preparations for his expedition to his elaborations on the numerous diseases and fevers that he suffered from during his journey. However, covering all these aspects within these analyses was not only time wise unmanageable, but was also not preferable as this wouldn’t aid in meeting the specific needs of this study, and in answering the research questions.

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Said (1979) and Dunn (2007) concentrate on how, within identity forming processes, both African natives and nature have often been portrayed as uncivilized, backward, exotic, and sometimes dangerous, and that these images have served as a justification for Western colonial practices (Said, 1979). In his article “Fear of a black planet: anarchy, anxieties and postcolonial travel to Africa” Dunn states that “It is clear that Africa is often presented as an exoticized destination in which to see and consume both ‘nature’ and the ‘native’ “(Dunn, 2007, p. 487). This focus on ‘native’ and ‘nature’ within the critical perspective also became the focus for this study, as this eventually would enable a comparison between the critical statements and the travelogue writings.

3.3 TEXTUAL ANALYSES

To generate the needed data from the selected travelogue, a textual analysis was performed in the form of a content analysis, that could lead to answering the first research question of this thesis regarding what Stanley actually wrote about both the people and the scenery of Africa in his travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872). Within the social sciences, content analysis is a method for empirically studying the content of written texts (Hodder, 1994), in which the main questions, according to Lasswell, are: What is being said and to whom? Why is it said? And what is the extent and the effect of what is said? (Lasswell, 1948). Considering the large amount of textual information within the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872), a quantitative content analysis was chosen as the most suited method to analyze its text. It enabled to identify the properties of this sizeable text, such as the most used keywords and textual patterns, in a systematic way, and subsequently made categorization possible.

In order to eventually be able to make valid inferences from this textual analysis, it was important that the analysis process was consistent (Weber, 1990). To improve this consistency, a digital version of the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) was downloaded from the website www.archive.org and
converted into a text document. All relevant textual parts from this text document regarding ‘people’ and ‘scenery’ were copied into two separate working documents.

Within these working documents, a frequency analysis was conducted through which keywords and phrases were highlighted. These were transferred into an excel document, in order to be able to see them cumulatively (Fairclough, 1992, p. 65 & 134).

Subsequently, the analysis shifted to looking for concepts/themes that appeared from the text and from the most frequent words/phrases, from which categorizations were made. For the most common categories, relevant fragments from the text were presented that gave insight in the word use and patterns in relation to the broader textual context (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131).

3.3.1 ‘PEOPLE’ ANALYSIS

As mentioned, the focus of the two separate textual analyses of this research was respectively on ‘native’ and ‘nature’. However, the reason for not calling this first of these analyses the ‘Native-Analysis’ is that when reading the travelogue it appeared that Stanley did not only see and meet African natives during his expedition, but also many traders/workers from the Arab world, who had already been in Africa for trade in ivory and slaves long before the European expeditions into the interior. Next to that, Stanley also wrote extensively about the members of his expedition who themselves consisted of a mix of African natives and people from the Arab world. Stanley’s encounters with both African natives and traders/workers from the Arab world, as well as his experiences with his own expedition members, constantly intertwined in his travelogue writings. Therefore, no clear cut between them could be made properly, as this would have led to a loss of valuable information as all ‘parties’ were often part of the same stories. Also the relationship and comparisons between these three groups of people from Stanley’s point of view were too valuable to ignore, and therefore the analysis was focused on both his encounters with African natives and people from the Arab world, and on his experiences with expedition members. As the term ‘native’ would not have covered all these encounters, the term ‘people’ was connected to this analysis.

After selecting all ‘people’-related passages from the downloaded travelogue text-file, and transporting them into a separate document, a manual frequency keyword analysis was started by highlighting all keywords that Stanley used to describe people, as can be seen in the example below:
“Cringing and hypocritical, cowardly and debased, treacherous and mean, I have always found him.” (Stanley, 1872)

Subsequently, all these highlighted keywords were conveyed into an excel document to increase the cumulative insights in the occurrence of keywords. For each keyword was indicated how often that specific word was mentioned by Stanley in the relevant text, for instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cruel</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cunning</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curious</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangerous</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using an automatic word-count function and/or an analysis software program was considered. However, for this type of word-count no automatic search function could be used, as this would have led to false conclusions. For instance the word ‘friend(s)’ was often used by Stanley in people-related text fragments. However, for this research, the only time ‘friend(s)’ ‘counted’ was when Stanley described someone he met as his friend. But, for example, an automatic word-count would have also filtered out the next mentioning of the keyword ‘friends’:

“Each carrier was rewarded according to his merits, so that each of them could proceed home to his friends and neighbors.” (Stanley, 1872).

Although this would have come out of the automatic count as a mentioning of the word ‘friends’, this mentioning wasn’t valuable for this research as it didn’t concern Stanley’s view on people, and it would have created a distorted picture of the total word-count. Therefore, no use was made of automatic analysis software, as every word needed to be researched and regarded in its own specific context.

As the keyword search led to hundreds of different keywords, the results were too all-encompassing to be able to render specific textual patterns from it. Therefore, further delineation was necessary. When going through the total keyword list, it appeared that many of the mentioned words seemed synonym to one another. The next step in the process was to group all synonyms together, in order to shorten the list of keywords. To ensure that deciding which words are synonyms wasn’t based on an unfounded and personally biased interpretation of words, a combination of the books ‘Dictionary of English Synonyms & Antonyms’ (Fergusson, 1992) and ‘English Synonyms and Antonyms 1838-1918’ (Champlin, 2013), and the online synonym dictionary on Thesaurus.com, was used to decide which keywords are synonym.
This, for instance, led to the following example of a synonym-group:

**stupid/slow-witted/fat brained/fool/harebrained/ignorant**

Although grouping the synonyms shortened the list of key-words considerably, there were still too many synonym-groups left to be able to make specific statements about what was found. Therefore, the total of the selected text and all the different synonym-groups were once more reviewed to see if certain themes or concepts could be derived from it. These themes and concept were turned into separate categories over which all synonym-groups were divided.

For the categories it then became visible which synonym-groups were most present in terms of ‘times mentioned’ in the total text. For each of the most common synonym-groups in the categories, a few relevant passages from the text were extracted and presented in the textual analysis, to give the reader of this thesis an idea of the context of the broader sentences in which Stanley used those words.

Next to that, the derived keywords that Stanley used to describe ‘people’ were regarded in their larger textual context, to gain to insight in for whom he used these words: for the African natives he encountered along the way, and/or for traders/workers from the Arab world, and/or specifically for the members of his expedition (both native and Arab), as well as in which situations he used these specific keywords, and in if changes took place in the frequency and pattern of keyword use.

### 3.3.2 ‘SCENERY’ ANALYSIS

The reason for not calling this second of these analyses the ‘Nature-Analysis’, is that Stanley took into account a broader scope of his surroundings than just nature, for instance by also often focusing on describing the forms of cultivation he saw. Therefore, the somewhat broader term ‘Scenery’ was used for this part; a term that was also often used by Stanley himself to describe his surrounding environment.

After having selected all scenery-related passages from the downloaded travelogue text-file, they were transported into a separate working document. The textual analysis of this part was however slightly different from the ‘People’ analysis.

One of these differences was that within this analysis not the keywords were highlighted that Stanley used to describe the scenery, but the phrases to which the keywords belonged. It appeared that only selecting keywords for the scenery would have led to textual under analysis, and to not meeting the
goals of the research. As Dunn in this article put emphasis on Stanley’s remark that “All is nature, large ample, untouched and apparently unvisited by man” (Dunn, 2007, p. 488), and as he explains in relation to this quote that ‘Of course, the ‘man’ Stanley refers to is the white man. His colonizing gaze removes the African inhabitants to portray a primordial terrain teeming with wildlife’ (Dunn, 2007, p. 488), it became important not just to find out how Stanley described the scenery in separate keywords, but to examine to which part of the scenery he attributed these keywords. For instance, if just the keyword ‘teeming’ would have been highlighted, it would not have become clear if Stanley meant the “teeming wildlife” to which Dunn referred (Dunn, 2007, p. 488), or for example the “teeming fields of sugar-cane and Mutama” that Stanley wrote about in the selected travelogue (Stanley, 1872, p. 110). Although both times the keyword ‘teeming’ was used, the context is not only quite different but also quite significant, as one ‘teeming’ described the scenery as “primordial and untouched”(Dunn, 2007, p. 488) and the other ‘teeming’ described the scenery as ‘cultivated’ (Stanley, 1872). Therefore, in this case the phrases that Stanley used to describe the scenery were analyzed. An example of such a phrase:

“A valley extremely fertile and bountiful in its productions.” (Stanley, 1872)

As a result of using phrases instead of single keywords, no synonym analysis was performed, as no two of the phrases were exactly comparable.

No use was made of automatic analysis software as, also for this analysis, every phrase needed to be researched individually and regarded in its own specific textual context.

The phrases were transported in an Excel document to enhance the cumulative insights in the occurrence of the mentioned phrases. As this selection of phrases led to a great amount of different phrases, these results as well were too comprehensive to be able to obtain specific patterns from it. Therefore, also within this analysis-part, further delineation was needed. Again, the total selected texts on the scenery, as well as the selected short phrases, were scanned for themes and concepts. The themes and concepts from this scan were transformed into different categories over which all of the phrases were divided.

Also for this analysis, per category a few relevant passages from the text were distilled and presented in the textual analysis, to give the thesis reader an idea of the broader sentences in which Stanley used these phrases. Next to that, the phrases for describing the ‘scenery’ were viewed in their larger textual
context as well, to gain comprehension of the situations in which they were used, as well as in frequency and pattern.

**3.4 CONTEXTUAL ANALYSES**

The textual analyses delivered quantifiable and calculable results that gave insight in what was exactly written by Stanley, in terms of keywords and phrases, and gave insights in the context of the broader sentences and the larger textual context in which they were used; for whom or what they were used, in which situations they were used, and in if changes took place in the frequency and pattern of keyword and phrases use. However, this analysis was limited to providing insights in the text of the actual travelogue itself, without making connections to broader contexts outside the travelogue.

To be able to start giving an answer to the second research question, concerning to what extent Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) can be related to Western colonial practices in Africa, a qualitative content analysis was needed that focused more on the possible intentionality and its implicatins of the text.

This research took the approach of connecting the travelogue writings to the broader socio-historical context and to the main ideas on exploration and colonialism. The aim of this analysis was to connect Stanley’s search for Livingstone to the historical timeline of the exploration of the African interior. By elaborating on this historical timeline, Stanley’s writings on his search for Livingstone could be presented in, and explained from, the larger socio-historical context and prominent thoughts on exploration and colonization.

For this research, this timeline started with the first, more organized, attempts to discover the interior parts by the African Association (founded in 1788), and ended with the start of the so-called ‘Scramble for Africa’ in the late 1870’s, 1880’s and 1890’s. This timeframe covers a period that began with practically no European knowledge of, and expeditions into, the interior. This was followed by explorations by trading companies with commercial motives (a motive that can also be seen in Stanley’s travelogues ‘The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State’ (1885) and ‘In Darkest Africa – the quest, rescue, and retreat of Emin, governor of Equatoria’ (1890). And it ended, less than a century later, with the colonization of almost the complete African continent by European powers.

The reason for delineating this specific time frame for this thesis is that it enabled to ‘dot’ Stanley’s search for Livingstone on this timeline. This would aid in connecting Stanley’s travel writings to the socio-
historical circumstances and the main ideas on exploration and colonization, by searching for patterns, relationships, and contradictions. Insights in these socio-historical circumstances and ideas on exploration and colonization were gained from analyzing the content of a substantial array of scientific articles and historical documents on African exploration and colonization. Outcomes from this analysis formed a basis for concluding, further on in this thesis, to what extent Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) can be related to Western colonial practices in Africa.
CHAPTER 4   ANALYSIS OF PEOPLE RELATED TEXT

In this part of the research, an analysis was made of what Stanley wrote in his travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) about the people he saw and met during his African journey. These people do not only include African native people, but also people from the Arab world, and the members of his own expedition. Reason for including people from the Arab world is that at the time Stanley entered the, according to Western knowledge in those days, unknown and dark continent of Africa, traders from the Arab world were already there for their trade in ivory and slaves, and had posts, settlements and connections throughout the interior. Stanley also often wrote about his experiences with expedition members. His caravan consisted of a mix of African natives and Arabs/Hindi. Stanley’s descriptions of, and encounters with, these different groups of people during his African travel constantly intertwined, and therefore, for this analysis, no clear cut was made between encounters with African natives, people from the Arab world, and expedition members.

4.1 PRIOR IMAGES

What was interesting to read at the beginning of the travelogue was that Stanley described his vision on people in Africa before starting his expedition. These prior images can be derived best from passages from his travelogue writings on his stay in Zanzibar that preceded his expedition to find Livingstone.

Stanley stated that there are classes of people, which can be deduced from the following text:

“The Arabs, the Banyans, and the Mohammedan Hindis, represent the higher and middle classes. These classes own the estates, the ships, and the trade. To these classes bow the half-caste and the Negro.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 9)

What can be noticed is that although ‘white men’ and their consulates were also a part of Zanzibar at that time, he didn’t mention them as a specific class.

As the, what Stanley referred to as, “Arabs” were concerned he stated:

“To a newcomer into Africa, the Muscat Arabs of Zanzibar are studies. There is a certain impression about them which we must admire. They are mostly all travelers. There are but few of them who have not been in many dangerous positions, as they penetrated Central Africa in search of the precious ivory;
and their various experiences have given their features a certain unmistakable air of self-reliance, or of self-sufficiency; there is a calm, resolute, defiant, independent air about them, which wins unconsciously one's respect.* (Stanley, 1872, p. 6)

“The Arab never changes. He brought the custom of his forefathers with him when he came to live on this island. He is as much of an Arab here as at Muscat or Bagdad; wherever he goes to live he carries with him his harem, his religion, his long robe, his shirt, his slippers, and his dagger.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 5)

About the, what Stanley called, “Banyan traders” he wrote:

“The Banyan is a born trader, the beau-ideal of a sharp money-making man. Money flows to his pockets as naturally as water down a steep. No pang of conscience will prevent him from cheating his fellow man. He excels a Jew, and his only rival in a market is a Parsee; an Arab is a babe to him.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 6)

About the, what Stanley indicated as, “Hindis” he stated:

“The next people to the Banyans in power in Zanzibar are the Mohammedan Hindis. Really it has been a debatable subject in my mind whether the Hindis are not as wickedly determined to cheat in trade as the Banyans.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 8)

About, what Stanley referred to as, the “half-castes” he wrote:

“For the half-castes I have great contempt. They are neither black nor white, neither good nor bad, neither to be admired nor hated. They are all things, at all times; they are always fawning on the great Arabs, and always cruel to those unfortunates brought under their yoke. If I saw a miserable, half-starved Negro, I was always sure to be told he belonged to a half-caste. Cringing and hypocritical, cowardly and debased, treacherous and mean, I have always found him. He seems to be forever ready to fall down and worship a rich Arab, but is relentless to a poor black slave. When he swears most, you may be sure he lies most, and yet this is the breed which is multiplied most at Zanzibar.” (Stanley, 1872 p. 6)
He described, what Stanley called, the “Negroes” as following:

“The next most important people who go to make up the mixed population of this island are the Negroes. They consist of the Aborigines, Wasawahili, Somalis, Comorines, Wanyamwezi, and a host of tribal representatives of Inner Africa.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 9)

“The Negroes of the island probably number two-thirds of the entire population. They compose the working-class, whether enslaved or free. Outside the city they may be seen carrying huge loads on their heads, as happy as possible, not because they are kindly treated or that their work is light, but because it is their nature to be gay and light-hearted, because they have conceived neither joys nor hopes which may not be gratified at will, nor cherished any ambition beyond their reach, and therefore have not been baffled in their hopes nor known disappointment.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 10)

What stands out about his analysis of what he referred to as “the Negroes” is that only in relation to “the Negroes” he asked himself questions, and needed affirmation, prior to his journey, about their qualities, competences and rights as men, and emphasized the differences in race and color:

“To a white stranger about penetrating Africa, it is a most interesting walk through the Negro quarters of the Wanyamwezi and the Wasawahili. For here he begins to learn the necessity of admitting that Negroes are men, like himself, though of a different color; that they have passions and prejudices, likes and dislikes, sympathies and antipathies, tastes and feelings, in common with all human nature. The sooner he perceives this fact, and adapts himself accordingly, the easier will be his journey among the several races of the interior. The more plastic his nature, the more prosperous will be his travels.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 9)

“Though I had lived some time among the Negroes of our Southern States, my education was Northern, and I had met in the United States black men whom I was proud to call friends. I was thus prepared to admit any black man, possessing the attributes of true manhood or any good qualities, to my friendship, even to a brotherhood with myself; and to respect him for such, as much as if he were of my own color and race. Neither his color, nor any peculiarities of physiognomy should debar him with me from any rights he could fairly claim as a man. “Have these men, these black savages from pagan Africa.” I asked myself, “the qualities which make man loveable among his fellows? Can these men, these barbarians appreciate kindness or feel resentment like myself?” was my mental question
as I travelled through their quarters and observed their actions. Need I say, that I was much comforted in observing that they were as ready to be influenced by passions, by loves and hates, as I was myself; that the keenest observation failed to detect any great difference between their natures and my own." (Stanley, 1872, p. 10)

In Zanzibar Stanley organized his expedition. For his choice of expedition members he attached great value to earlier experiences of fellow African explorers:

*The next thing I was engaged upon was to enlist, arm, and equip, a faithful escort of twenty men for the road. Johari, the chief dragoman of the American Consulate, informed me that he knew where certain of Speke's "Faithfuls" were yet to be found. The idea had struck me before, that if I could obtain the services of a few men acquainted with the ways of white men, and who could induce other good men to join the expedition I was organizing, I might consider myself fortunate." (Stanley, 1872, p. 27)

*However, I engaged Mabruki, despite his deformed hands, his ugliness and vanity, because he was one of Speke's "Faithfuls". (Stanley, 1872, p. 30)

Bombay, in consideration of his rank, and previous faithful services to Burton, Speke and Grant, was engaged at $80 a year, half that sum in advance, a good muzzle-loading rifle, besides, a pistol, knife, and hatchet were given to him, while the other five "Faithfuls", Ambari, Mabruki, Ulimengo, Banuti, and Uledi, were engaged at $40 a year, with proper equipment as soldiers. (Stanley, 1872, p. 31)

4.2 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

For the textual analysis of what Stanley wrote about the people he encountered during his African journey, all relevant people-related passages from the downloaded travelogue text-file ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) were selected and copied into a separate document. Subsequently, in this document all keywords that Stanley used to describe the people he saw and met were highlighted manually for this research. Next, these keywords were transported into an Excel document from which it became clear that Stanley in total used 210 different keywords for his descriptions of people, as well as how many times he used each of these keywords throughout the selected travelogue text. The overview of these 210 keywords and their count can be found in Appendix 1.
From this overview it became apparent that Stanley used a broad spectrum of keywords, and that about three quarters of all different keywords were only used once. Only five words were used more than five times throughout the whole selected travelogue text:

- black skin reference: 24 times
- savages/savagedom.savagery: 12 times
- friend(s): 12 times
- faithful: 11 times
- coward: 9 times

However, this word count alone would have provided a distorted picture. It did not make sufficiently clear which traits of people Stanley was most focused on/emphasized most, as when analyzing the total list of 210 keywords it appeared that many keywords seemed synonym to one another. Or in other words; Stanley regularly used a variety of different keywords to essentially describe the same trait. By using a combination of the books ‘Dictionary of English Synonyms & Antonyms’ (Fergusson, 1992) and ‘English Synonyms and Antonyms 1838-1918’ (Champlin, 2013), and the online synonym dictionary on Thesaurus.com, all keywords were examined for their synonyms in the selected travelogue text. Subsequently they all were divided into either solo groups (consisting of just one keyword) when they appeared to have no synonyms within the selected text, or into integrated groups (consisting of more than one keyword) together with other keywords from the text that are synonym to them. This led to a total of 66 solo- and integrated groups of which an overview can be found in Appendix 2.

Even though the search for synonyms brought the keywords down from 210 separate different keywords to 66 groups of keywords, this number of groups was still too comprehensive to properly draw conclusions from about Stanley’s writings on people. Therefore, the 66 keyword groups were scanned to find out if a certain categorization could be made.

It appeared that 27 of the groups had to do with the descriptions of physical appearances, and the other 39 groups were concentrated on describing character traits. These underlined topics/concepts became the titles of two separate categories over which all 66 keyword groups were divided. For each keyword group was indicated how many times in total its keywords were mentioned in the selected text. In the next paragraphs these two categories will be described.
4.2.1 PHYSICAL APPEARANCES

In total, 46 of the 210 different keywords that were used by Stanley to describe people were focused on describing the physical appearances of the people who he got acquainted with. Based on the performed synonym analyses (Appendix 2), these 46 keywords could be divided into the following 27 (out of 66) keyword groups:

- black/dark skin reference/perfect ebon skin
- herculean form/robust/strong/strong limbed/heavy lower limbs/tall/massive
- handsome/beautiful/good, fine, sharp-looking/well-formed/remarkable/symmetrical/sculpture
- woolly heads
- pleasing face/friendly face
- gorgeously dressed/highly dressed
- high cheekbones
- bold forehead
- intelligent features
- oval face
- small heads
- universal nose
- Greek nose
- fine nose
- flat nose
- fine teeth
- thick lip
- naked
- scantiest costumes
- black eyes
- deeply sunk eyes
- ugly
- small well shaped feet
- yellow skin reference
- sylphlike
- long slender necks
- long shapely limbs

This category contains relatively many groups in relation to the amount of used different keywords. This has to do with the fact that, next to overall physical descriptions such as ‘beautiful’ and ‘strong’, Stanley
also described many separate body parts. This means that even though he described for example a ‘nose’ and ‘teeth’ both as ‘fine’, these two could not form a synonym keyword group together, as clearly ‘nose’ and ‘teeth’ themselves aren’t synonyms. It appeared that there was a clear emphasis on the first three keyword groups in terms of how often their keywords were mentioned by Stanley throughout the text. Therefore, these three categories were selected for further elaboration below.

1. Black/dark skin reference/perfect ebon skin

References to black skin were often used by Stanley throughout the whole travelogue, most of the time in the form of an adjective. In all cases the word black is used to describe African natives who he saw or met during his travel, or who were members of his expedition. This word use could in most cases not be connected to certain activities of, or experiences with, natives. They were merely used, both in general and for individuals, to indicate that people and their skins were black. Some examples from the travelogue text are:

“Bombay thought *Bombay Mdogo* would suit my black-skinned infant very well.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 303)

“Startled at hearing this greeting in the midst of such a crowd of black people, I turn sharply around in search of the man, and see him at my side, with the blackest of faces.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 409)

2. Herculean form/robust/strong/strong limbed/heavy lower limbs/tall/massive

Stanley often wrote about the robustness and strength of the body of the people he acquainted with, all throughout the text. Some of the keywords from this group were sporadically used in relation to Arabs, but most of them were applied to describe African natives he encountered, as well as the African native members of his expedition. The words were in most cases used to describe strong appearances, both in general and for individual people. Sometimes they were used after Stanley got impressed by the actual physical strength that was displayed, mostly by the carriers of this expedition. Some passages from the text are:

“*The guide is a large fellow, standing over six feet, with the neck and shoulders of a Hercules.*” (Stanley, 1872 pg. 348)
*The chief, a tall robust man, and his chieftains, were invited to seat themselves.* (Stanley, 1872, p. 333)

3. **Handsome/beautiful/good, fine, sharp looking/well-formed/remarkable/symmetrical/subject for sculpture/fine**

These various words were exercised at the full length of the travelogue to describe the good looks of the people he got to know. Although the words ‘handsome’ and ‘sharp-looking’ were also used just a few times to describe Arabs, most of these keywords were employed to describe the African natives he met along the way. Good looks were ascribed to people in general and to individuals. What stands out is that, even though he incidentally described the good looks of women, he mostly described the looks of men. A few examples from the travelogue are:

*The Wahumba, so far as I have seen them, are a fine and well-formed race. The men are positively handsome, tall, with small heads, the posterior parts of which project considerably. One will look in vain for a thick lip or a flat nose amongst them; on the contrary, the mouth is exceedingly well out, delicately small; the nose is that of the Greek, and so universal was the peculiar feature, that I at once named them the Greeks of Africa. Their lower limbs have not the heaviness of the Wagogo and other tribes, but are long and shapely, clean as those of an antelope. Their necks are long and slender, on which their small heads are poised most gracefully. Any of them would form a fit subject for the sculptor who would wish to immortalize in marble an Antinous, a Hylas, a Daphnis, or an Apollo. The women are as beautiful as the men are handsome. They have clear ebon skins, not coal-black, but of an inky hue.* (Stanley, 1872, p. 195)

*The gorgeously-dressed chief was a remarkable man in appearance. His face was oval in form, high cheek-bones, eyes deeply sunken, a prominent and bold forehead, a fine nose, and a well-out mouth; he was tall in figure, and perfectly symmetrical.* (Stanley, 1872, p. 388)

**4.2.2 CHARACTER TRAITS**

Altogether, 164 of the 210 different keywords that were used to describe the character traits of the people who Stanley got to meet during his journey. By building upon the performed synonym analyses (Appendix 2), these 164 words were divided into the following 39 (out of 66) keyword groups:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cheating/trickery/dishonest/crooked/treacherous/not trustworthy/liar/false hearted/cunning/sly/rascal</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>savages/savage/dom/savagery/barbarians/cruel/animal-like</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kindly/well disposed/generous/good/gracious/cordial/amicable/friendly/hospitable/not hostile/pleasant/civil</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trusty/trustworthy/staunch/stalwart/loyal/faithful/honest</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad/wicked/evil/evil minded/evil disposed/debased/sinner/murderous/dangerous/furious/hostile/mean/vindictive</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impertinent/obtrusive/unmannerly/notcivil/no conscious, esteem, reserved behavior/insolent/defiant/molesting/abusive</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend/companion</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incompetent/unskillful/worthless/inutile/useless/eating more than worth/unimportant/unserviceable/incorrigible</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laziness/indolent/stolid/indisposed to work/aversion to work/procrastinate/dilatory</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noisy/rowdy/vituperative/howling/loud voiced/no respectful silence</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banditti/robbers/thieves/enemy/African Bonaparte</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coward</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stupid/slow-witted/fatbrained/fool/harebrained/ignorant</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boaster/braggart/exaggerative tendency/vain</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quiet/quiet/calm/timid/modest</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wise/clever/intelligent/cunning</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relentless/steril/uncompromising/resolute/stubborn/hardheaded</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brave/stout/stouthearted/not coward/audacious</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staring/gazing</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curious</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretended (friends)/(smiling) mask/hypocritical/not siren-like</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the velocity of hawks/parasite/greedy/eager</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without joy/spiritless/without hope/pathetic</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>celerity/swift</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lighthearted/careless/gay/without disappointment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridiculous/ludicrous/mad</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independent/self-sufficient/self-reliant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born-trader/money-making men/excel a Jew</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good follower/cringing/docile</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superstitious</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skillful/adroit</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equals/negroes are men like myself</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not averse from work</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>without ambition</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eloquent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prejudiced to strangers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a white men in everything but color</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men acquainted with the ways of white men</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paying tribute to white color</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first eleven groups, with keywords mentioned throughout the text 10 or more times, were selected for further illustration below.

1. Cheating/trickery/dishonest/crooked/treacherous/not trustworthy/liar/false hearted/cunning/sly/rascal

These words were used, all through the travelogue, when describing both African natives and Arabs he met along the way, and for describing members of his expedition (both African native and Arabs/Hindi members). The words were mostly applied to individuals in the case of the African natives and his expedition members, and mostly used in general for the Arabs he described. What can be noticed is that he only employed these keywords for Arabs after they abandoned him in their joint strike against African chief Mirambo. Relevant passages from the text:

“But under his smiling mask, bleared eyes, and wrinkled front was visible the soul of trickery”. (Stanley, 1872, p. 95)

“But probably what I call presentiments are simply the impress on the mind of the warnings which these false-hearted Arabs have repeated so often.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 308)

2. Savages/savagedom/savagery/barbarians/cruel/animal-like

All these keywords were employed throughout the whole travelogue and were only related to the African natives, mostly to those he saw and met during his journey, and sometimes to the native members of his caravan. Many times the words were used in general for African natives he encountered, without a direct incident or experience could be found from the text that led to this word use. Other times Stanley applied these words when people, according to his writings, appeared “hostile” or “without respect for him”. Some examples from the text are:

“One spear flung at us, or one shot fired into this minatory mob of savages, and the opposing bands had been plunged into a fatal conflict!” (Stanley, 1872, p. 636)

“They were an exceedingly fine-looking body of men, far more intelligent in appearance than I could ever have believed African barbarians could be.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 30)
3. Kindly/well disposed/generous/good/gracious/cordial/amiable/friendly/hospitable/not hostile/
painful/civil

Stanley applied these words to describe African natives and Arab people he was introduced to in
general, and to describe individuals. What could be noticed is that these keywords were used for African
natives throughout the whole travelogue, but that he rarely connected these keywords anymore to
Arabs, after they left him behind on the battlefield during their fight against African chief Mirambo.
Relevant passages from the text are:

“The district of Rusawa is thickly populated. The people are quiet and well-disposed to strangers.”
(Stanley, 1872, p. 372)

“The Warundi of Magala were very civil.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 494)

“On the eighth morning from leaving Ujiji we bade farewell to the hospitable people of Magala, and set
off for Mukambas country, which was in view.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 494)

4. Trusty/trustworthy/staunch/stalwart/loyal/faithful/honest

These keywords were mentioned often by Stanley throughout the whole travelogue. Although these
words were sometimes applied to the African natives and Arabs he encountered during his journey, he
mentioned these keywords mostly in relation to his expedition members, both the African native as the
Arab/Hindi ones. In most cases these keywords were attributed to individual members. Relevant parts
from the selected text are:

“Ambari is a man of about forty. He is one of the “Faithfuls” of Speke, and one of my faithfuls. He
would not run away from me except when in the presence of an enemy, and imminent personal
danger.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 349)

“Bombay turned out to be honest and trusty, but slightly disposed to be dilatory.”
(Stanley, 1872, p. 74)
5. **Bad/wicked/evil/evil minded/evil disposed/debased/sinner/murderous/dangerous/furious/hostile/mean/vindictive**

This variety of keywords was used throughout the complete travelogue to describe the people he convened with. Practically all of these words were utilized to describe African natives. In most cases these keywords were attributed in general for groups of African natives, instead of to individuals. Some examples from the travelogue are:

“The Sultan of Bihawana, though his subjects were evil-disposed, and ready-handed at theft and murder, contented himself with three doti as honga.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 138)

“Besides these, which were indispensable in hostile Warundi, a large bag of flour and the Doctor's entire stock of white sugar were stolen.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 487)

6. **Impertinent/obtrusive/unmannerly/not civil/no conscious, esteem, reserved behavior/molesting/abusive/insolent**

These various keywords were applied throughout the writings and were attributed mostly in general to African natives he got introduced to. Sentences from the travelogue are:

“A respectful silence and more reserved behavior would have won my esteem; but, respectful silence, reserved behavior, and esteem are terms unknown in savage ugogo.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 176)

“Hitherto, those we had met had contented themselves with staring and shouting; but these outstepped all bounds, and my growing anger at their excessive insolence vented itself in gripping the rowdiest of them by the neck, and before he could recover from his astonishment administering a sound thrashing with my dog-whip, which he little relished.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 186)

7. **Friend(s)/companion**

The keywords ‘friend(s)’ and ‘companion’ were often used, in relation to expedition members (both African native as Arab/Hindi members), and in relation to both African natives and Arabs he encountered during his expedition, and were mostly ascribed to individuals. Some examples are:
“I thought of a watch-dog, and procured a good one in Bombay not only as a faithful companion, but to threaten the heels of just such gentry.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 85)

“We bade farewell to Mrera on the 17th of October, to continue our route north-westward. All the men and I were firm friends now; all squabbling had long ceased.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 362)

“My dark friends, who had travelled over so many hundreds of miles, and shared so many dangers with me, were gone, and I was left behind. How many of their friendly faces shall I see again?” (Stanley, 1872, p. 677)

8. Incompetent/unskillful/worthless/inutile/useless/eating more than worth/unimportant/unserviceable/incorrigible

Most of these keywords were written about the individual members of his expedition, where he focused both on his African native members as well as on his Arab/Hindi members. Examples from the travelogue are:

“But the truth is, that I could well dispense with Jumah’s presence: he was one of the incorrigible inutiles, eating far more than he was worth; besides being an excessively grumbling and querulous fool.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 349)

“I granted the request as asked for as much tired as Abdul Kader said he was of life, I was with Abdul Kader’s worthlessness.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 217)

9. Laziness/indolent/stolid/indisposed to work/aversion to work/procrastinate/dilatory

Practically all of these words were used by Stanley in relation to individual expedition members; both the African native members, and the Arab/Hindi members. Some relevant passages from the text are:

“On the fourth morning Shaw and Bombay returned, followed by the procrastinating Maganga and his laggard people.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 94)
“I was compelled to observe that when mud and wet sapped the physical energy of the lazily-inclined, a dog-whip became their backs, restoring them to a sound sometimes extravagant activity.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 140)

10. Noisy/rowdy/vituperative/howling/loud voiced/no respectful silence

At several occasions throughout the travelogue Stanley applied these keywords in relation to African natives in general, who he got acquainted with during his journey. Some relevant textual parts are:

“One of my soldiers requested them to lessen their vociferous noise; but the evil-minded race ordered him to shut up, as a thing unworthy to speak to the Wagogo!” (Stanley, 1872, p. 176)

“Guns which * bum-bummed * as fast as you could count on your fingers, formed such a mob of howling savages, that I for an instant thought there was something besides mere curiosity which caused such commotion, and attracted such numbers to the roadside.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 196)


All these keywords were only mentioned in relation to African natives he saw/met, most of the times for African natives in general, and sometimes for individual people. Relevant textual parts are:

“If I suggest as a fighting weapon the American Winchester, I do not mean that the traveler need take it for the purpose of offence, but as the best means of efficient defense, to save his own life against African banditti, when attacked, a thing likely to happen.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 62)

“Suliman’s house has been destroyed, and over two hundred tusks of ivory that belonged to him have become the property of the African Bonaparte.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 296)

4.3 CONCLUSION

Not one specific image of people could be rendered from this analysis of people-related text from the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872). Three groups of people, namely African natives and Arabs who Stanley met along the way, and the members of his expedition (both African natives and
Arabs/Hindi members), were all extensively described by Stanley, in terms of both their physical appearances and their character traits. This has led to many diverse descriptions of people.

Although Stanley regularly used keywords for groups of people in general (such as keywords for ‘thieves’, and for ‘the people of Ujiji’), he most of the times used keywords to describe individual African natives, individual Arabs, and individual expedition members. This led to mostly personal descriptions of individual people, instead of to specific generalized/stereotypical images of people.

What became apparent is that Stanley’s ascribing of keywords to people seemed mostly based on his personal experiences with people, and expectations of people, during his journey, instead of on pre-defined images of people or predispositions. Practically all keywords were only attributed to people after specific occurrences, experiences and/or (un)met expectations during the expedition. For instance, keywords related to ‘laziness’ weren’t ascribed to expedition members up-front, but only after they showed their laziness, in Stanley’s eyes. The exceptions to this rule were the often used word ‘savage(s)’, and the word ‘barbarian(s)’. Although Stanley also used these keywords as a result of his direct experiences with African natives, after they in Stanley’s view appeared hostile or didn’t show him proper respect, he mostly used them randomly, without referring to an incident or experience that gave cause for its. Next to that, most of the times savage-related words were used in general for African natives, through which he delivered, in contrast to the main part of his descriptions of people, more of a general/stereotypical image of African natives, than of personalized, experience based, descriptions of individuals.

What also stood out from the analysis was Stanley’s changed view on the Arabs he met along the way. Although his writings on basically all character traits of African natives and of the members of his expedition remained reasonable stable and evenly spread throughout the whole travelogue, his writings on Arabs significantly altered. From the prior images that were presented in paragraph 4.1 it appeared that Stanley started his journey with the pre-formed image of Arab traders as people one should respect and admire. In his travelogue, he remained enthusiastic about the Arabs, and thankful for their assistance, up until they left him behind in their battle against African chief Mirambo. From then on, Stanley became quite negative about the Arabs in general in his writings; for instance, he didn’t call them friends anymore and started, on several occasions, to convince African natives of “how much better the white man behaved than the Arabs” (Stanley, 1872, p. 263).
What became apparent from the analysis is that it was of great importance to Stanley that the expedition members, which he hired for this expedition, completed their tasks according to his expectations, and that they were faithful and trustworthy. Next to that, friends seemed important, as the word friend(s) was regularly used, both when Stanley tried to make friends himself, and when others tried to become friends with him. He also emphasized the importance of being respected, by his expedition members but also especially by African native people he encountered during his journey.

Of great interest to Stanley appeared physical appearances, of African natives in specific. Many keywords were spent on describing their exterior traits and he often emphasized the beauty, and to him unknown, of them.

In general can be concluded from the analysis that Stanley used considerably more keywords that are nowadays regarded as negative to describe people, than those that are regarded as positive. However, within this study no research was conducted that was focused on finding out what in Stanley’s era the commonness and connotation was of word use that is currently regarded as unacceptable, such as ‘savages’ and ‘barbarians’.
CHAPTER 5 ANALYSIS OF SCENERY RELATED TEXT

In this part of the research, an analysis was made of what Stanley wrote in his travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) about the African scenery.

5.1 TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

For the textual analysis of what Stanley wrote about the African scenery, all relevant scenery-related textual fragments from the downloaded travelogue text-file ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) were selected and copied into a separate document. Subsequently, all short phrases that gave insight in how Stanley described specific parts of the scenery were highlighted and transported into an Excel document. From this document it became clear that Stanley in total used 192 different phrases for his descriptions of the scenery. An overview of these phrases can be found in Appendix 3.

To narrow down these 192 phrases, in order to be able to draw conclusions from them, the phrases were scanned to find out if certain topics/concepts could be derived from them. It appeared that by far (131 out of 192) the most phrases had to do with Stanley’s description of the esthetics of the scenery. Further, 28 of the phrases concerned the hardship caused by the scenery. The next 21 phrases were focused on describing the fertility and cultivation of the land. And the last 12 phrases described the possible use of the scenery for civilization. These concepts became the titles of, and formed, four separate categories. Subsequently all 192 phrases were divided amongst the four of them. In the next paragraphs these categories will be described.

5.1.1 ESTHETICS OF THE SCENERY

The following 131 phrases were used by Stanley to describe the esthetics of the scenery:

- most admirable pictures
- animated scenery
- scenes that are animated
- an astonishing variety of waterfowl
- a park land attractive in every feature
- awesome place
- the beauties of the hills
- abundantly beautiful
- a beautiful little plain
- beautiful little stream
- beautiful stream
- a luxuriant jungle
- luxuriant tropical vegetation
- a most luxurious scenery
- magnificent bay
- magnificent picture
- a magnificent view
- glorious magnificence
- majestic growth of Mvule trees
- the marvels of the earth
- a noble expanse of park land
- noble forests
a beautiful park-land
a beautiful prospect
a wealth of boscage of beautiful trees
a park land beautiful in every feature
ever-beautiful feathery palms
the shores were beautifully green
beautifully wooded
a vision of forest and park-land beauty
successive pictures of quiet scenic beauty
surpassing beauty
the rival in beauty of the Persian Chenar
the beauty which belongs to this part of Africa
each curve revealed new beauties
nature has supplied them bountifully
captivating beauty of the land
water clear as crystal
a scene which delighted my soul
a most enchanting scenery
enlivening prospect
exquisite picture
the fairest view
an island as fair in appearance as the fairest gems
to see them fold into fantastic clusters
the rocks assumed such fantastic shapes
huge fantastically-worn boulders
fine valley
one of the finest scenes to be seen in Africa
fragrant with its numerous flowers
friendly woods
the earth is so generous
glamorous beauty of the land
a prospect glorious in its wild nature
glorious scenes
glorious magnificence of prospect
a glorious phalanx of royal trees
crowned with floral glory
pure-glowing sky
graceful tops of the cocoa-trees
a graceful hilly cone
a grand expanse of park land
grandly swelling mountains
the great forests
a great expanse of forest
no nobler field to display hunters’ prowess
the hunter’s Paradise
a terrestrial paradise
water peaceful as a summer’s dream
the picturesque capes
a picturesque country
the most picturesque little valleys
picturesque scenery
the scenery was much more picturesque
the scenery is picturesque
picturesque tracts embraced all that’s wild
picturesque view
scenically very picturesque
the prospect getting more picturesque
picturesqueness in the blue mountains
its picturesqueness of scenery
pleasing animation
all that was poetical in nature
pretty
exquisitely pretty
pretty alluvial plains
pretty cove
pretty pictures
the scene was so pretty
promised land
proud, wild nature
pure air
purest water, fresh, pellucid as crystal
riant vegetation
the romance of wild tropic scenes
the scene was so romantic
romantic scenes
the sacred quiet of the scene
the serene blue sky
smiling landscapes
smooth lawn-like glade
the splendors of the tropic
the stately Mparamusi
sublime mountains
mountains dimly blue, but sublime
the sublimest scenes
sublimity in the blue mountains
superb growth of Mvule trees
plateaus green as lawns
solemn, holy harmony of nature
imposing mountains
a most imposing scene
imposing view of green sward and forest
nature so kind
lovely scenery
the prospect getting more lovely
loveliness glowed around me
loveliness of wild, free, luxuriant, spontaneous nature
nature is so loving
the sky lovingly smiles

sweet water
feasting the eyes on a varied landscape
a similar bank of green verdure
carpet of verdure
one deep stratum verdure
a sea of grassy verdure
vivid green
vivid greenness
vivid green masses
the wonders of Africa
the wonders of primeval nature

It appeared that Stanley used by far the most different phrases (131 out of 192) to describe the esthetics of the scenery. From the bold printed words in the phrases-list above can be concluded that for instance the words ‘beautiful’ and ‘picturesque’ were often used to describe parts of the scenery and, therefore, for both of these words some examples of text passages from the travelogue are here presented:

1. Beautiful

“...beautiful prospect, glorious in its wild nature, fragrant with its numerous flowers and variety of sweetly-smelling shrubs.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 110)

“The country was of the same nature as that laying between the Eingani and Kikoka, a park land, attractive and beautiful in every feature.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 84)

“The wooded hills, with a wealth of boscage of beautiful trees, many of which were in bloom, and crowned with floral glory, exhaling an indescribably sweet fragrance, lifting their heads in varied contour one pyramidal, another a truncated cone; one table-topped, another ridgy, like the steep roof of a church; one a glorious heave with even outline; and the pretty pictures, exquisitely pretty, at the head of the several bays, evoked many an exclamation of admiration.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 480)

2. Picturesque

“...on picturesque tracts which embraced all that was wild, and all that was poetical in Nature.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 169)
“Within the folds of the front line of mountains rise isolated hills of considerable magnitude, precipitous and abrupt, but scenically very picturesque.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 508)

“It was broad daylight now, and our eyes were delighted with the most picturesque and sequestered little valleys.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 402)

5.1.2 HARDSHIP CAUSED BY THE SCENERY

Stanley applied the following 28 phrases to describe the hardship caused by the scenery:

- the foaming, angry flood
- a dense and awful growth
- awful ravines
- bad water with a saline-nitrous nature
- salt bitter water
- water but was bitter as niter
- the jungleless plain, had no charm for me
- the confines of an uninhabited wilderness
- the deadliness of the climate
- down-pour of rain
- furious harbinger of the Masika season
- hateful valley
- horrible neighborhood of the river
- the swamp with its horrors
- the Ungerengeri valley was completely changed into a howling waste
- impassable morass
- an impenetrable jungle
- inhospitable nature of the plain
- rank growth of grass
- its density of rank jungle
- rank smelling swamps
- sickly regions
- a stern outlook
- true wilderness in its sternest aspect
- a continuous jungle of gums and thorns
- thorny jungles
- valley crowded with rank reedy grass and thorny bushes
- voracious mosquitoes

From the bold printed words in the list with phrases above, no specific, most often mentioned, words could be extracted. However, most phrases did seem to be related to the impenetrable character of
nature, and to the conditions caused by the rain season (Masika). For these two topics a few passages from the selected travelogue text are displayed below:

1. **The impenetrable character of nature**

   “The immediate shores of the lake on all sides, for at least fifty feet from the water’s edge, is one impassable morass.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 154)

   “A dense and awful growth of impenetrable jungle around us.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 370)

   The march to Bihawana, our next camp, was rugged and long, through a continuous jungle of gums and thorns.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 128)

2. **Conditions caused by the Masika (rain season)**

   “Down poured the furious harbinger of the Masika season in torrents sufficient to damp the ardor and new-born love for East Africa I had lately manifested.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 95)

   “We knew that it was an unusual season, for the condition of the country, though bad enough the year before, was as nothing compared to this year. Close to the edge of the foaming, angry flood lay our route, dipping down frequently into deep ditches, wherein we found ourselves sometimes up to the waist in water, and sometimes up to the throat.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 641)

   “The aspect of the Ungerengeri valley was completely changed, from a Paradise it was converted into a howling waste.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 647)

### 5.1.3 FERTILITY AND CULTIVATION OF THE LAND

The following 21 phrases were used by Stanley to describe the fertility and cultivation of the land:

- cultivated fields
- richly cultivated
- broad acreage under cultivation
- no signs of cultivation
- no traces of cultivation
- fertile fields
- the fertile ground
the soil is exceedingly fertile
a valley extremely fertile and bountiful in its productions
fertile and productive interior
indescribable fertility
surprising fertility
wonderful fertility
a flourishing little place
luxuriant grain
excessively moist soil
a broad alluvial plain, rich beyond description
the richest soil
a land whose soil knows no Sabbath
teeming fields of sugar-cane and Mutama
a perfect marvel of vegetable wealth

The words ‘cultivation’ and ‘fertile/fertility’ were mentioned most in the phrases of the list above. For both words some examples of text passages from the travelogue are given below:

1. Cultivation

“On its southern and eastern side stretch the cultivated fields which supply Bagamoyo with the staple grain, Matama, of East Africa; on the left grow Indian corn, and Muhogo, a yam-like root of whitish color, called by some manioc.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 75)

“Then we saw timber on the hills, and broad acreage under cultivation and as we ascended a wave of reddish earth covered with tall weeds and cane.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 174)

“The steep slopes of the hills, cultivated by the housewives, contribute plenty of grain, such as Indian corn, besides cassava, ground-nuts or peanuts, and sweet potatoes.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 481)

2. Fertility

“The road was a mere footpath, and led over a soil, which, though sandy, was of surprising fertility, producing grain and vegetables a hundredfold.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 76)

“Between them sank a valley extremely fertile and bountiful in its productions.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 84)
This region was at one period in a most flourishing state; the soil is exceedingly fertile." (Stanley, 1872, p. 630)

5.1.4 POSSIBLE USE OF THE SCENERY FOR CIVILIZATION

A total of 12 out of 192 phrases was used by Stanley to describe the possible use of the scenery for civilization:

- as many animals as one can desire
- a beautiful spot for a mission station
- a delightful country in every way suitable for agriculturists
- game in abundance
- a valuable meadow for the rearing of cattle
- the foulness removed by civilized people, the whole region made as healthy as it is productive
- missionaries might reap benefit from the river for conversion tours
- this is a river which a civilized community would find of immense advantage
- good timber for building purposes
- the timber is large, and would be valuable near the coast
- the wealth and prosperity the scenery promises to civilized nation
- wood for building

Stanley expressed different purposes for which the scenery could be useful, varying from ‘delivering building material’ to ‘providing a suitable place for a mission station’. Only for the four phrases that are shaded in grey in the above list, Stanley specifically focused on the usefulness for Western civilization. For the other phrases it didn’t become clear from the text if he tried to emphasize the use for Western civilization or for civilized African communities (or both). A few examples from the selected travelogue text:

“An island at the mouth of the bay suggested to our minds that this was a beautiful spot for a mission station.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 573)

“Though all is foul beneath the captivating, glamorous beauty of the land, the foulness might be removed by civilized people, and the whole region made as healthy as it is productive.” (Stanley, 1872, p. 585)

“It being the rainy season, about which so many ominous statements were doled out to us by those ignorant of the character of the country, we naturally saw it under its worst aspect; but, even in this adverse phase of it, with all its depth of black mud, its excessive dew, its dripping and chill grass, its
density of rank jungle, and its fevers, I look back upon the scene with pleasure, for the wealth and prosperity it promises to civilized nation, which in some future time will come and take possession of it." (Stanley, 1872, p. 122)

5.2 CONCLUSION

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis of scenery-related text from the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) is, unmistakably, that Stanley spent most ink and phrases on describing the esthetics of the scenery. For these descriptions he hardly used geographical terminology, but mainly esthetics-related words such as ‘beautiful’, ‘picturesque’, and ‘lovely’.

He was also devoted to describing the hardships of the scenery for a travelling caravan. Especially the rain season and the impenetrable nature were regarded as main obstacles for the expedition members. As a result of the hardship of scenery and climate, and physical exhaustion, Stanley and his expedition members caught many diseases and fevers. Stanley wrote extensively about these discomforts. If his writings on diseases and fever would have been part of this analysis, most likely the amounts of phrases regarding hardships caused by the scenery would have been larger. However, as analyzing these writings had no added value for the purposes of this research, descriptions of diseases and fevers were not implemented in the analysis for this thesis.

He also used phrases to describe the fertility and cultivation of the land. He often expressed his contentment with the sight of the many fertile and cultivated fields with their great varieties of crops. This contentment, he wrote, on the one hand had to do with the pretty scenes that the cultivated scenes brought and, on the other hand, because these cultivated fields mostly indicated that his caravan would soon reach a community/settlement with food in abundance; an important sign for hungry expedition members.

Some phrases were used to describe the usefulness of the scenery for civilization. The purposes for civilization that Stanley mentioned were quite divergent and therefore didn’t seem to have one specific focus. Only for four phrases it became clear that Stanley specifically emphasized the usefulness for Western civilization. For the other phrases it couldn’t be concluded from the text if he implied the use for Western civilization, for civilized Africans, or for the both of them.
CHAPTER 6   ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The chapters 4 and 5 presented a quantitative textual analysis of what Stanley wrote about ‘people’ and ‘scenery’ in his travelogue. This chapter concerns a qualitative analysis of the socio-historical context at the time Stanley conducted his search for Livingstone and wrote his travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872), and of the main ideas on exploration and colonialism. This enabled to regard Stanley’s writings in the light of the broader socio-historical context regarding exploration and colonialism, outside his travelogue.

6.1 PROCEDURE

To be able to find out to what extent Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) can be related to Western colonial practices in Africa (the second research question of this thesis), the socio-historical timeline and context were analyzed in relation to the textual analysis of the travelogue writings in chapter 4 and 5. This led to insights in to what level Stanley’s search for Livingstone ‘fitted’ within/could be explained from, the historical phase and the thoughts on exploration and colonization.

For this research, the historical timeline regarding the exploration of the African interior starts with the first, more organized, attempts to discover the interior parts by the African Association (founded in 1788), and ends with the start of the so-called ‘Scramble for Africa’ in the late 1870’s, 1880’s and 1890’s.

An understanding of the socio-historical circumstances and ideas on exploration and colonization was gained from analyzing the content of a substantial array of scientific articles and historical documents on African exploration and colonization. To provide insight in this analysis, the main findings from the contextual analysis are presented in the next paragraph.

6.2 SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT IN RELATION TO THE TRAVELOGUE

Parts of Northern Africa and the coast-lines of the African continent were well-known and important territories to European explorers, traders, and settlers. However, by 1788 Europeans still knew so little about the African interior that several members of London’s upper-class, led by Sir Joseph Banks, decided to found the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, also known as the African Association (Kryza, 2006, p. 11). The association members felt that it was absolutely
adamant that in the great Age of Enlightenment, that had enabled men to sail around the world, there was still so little familiarity with the geography of the so called Dark Continent (Kryza, 2006, p. 12); a space that had however already been well-traveled for trading purposes by Muslims for hundreds of years at that time (Brent, 1977, p. 46). Each of the wealthy members of the African Association contributed five guineas (British gold coins) per year to fund expeditions from England to Africa (Kryza, 2006, p.12). But what were the main motives for Europeans to be this interested in explorations into the African interior?

Explorations could be classified into three categories. The first category consisted of secular and religious missionaries that focused on evangelical exploration, whose goals were to spread civilization and to suppress the slave trade (Mazrui, 1969, pp. 663-665). The second category, scientific exploration, was a form of exploration that was mostly supported by learned societies such as the RGS whose aim was to gain scientific knowledge of the African interior that would make it less ‘dark’ (Mazrui, 1969, pp. 663-665). And the third category of exploration was the so called exploitative exploration that was focused on commerce, finding new markets and discovering new sources of raw materials (Mazrui, 1969, pp. 663-665). However, in reality no clear cut between those categories could be made. First of all, it was hard to indicate where one category began and another one ended, for instance: “Where, after all, does the scientific spirit end, and evangelism begin?” (Mazrui, 1969, pp. 665).

When reviewing these three categories of exploration in relation to the textual analyses of the writings from the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) in Chapter 4 and 5, it became clear that Stanley also did not seem to have one of these three in specific as his main motive. He didn’t seem focused on evangelical exploration as he, for example, barely mentioned his faith or religion and/or the need for the spread of civilization and the suppression of the slave trade. He didn’t seem focused on exploitative exploration in particular either, as he, for example, wasn’t occupied with finding new markets and discovering new sources of raw materials, and only sporadically made remarks about the usefulness of parts of the scenery for civilization/economic purposes. Out of these three categories, he was probably most focused on scientific exploration, which resulted in his rich descriptions of flora, fauna, landscapes and the course of rivers.

Some scholars claim that there was a fourth motivational category, namely the mixed individual motives of explorers themselves (Mazrui, 1969, p. 664) that were often just as much based on the desire for fame and immortality and on “a hope of gain, a love of adventure and just plain curiosity”, as on
humanitarian and scientific ambitions (Chamberlain, 1974, p.25). These motivations were supported by learned societies such as the RGS as well, as they were promoters of “the national passion for muscular ‘heroism’ in exotic places” (Heffernan, 2009, p. 9) in which the explorer was “the ideal masculine hero of Victorian society, selflessly pitting himself against the elements and hostile ‘natives’ in remote regions for the greater glory of science and nation” (Heffernan, 2009, p. 9). As a result, in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, African explorers such as Burton, Speke, Grant, Livingstone, Cameron, and Stanley remained “the heroes of the hour” (Helly, 1969, p. 197).

Based on the analyses of the travelogue writings in chapter 4 and 5, Stanley’s search for Livingstone most likely fitted best within this fourth motivational category (Mazrui, 1969, p. 664). What is important to emphasize here is that Stanley wasn’t sent to find Livingstone in the role of explorer, but in the role of journalist. He was hired by Mr. Bennett, the proprietor of a large American newspaper, specifically to search for Livingstone. That Stanley himself also regarded this search as his main motive, focus and task became clear from the following passage from his travelogue:

“I sat down by his side today with my palm and needle in order to encourage him, and today, for the first time, I told him of the real nature of my mission. I told him that I did not care about the geography of the country half as much as I cared about FINDING LIVINGSTONE! I told him, for the first time, ‘Now, my dear Shaw, you think probably that I have been sent here to find the depth of the Tanganika. Not a bit of it, man; I was told to find Livingstone. It is to find Livingstone I am here. It is to find Livingstone I am going. Don’t you see, old fellow, the importance of the mission; don’t you see what reward you will get from Mr. Bennett, if you will help me?’” (Stanley, 1872, p. 300).

The reason for newspapers to be this interested in sponsoring expeditions such as these was that the public at that time eagerly read travel books (Helly, 1969, p. 198). Exploration, and in specific African exploration, exerted a powerful hold on the public imagination in 19th century Europe and America (Barnett, 1997, p. 241). The exploration of the ‘Dark Continent’ loomed large in the public imagery, providing an exciting and popular focus for society (Heffernan, 2009, p. 9). “With the rapidly growing population in Europe’s and America’s factory towns, the romantic appeal of the world’s wilder outposts grew stronger” (Jeal, 2007, p.3). This led to the fact that for instance also Stanley’s next journey and travelogue ‘Through the Dark Continent’ (1878) was sponsored by a partnership of an American and British newspaper.
The above mentioned mix of motivations for exploration could already be seen within the African Association, as their main goals of ‘discovering the origin and course of the Niger River’, and ‘finding the location of Timbuktu, the lost city of gold’ resulted in combined geographical-commercial based expeditions (Kryza, 2006, p. 11). This association organized mostly privately funded pioneering expeditions, such as those of Mungo Park (Heffernan, 2009, p. 8). However, the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars revealed to the British that geographical inquiry could also serve strategic purposes, with as a result that by the end of the eighteenth century/beginning of the nineteenth century new institutional structures began to emerge in which the British government became more and more involved in sponsoring explorations and geographical discoveries (Heffernan, 2009, p. 7). This also resulted in the fact that the privately funded African Association was eventually absorbed by the, government co-funded, Royal Geographical Society (RGS) that was founded in 1830, under the patronage of William IV (Heffernan, 2009, p. 8).

Although the RGS itself claimed their objects to be scientific (Bridges, 1973, p. 222), of which the many geographical searches for the sources of the Nile were most prominent, the motives of the RGS have been highly questioned and interpreted differently by various academics. Some state that the RGS was a secular missionary in its own right, driven by “the evangelical ideal of exposing Africa to the light of science, by replacing African superstition with rationality” (Mazrui, 1969, p. 665). Others claim that the RGS was founded mainly for the advancements of geographical sciences, as it motives were “genuinely scientific of nature and only remotely connected with economic designs” (Bridges, 1973, p. 220), and that “its scientific interest was at first primarily geographical: filling in the white spaces on the ‘Africa maps’” (Koponen, 1993, p. 128). Starting from the more commercial motives, scholars for instance emphasize the role and influence of Sir Roderick Murchinson, the leading character and three-time president of the RGS from 1843 to 1871, who was a gifted entrepreneur, and therefore promoted to use geographical exploration for British commercial and military expansion (Stafford, 1989).

These different interpretations of the motives of the RGS might be partly explained by the heterogeneous composition of the RGS members itself at that time. At its start, the RGS already had 460 fellows, that became 800 fellows by 1850, and 2400 fellows by 1870 (Heffernan, 2009, pp. 8-9). The RGS was composed of fellows with quite different motives, such as missionaries and evangelic based philanthropists, rich members of the upper middle class, and both amateur and prominent scientists such as Charles Darwin (Heffernan, 2009, pp. 8-9).
Some theorists have indicated that as a result of sponsoring by the government and/or trading associations of major RGS-connected African explorers such as Burton, Speke, and Livingstone, scientific motives were often assumed to be compatible with economic exploitation and political intervention. Some of the earliest travelers such as Richard Burton and John Hanning Speke (both captains in the army of the British East India Company), during their 1857-1859 expedition, did not just yield geographical information, but also reported on commercial potential and possibilities for political and economic advantages. Their expedition was sponsored by the RGS, the Foreign Office and, indirectly, the East India Company (Koponen, 1993, p. 128). Colonel W.H. Sykes, who was largely responsible for organizing this expedition, claimed this journey to be necessary, not just for geographical discovery, but for commercial and political purposes as well (Bridges, 1973, p. 222). Stanley was not, or not in specific, focused on these motives during his search for Livingstone as he wasn’t sent by, or led by, the RGS, the government or trading associations, but was merely focused on his journalistic assignment and motive. These mixed motives could for the first time be seen to a moderate extent in Stanley during his second expedition into the interior (Through the Dark Continent), as he described that mission as “an expedition organized solely for the purposes of exploration, with a view to search out new avenues of commerce to the mutual advantage of civilization” (Stanley, 1878, p. 288).

Others however state that until the mid 1870’s the British government advanced no commercial or strategic interests or claims whatsoever regarding the African interior (Bridges, 1973, p. 222). According to them, this for instance became apparent from the fact that the RGS and the British government kept sponsoring the expeditions of David Livingstone up until his death in 1873, who concentrated mostly on the more humanitarian goals of creating a path for commerce and Christianity. According to Livingstone opening up the interior African markets for trade would bring light and civilization to African natives, which subsequently would lead to them being freed from slavery (Helly, 1969, p. 195). The scientifically advanced Europeans would bring environmental and moral ‘improvement’ that would enable the indigenous African people to “take control of their own resources and manage their own affairs” (Heffernan, 2009, p. 15). By the end of the 70’s Stanley started his next expedition. This one however was no longer sponsored by newspapers for journalistic purposes, but was sponsored by King Leopold II of Belgium, who hired Stanley to help him found the Congo Free State. For him, Stanley executed his second mission to the Congo region, from 1879 to 1884. His goals were to create a connection for transport between the upper and lower Congo, and to create stations between the coast and Stanley Pool (in rivalry with De Brazza, who was on a similar mission for the French).
Some state that only by the late 1880’s the British became more interested in economic and political purposes, as a result of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. This conference was a part of the so-called Scramble for Africa that took place in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and led to practically complete colonization of the African continent by European powers (Koponen, 1993). However, there’s no scientific consensus about the scramble’s historical process and its driving forces (Koponen, 1993, p. 117). Some claim that the scramble was a result of the pressure of industrial capitalism, and of diplomatic and political rivalry between European capitalist powers, which forced to expand overseas to find new markets and sources of raw materials (Koponen, 1993, p. 119). The economically based activities of Belgium King Leopold II, the French and the Germans, and old claims on colonies by the Portuguese, would have been the reason for acute regulation (Koponen, 1993, p. 131). Others state that it wasn’t economic development but economic downfall, in the form of The Great Depression of 1873-1896, that caused this scramble. It was also claimed that motives weren’t economic but political, as the partition of Africa was essentially a state action that didn’t evolve around profit and money, but around state power, prestige and war and peace (Koponen, 1993, p. 125).

Some others assert that the British government, like many other European politicians, got dragged into the Berlin Conference, not knowing much about what they were doing (Koponen, 1993, p. 118). They only started thinking enthusiastically from economic and political motives years later, for instance under the influence of the well-known work ‘On the Scope and Methods of Geography’ by Halford Mackinder (1887), who connected social Darwinism to imperialistic politics in his vision on geography (Kearns, 2004). He emphasized that geography covered much more than just technical, mathematical skills of navigation and map-making, and providing numerous accounts of the flora, fauna, landscapes, resources and peoples of distant regions (Taylor, 2004). He claimed that for geographers the end of great discoveries was near, and that geographers needed to use their knowledge to gain insights in the broader connections between nature, society and politics (MacKinder, 1887). However, even at that point, the nature and purpose of geography and exploration remained contested. When, for instance, in 1887 the Prince of Wales, based on the work of MacKinder, urged on a new Imperial Institute within the RGS to promote empire building, the president of the RGS refused to co-operate because empire building was by no means related to the purposes of the RGS, being the promotion of geographical knowledge and scientific exploration (Kearns, 2004, pp. 194-195). The RGS was not an institution where those interested in expansion overseas could come together and plan their expeditions (Mackay, 1943, p. 224).
6.3 CONCLUSION

From the first explorations into the interior up until the Scramble for Africa, the motives for exploration and the scope of geographical inquiry appeared highly contested. This led to a variety of views and points of dispute, in regard to exploration and its presumed purposes and motives. “The relationships between philanthropy, science and colonialism were widely debated, even at the height of the age of empire itself” (Driver, 1991, p. 136). Although some strongly defend or emphasize one specific motive, the conclusion from this socio-historical context analysis can best be presented through the following quote “It was a chaotic pluralism of private and sub-imperial interests: religious, commercial, strategic, humanitarian, scientific, speculative and migrational.” (Darwin, 1979, p. 641). Stanley’s motives during his search for Livingstone appeared partially geographic, but mostly journalistic. This was in line with the fact that he was sent as a journalist for a newspaper, to find Livingstone and to write about his travels.
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

This final chapter outlines the conclusions and recommendations of this research. Next to that, suggestions are made for possible directions for further research on this topic, and the relevance for tourism practices is addressed.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

This thesis focused on determining what Stanley wrote about both the ‘people’ and the ‘scenery’ of Africa in his travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872), and on finding out to what extent these writings could be related to Western colonial practices in Africa. Therefore, this research combined a quantitative content analysis of the text from the selected travelogue with a qualitative contextual socio-historical analysis, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the (recent) discussions concerning the presumed relation between exploration and colonialism.

Based on the findings of this research can be concluded that neither from the textual analyses nor from the contextual analysis, clear similarities with the critical theoretical view on exploration, and on Stanley in specific, could be found. Therefore the overall conclusion can be drawn that Stanley’s writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) should not be seen as an incentive for Western colonial practices.

Related to ‘people’ in the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872) Stanley did not create one specific image of people. He wrote comprehensively about both the physical appearances and the character traits of African natives, Arabs and the members of his expedition. This led to diversified descriptions of people. Keywords were mostly used to describe individuals that resulted in many personalized descriptions of individual people, instead of to specific generalized/stereotypical images of people. Stanley’s ascribing of keywords seemed most often based on his personal direct experiences with people, and expectations of people, during his journey, instead of on pre-defined images of people or predispositions. What stood out from the analysis is that Stanley’s writings on Arabs significantly changed in a negative way, after the Arabs left him behind in their battle against African chief Mirambo.

What became apparent is that it was very important to Stanley that the expedition members that he hired for this journey completed their tasks according to his expectations, and that they were faithful to him and trustworthy. Friend(s) was a regularly used word, both when Stanley attempted to make friends
himself, and when others tried to become his friends. He also put emphasis on the significance of being respected, by both the members of his expedition and by African natives he encountered during his journey.

Stanley appeared very interested in physical appearances, especially in those of African natives. He extensively described their exterior traits and emphasized the beauty and the, for him, unknown of them.

Related to his writing on the scenery in the travelogue ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872), Stanley applied most phrases to describe the esthetics of the scenery, by using esthetics-related words such as ‘beautiful’, ‘picturesque’, and ‘lovely’. Second, the Masika (rain season) and the impenetrable nature were especially experienced by Stanley as hardships of the scenery for a travelling expedition. Third, he often expressed his contentment with the sight of the many fertile and cultivated fields with its great varieties of crops.

Stanley suggested a few divergent purposes of the scenery for civilization that didn’t appear to have one specific focus, and that in general weren’t specifically related to (only) Western civilization.

7.1.1 SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Stanley’s search for Livingstone took place during a time phase in which the motives for exploration appeared quite divers and were highly contested, for instance within the learned societies, such as the RGS, and the British government themselves. Although some scholars strongly defend or emphasize one specific motive for exploration, the conclusion from this socio-historical context analysis is that the motives for exploration were quite divers, varying from religious, commercial, strategic, humanitarian, scientific, speculative and migrational (Darwin, 1997, p. 641), and that a multitude of stakeholders from both the private and the public sphere had interests in exploration.

From this travelogue, Stanley’s own motives for exploration didn’t seem to have one specific focus either. It could not be found from the textual analyses that he focused on evangelical exploration. Neither could it be found that he was concentrated on exploitative exploration in specific, as his main behavior couldn’t be related to forms of exploitative exploration for civilization/economic purposes. He did appear to be motivated by scientific exploration, which resulted in his rich descriptions of flora, fauna, landscapes and the course of rivers. However, he most likely was led most by a journalistic
motive, as his search for Livingstone wasn’t sponsored by the RGS, the government or a trading
association, but by an American newspaper. Therefore from this analysis the conclusion could not be
drawn that Stanley’s travelogue writings from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ were an
incentive for Western colonial practices.

7.1.2 CRITICAL THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

According to the critical perspective, explorers and their travel writings were focused on portraying
Africa as the uncivilized, backward, exotic, and sometimes dangerous ‘Other’ (Said, 1978), that was
allowed at times to be a beautiful exoticized destination where both ‘nature’ and ‘native’ could be
consumed”(Dunn, 2007, p. 487), but that was mostly depicted in a generalizing way as treacherous,
violent, hostile, and devoid of any history (Mazrui, 1969, p. 667).

This critical representation however was not found within this research. From the textual analyses of the
travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) it appeared that Stanley created a, on his personal
experiences based, diversified image of individual people, instead of a stereotypical image. Although the
keywords ‘uncivilized’, ‘dangerous’, ‘treacherous’, and ‘hostile’, that were mentioned from the critical
perspective, were used by Stanley to describe people, it should be considered that these were only four
out of the 210 different keywords that Stanley applied. As far as the ‘scenery’ analysis is concerned
Stanley wrote comprehensively about settlements, and admired the extensive forms of cultivation, and
therefore did not present nature as untouched, untamed and unvisited by man, and devoid of people.

When comparing the amount of selected texts from the travelogue on ‘people’ to the amount of
selected textual parts on ‘scenery’, it appeared that Stanley wrote about twice as much about his
encounters with people in relation to his writings about the scenery. Therefore, the analyses were not
in line with the statements from the critical perspective that explorers were more interested in
geography than in people. On the contrary; instead of denying their existence, he wrote extensively
about his meetings with kings, chiefs, and headmen, their ways and habits, and their often strong
negotiations with Stanley over food and shelter for the expedition members.

The role of Stanley as a determined proponent of commercial and political intervention in Africa could
not be detected within this travelogue, as from the textual analyses appeared that he wasn’t
concentrated on the search for new markets, raw materials, and on the usefulness of parts of the
scenery for civilization/ economic purposes.

So apart from a few corresponding keywords, the critical view on the relation between exploration and colonial practices, and on Stanley in specific, could not be recognized within the textual and contextual analyses of this research.

7.2 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As mentioned before, the main limitation of this study is that it analyzed just one of Stanley’s three main travelogues. Therefore, the findings of this research could only be compared to the critical theoretical perspective on exploration and colonization for this one specific travelogue; ‘How I Found Livingstone’ (1872). Analyzing the travelogues ‘Through the Dark Continent’ (1878) and ‘The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State’ (1885), as well as the travelogue ‘In Darkest Africa – the quest, rescue, and retreat of Emin, governor of Equatoria’ (1890) is suggested for further research as this can give a broader insight in Stanley’s descriptions of African people and the African scenery during his explorations. It can also provide insights in whether changes are visible between the travelogues, for instance in Stanley’s descriptions of people and scenery, his role, and his relation to colonial practices.

Next to that, a deeper linguistic analyses of ‘then’ and ‘now’ is recommended for gaining insights in the possible differences in commonness and connotation of word use that is nowadays regarded as unacceptable, such as ‘savages’ and ‘barbarians’.

7.3 RELEVANCE FOR TOURISM PRACTICES

For projects such as ‘FootstepsAfrica’, Stanley’s elaborated descriptions of the scenery and his encounters with people from the travelogue ‘How I found Livingstone’ (1872) could form a source of inspiration, for instance for developing a travel program based on storytelling, with an itinerary that follows (a part of) Stanley’s trail, guided by his travelogue writings.

Recently, storytelling has become a global trend in tourism industry marketing. Several studies have indicated that either a real or a fictive story about a tourist place can give a destination a huge competitive advantage (Lugosi & Bray 2008). Stories deliver a tourist a more meaningful experience (Chronis, 2005; Mossberg, 2008), structure information, and permit tourists to improve their
understanding of the meaningfulness of a place (Lugosi et al., 2008). Using these location specific and unique stories can also enhance the process of effective destination branding (Hsu et al., 2009). Destinations are no longer seen as places of commerce, but as “storyscapes” where both producers and consumers negotiate, shape, and transform narratives (Chronis, 2005, p. 389).

Storytelling can be (a part of) a tourist destination development strategy. However, for many destinations it remains a challenge how to find a correct balance between ‘history as science’ and ‘history as tourism experiences’, and subsequently to find a way to commercialize history (Grundberg, 2002; Haugaard, 2004). To be able to make storytelling into a successful strategy, first of all it is of great significance to make sure that the destination image that is created by a story does not conflict with the stories of local people, or with the way they see themselves (Ashworth, 2003), so that storytelling does not add to unfavorable social impacts and the disempowerment of the local society (Moscardo et al., 2003). This is also of importance in the case of Stanley. It will be of main importance to find out how those people who are now living in the area that Stanley travelled regard this explorative heritage. How contested is this heritage; how multifold and contrasting are the meanings they attach to this part of history? And in regard to product development; how conflicting are the interests when developing cultural heritage related projects and products (Hewison, 1989, p. 17), and whose purposes are served (Lowenthal, 1998)? Attempts should be made to openly reflect and discuss whose heritage should be represented/is represented (Harrison, 2004). A story has to be acknowledged by all those involved in the storytelling process and, therefore, the storytelling approach to destination development is a long term process with multiple levels and actors (Mossberg et al., 2011).

The process of storytelling and its results may have economic, socio-cultural and environmental consequences:

Economically seen, it can lead to new forms of concrete cooperative ventures between stakeholders (Mossberg et al., 2011), such as public and private tourism organizations, local municipalities, and regional councils. But also stakeholders such as restaurant and hotel owners, producers of food, and nature advisors can benefit, as the process of storytelling leads to organizing packaging activities, transportation, accommodation and dining as well (Mossberg et al., 2011). Storytelling may also positively impact the branding of the destination in general which can result in a stronger allover destination brand, from which not just the stakeholders who participate in the storytelling activities
benefit, but also the tourism industry at large. Furthermore, if it’s decided to organize trips outside the main season, the tourism season can be extended, which may result in more economically sustainable tourism patterns (Mossberg et al., 2011).

On a socio-cultural level, successful storytelling concepts can lead to a strengthening of the destination as it, for instance, might provide better employment and training possibilities in the tourism sector for the local community, and improved infrastructure between (remote) locations. This can further build up the identity of a destination and promote coherence and inclusiveness (Mossberg et al., 2011).

From an environmental perspective storytelling may have both negative and positive effects for the cultural and/or ecological environment. When the storytelling concept is too much of a success, or when (parts of) footsteps-trails are too fragile, it can lead to too much pressure on the environment by which the environmental quality of the destination could be endangered (Mossberg et al., 2011). On the bright side however, storytelling can also contribute to making tourists more environmentally aware and focused on conservation and protection (Moscardo et al., 2008). Next to that, by having tourists follow the footsteps of an explorer, there’s relatively much control over where the tourist does or does not go, which can enhance the sustainable character of the travel.

Storytelling in tourism can have many forms. So how can Stanley’s story be told best? In person? By personal guide? By local storytellers? By ‘on-stage’ storytelling activities? Or maybe more digitized? By audio-trail? By use of an App? By GPS tracking? By geo-caching? Or maybe by a triangulation of them? These questions aren’t simple to answer. First many other questions will need to be taken into consideration such as: Who is the target group and what are their needs and wishes? Is it an individual travel or an organized one? What is the quality of the mobile network? To what extent is the local community willing and able to engage in the footsteps-project? Does the ‘positive’ outweigh the ‘negative’, and from whose perspective? And more in specific for the search for Livingstone, questions such as: Can the trail still be found, and if so what’s left of it, for instance in terms of infrastructure and (built) cultural heritage? Can stories from the travelogue about interesting encounters and impressive nature still be found in the stories of local people and/or in the scenery? Only based on answers to these various kinds of questions, a possible start can be made with product development, and with selecting the most suitable way(s) of storytelling, that can subsequently be connected to the broader storytelling concept and all stakeholders involved.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF KEYWORDS FROM TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON ‘PEOPLE’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
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<td>black skin reference</td>
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<td>savages/savagedom/savagery</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>faithful</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>coward</td>
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<td>barbarians</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>insolent</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woolly heads</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>tall</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>civil/civil enough</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>howling</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>rascal</td>
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<tr>
<td>robbers</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>staring</td>
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<td>handsome</td>
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<tr>
<td>strong</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>naked</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>stupid</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>unskillful</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>superstitious</td>
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<tr>
<td>hospitable</td>
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<td>well disposed</td>
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<td>loud voiced</td>
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<td>noisy</td>
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<td>hostile</td>
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<tr>
<td>cunning</td>
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<td>African Bonaparte</td>
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<td>curious</td>
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<td>slow-witted</td>
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<td>unimportant</td>
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<td>uncompromising</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>without joy</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>without ambition</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>without disappointment</td>
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<tr>
<td>equals</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>negroes are men like myself</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>a white men in everything but color</td>
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<tr>
<td>amiable</td>
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<td>well-disposed to strangers</td>
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<tr>
<td>generous</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>not hostile</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>acquainted with white men’s’ ways</td>
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<tr>
<td>gracious</td>
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<tr>
<td>pay tribute to white color</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>eloquent</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>self-reliant</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>eager</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>gazing</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>
adroit 1
swift 1
not averse from work 1
no coward 1
stouthearted 1
stout 1
APPENDIX 2: LIST OF SYNONYM GROUPS FROM TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON ‘PEOPLE’

bad/wicked/evil/evil minded/evil
disposed/debased/sinner/murderous/dangerous/furious/hostile/mean/vindictive
banditti/robbers/thieves/enemy/African Bonaparte
black eyes
black/dark skin reference/perfect ebon skin
boaster/braggart/exaggerative tendency/vain
bold forehead
born-trader/money-making men/excels a Jew
brave/stout/stouthearted/no coward/audacious
celerity/swift
cheating/trickery/dishonest/crooked/treacherous/not trustworthy/liar/false hearted/cunning/sly/rascal
Coward
curious
deeply sunk eyes
eloquent
equals/negroes are men like myself/a white men in everything but color
fine teeth
flat nose
friend/companion
gorgeously dressed/highly dressed
good follower/cringing/docile
Greek nose
handsome/beautiful/good-, fine-, sharp-looking/well-formed/remarkable/symmetrical/sculpture
herculean form/robust/strong/strong limbed/heavy lower limbs/tall/massive
high cheekbones
impertinent/obtrusive/unmannerly/not civil/no conscious, reserved behavior, esteem/insolent/defiant/
molesting/abusive
incompetent/unskillful/worthless/inutile/useless/eating more than
worth/unimportant/unserviceable/incorrigible
independent/self-sufficient/self-reliant
intelligent features
kindly/well disposed (to
strangers)/generous/good/gracious/cordial/amiable/friendly/hospitable/no hostile/pleasant/civil
laziness/indolent/stolid/indisposed to work/aversion to work/procrastinate/dilatory
lighthearted/careless/gay/without disappointment
long shapely limbs
long slender necks
men acquainted with the ways of white men
naked
noisy/rowdy/vituperative/howling/loud voiced/no respectful silence
not averse from work
oval face
paying tribute to white color
pleasing face/friendly face
prejudiced to strangers
pretended (friends)/(smiling) mask/hypocritical/not siren-like
quiet/quiet race/calm/timid/modest
relentless/stern/uncompromising/resolute/stubborn/hardheaded
ridiculous/ludicrous/mad
savages/savagedom/savagery/barbarians/cruel/animal-like
scantiest costumes
skillful/adroit
small heads
small well shaped feet
staring/gazing
stupid/slow-witted/fat brained/fool/harebrained/ignorant
superstitious
sylphlike
thick lip
trusty/trustworthy/staunch/stalwart/loyal/faithful/honest
Ugly
universal nose
well cut mouth
wise/clever/intelligent/cunning
with the velocity of hawks/parasite/greedy/eager
without ambition
without joy/spiritless/without hope/pathetic
woolly heads
yellow skin reference
APPENDIX 3: LIST OF PHRASES FROM TEXTUAL ANALYSIS ON ‘SCENERY’

most admirable pictures
animated scenery
scenes that are animated
an astonishing variety of waterfowl
a park land attractive in every feature
awesome place
the beauties of the hills
abundantly beautiful
a beautiful little plain
beautiful little stream
beautiful stream
a beautiful park-land
a beautiful prospect
a wealth of boscage of beautiful trees
a park land beautiful in every feature
ever-beautiful feathery palms
the shores were beautifully green
beautifully wooded
a vision of forest and park-land beauty
successive pictures of quiet scenic beauty
surpassing beauty
the rival in beauty of the Persian chenar
the beauty which belongs to this part of Africa
each curve revealed new beauties
nature has supplied them bountifully

a luxuriant jungle
luxuriant tropical vegetation
a most luxurious scenery
magnificent bay
magnificent picture
a magnificent view
glorious magnificence
majestic growth of Mvule trees
the marvels of the earth
a noble expanse of park land
noble forests
no nobler field to display a hunter’s prowess
the hunter’s Paradise
a terrestrial paradise
water peaceful as a summer’s dream
the picturesque capes
a picturesque country
the most picturesque little valleys
picturesque scenery
the scenery was much more picturesque
the scenery is picturesque
picturesque tracts embraced all that was
picturesque view
scenically very picturesque
the prospect getting more picturesque
captivating beauty of the land

picturesqueness in the blue mountains

clear as crystal

its picturesqueness of scenery

a scene which delighted the innermost recesses of my soul

pleasing animation

a most enchanting scenery

all that was poetical in nature

enlivening prospect

pretty

exquisite picture

exquisitely pretty

the fairest view

pretty alluvial plains

an island as fair in appearance as the fairest of the gems

pretty cove

the mountain summits to see them fold into fantastic clusters

pretty pictures

the rocks assumed such fantastic shapes

the scene was so pretty

huge fantastically-worn boulders

promised land

fine valley

proud, wild nature

one of the finest scenes to be seen in Africa

pure air

fragrant with its numerous flowers

the purest water, fresh, and pellucid

friendly woods

riant vegetation

the earth is so generous

the romance of wild tropic scenes

glamorous beauty of the land

the scene was so romantic

a prospect glorious in its wild nature

romantic scenes

glorious scenes

the sacred quiet of the scene

glorious magnificence of prospect

the serene blue sky

a glorious phalanx of royal trees

smiling landscapes

crowned with floral glory

smooth lawn-like glade

pure-glowing sky

the splendors of the tropic

graceful tops of the cocoa-trees

the stately Mparamusi

a graceful hilly cone

sublime mountains

a grand expanse of park land

mountains dimly blue, but sublime

grandly swelling mountains

the sublimest scenes
the great forests
a great expanse of forest
plateaus green as lawns
solemn, holy harmony of nature
imposing mountains
a most imposing scene
imposing view of green sward and forest
nature so kind
lovely scenery
the prospect getting more lovely
loveliness glowed around me
the loveliness of the wild, free, luxuriant, spontaneous nature
nature is so loving
the sky lovingly smiles

sublimity in the blue mountains
superb growth of Mvule trees
sweet water
a varied landscape
a similar bank of green verdure
carpet of verdure
one deep stratum verdure
a sea of grassy verdure
vivid green
vivid greenness
vivid green masses
the wonders of Africa
the wonders of primeval nature