데이네트리벵스킨에 만한 전기적 연구: 데이네트 리벵스틴, 연교사이기 : 탈합가이기 :?

Biographical Research on David Livingston: David Livingstone, a Missionary or an Explorer?

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요약

데이비드 리빙스턴에 관한 전기적 연구: 데이비드 리빙스턴, 선교사인가 탐험가인가?

배아론

데이비드 리빙스턴을 묘사하는 수식어는 다양하다. 그는 선교사로만 알려져 있는 것이 아니라 오히려 의사, 탐험가로도 더 많이 알려져 있다. 뿐만 아니라 심지어 리빙스턴은 아프리카에 서구적인 (제국주의적인) 태도를 일관했다는 주장도 있다. 실제로 리빙스턴은 3차 탐사 시기 전 그가 파송 받은 LMS(London Missionary Society)로부터 선교활동보다 탐험에만 치중한다고 큰 비난을 받았고 리빙스턴은 LMS와 관계를 끊었다. 그후 리빙스턴은 정부의지원을 얻어 더욱 탐사에 매진하는 모습을 보였다. 과연 리빙스턴은 선교사인가 아니면 탐험가인가? 본 글은 리빙스턴의 4가지 시기를 그의 자서전과 그 시대에 그에 관해 기록된 자료들에 근거하여일반적인 연대기적 서술로 진행을 한다. 그런 다음 그의 일생에대해 분석 및 비판을 한다. 그의 활동이 거시적인 선교적 관점에서비추어 볼 때 또한 그가 선교사로서의 출발하게된 동기등을 고려할때 단순한 탐험가로 비난 받기보다 선교사로서의 역할을 감당했다고 볼 수 있다.

주제어 데이비드 리빙스턴, 선교사, 탐험가, 선교, 아프리카

1. INTRODUCTION

There are several titles for David Livingstone. Encyclopedia Americana describes him as a "Scottish Physician, missionary, and explorer of Africa"¹⁾. Collier's Encyclopedia identifies Livingstone as "Scottish missionary and explorer who explorer"²⁾. Britanica defines him as "Scottish missionary and explorer who exercised a formative influence upon Western attitudes toward Africa"³⁾. A Common description that can be noticed is that he was not only a missionary, he was an explorer as well. As the Encyclopaedia Britanica pointed out, he was an explorer who wanted to impose Western⁴⁾ ideas. Another common characteristic that was found among these encyclopedias was that his biography only focused on his exploration. Even though they introduced Livingstone as a missionary, they deal some with his conversion, but mostly with his expedition. His books and biographical resources that were written by other people were also not exempt. The main focus of Livingstone's ministry or missionary work was inclined to exploration. It is clearly seen in the major works of biography of David Livingstone that it consists of his four main

Robert I. Rotberg, Encylopedia Americana Vol 17 (Danbury, Connecticut. Grolier Incorporated, 1989), 617.

Samuel Van. Valkenberg, Collier's Encyclopedia Vol 14 (Etobicoke Ontario, Canada. Newfield Publication, 1997), 703.

³⁾ *Jacob E. Safra and Ilan Yeshua, The New Encyclopaedia Britanica Vol 7* (Chicago, IL. Encyclopeadia Britanica Inc, 2003), 414.

⁴⁾ His motto and goal was to use the Western idea of commerce and Christianity (Kane 1978, 100).

expeditions⁵⁾.

Can he be considered as a missionary? Was he an explorer who wanted to be called as a missionary?

This paper will follow the general pattern of describing Livingstone. The reason for this is to avoid bias. It would be unfair to lean towards a certain direction emphasizing Livingstone's certain aspects. For example, it will be inappropriate to use David's ministry aspects only to justify the thesis that he was a missionary. It will be also unfair to only focus on the resources that emit an explorer aspect.

This paper will be divided into several sections: his early childhood to his calling, the first expedition (Transvaal and Kalahari region), second expedition (Luanda and Quelimane), third expedition (Exploring the Zambezi river), and the last exploration(Searching for the source of Nile). After this, an evaluation will be given.

⁵⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston (London: PIMLICO, 1993).; Houghton, David Livingstone: The Story of One who Followed Christ (Philadelphia, PA. Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1882).; W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone (New York: Laymen missionary movement, 1880).; Thomas Hughes, David Livingstone (London. Macmillan and Co, 1906).; Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary (Grand rapids Michigan. Zondervan, 1941).; George Seaver, David Livingstone: His life and letters (NewYork: Harper and brothers, 1957).; J. H. Worcestor, The life of David Livingstone (Whitefish, MT. Kessinger Publishing, 2006).

2. BIOGRAPHY OF LIVINGSTONE

2.1 Early history and his calling to Africa (1813-1840)

David Livingstone was born in Blantyre, Scotland, March 19, 18136). He was the second child out of seven⁷). Livingston experienced financial crisis during his childhood period. Horne states that "Neil⁸) Livingstone and his brave wife had a hard fight of it to make a living out of a small tea business, and to educate and rear their children"⁹). His mother was always active and sunny and his father was a very hard working man. David was deeply influenced with religion by his father in his early age. Also his father was strict toward his children¹⁰). Jeal expresses vividly how his father was man of piety and strict to David:

The dominant figure in David's early life was his father Neil, a man who really did things by halves. His disapproval of alcohol was expressed by total abstinence, while he labelled all literature not of religious nature as trash novels. About the use of bad language he was fanatical. No word could be spoken if there was any chance of it having a religious connotation that could be sullied by casual use¹¹).

J. H. Worcestor, The life of David Livingstone (Whitefish, MT. Kessinger Publishing, 2006),
5.

 $^{7) \} Silvester \ Horne, \ David \ Livingstone \ (St. \ Martin's \ Street \ London, \ Macmillan \ and \ Co, \ 1913), 3$

⁸⁾ David Livingstone's father.

⁹⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 3.

¹⁰⁾ J. H. Worcestor, The life of David Livingstone, 6

There is a famous story that David slept at the doorstep of the house because he came home after dark¹²). Regarding the fact that his family lived in a poor condition, from the young age he had to work in a cotton mill when he was 10 years old. Jeal denotes:

The size of his family and the small financial rewards of tea-selling forced him to put his three sons to work in the mills while still children. All employees at Blantyre Mills, both adults and children, worked from six in the morning till eight at night, with half an hour of break time six days a week¹³).

Because of this, he was not able to study sufficiently. However, he was so zealous that he carried on his study after the labor. Horne states "as if this were not enough, after a fourteen hours' day in the factory he would go off to a night-school provided by the employers; and then home to work at his Latin"14). His zeal in his study later opened his eyes to missions. Miller expresses:

When sixteen a grand dream flashed upon his mind. He had been reading the story of Gutzlaff, a missionary to China whose faith had conquered seemingly impossible difficulties. His dream became an obsession. He would be a medical missionary to China¹⁵).

¹¹⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston (London: PIMLICO, 1993), 11.

¹²⁾ George Seaver, David Livingstone: His life and letters (NewYork: Harper and brothers, 1957), 17.

¹³⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 9.

¹⁴⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 14.

¹⁵⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary (Grand Rapids Michigan. Zondervan,

At the age of twenty he read a book entitled 'Philosophy of a Future State' 16). This book convicted him of his sin and brought salvation. Concerning this incident he writes:

The change was like what may be supposed would take place were it possible to cure a case of colour blindness. The perfect freeness with which the pardon of all our guilt is offered in God's book drew forth feelings of affectionate love to Him who bought with his blood, and a sense of deep obligation to Him for His mercy has influenced, in some small measure, my conduct ever since 17).

This meant that he did not only understand the truth but he experienced the truth holding him. At the age of 21 he was still working in the mill. He told his father that he is interested in medical studies but he did not allow him because he wanted him to have a religious job.

But his father's advice was not sufficient enough for him to stop his dream. He happened to read Gutzlaff's argument and that "inspired Livingstone with a desire to be a missionary and China was the country to which his heart turned" (18). Gutzlaff argued that "medical training made the missionary far more effective in converting, for gratitude inevitably followed the relief of physical suffering" (19). This grasped David's heart and he made up his mind

^{1941), 10.}

¹⁶⁾ Horne, David Livingstone. St. Martin's Street (London. Macmillan and Co, 1913), 8.

¹⁷⁾ George Seaver, David Livingstone: His life and, 20.

¹⁸⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone (New York: Laymen missionary movement, 1880), 15.

¹⁹⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 14.

to be a missionary. Affected by Gutzlaff, David wanted to be a medical missionary to China. He decides to go to medical college and his father allowed him.

He started his studies at Anderson's College, Glasgow in the autumn of 1836. It was not easy to pursue the college level of education during that time. Because "of all the children put to work in mills during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, less than ten per cent learnt to read or write with any proficiency"²⁰). In his second term at the University (1837-38), he made a formal application to the London Missionary Society²¹). "Having been provisionally accepted for missionary work by the Society, David arrived in London on September 1, 1838, he was then twenty five" (Miller, p.11). At this point he met Moffat²²) who was a famous missionary to Africa. When Moffat met David he said to him:

Do not sit down in lazy contentment. Do not choose an old station. Push on to the vast unoccupied and unknown district to the north. In that smoke of a thousand villages. There, no missionary has ever been. There, sir, is your field²³).

David's interest to be a missionary to China did not last long. By the time he was preparing for a China mission, the Opium war broke out. So "the directors of the London Missionary Society suggested that he continue his medical theological studies in London"²⁴). Arriving in London he met Robert

²⁰⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 15.

²¹⁾ Louise Seymour Houghton, David Livingstone: The Story of One who Followed Christ (Philadelphia, PA. Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1882), 24.

²²⁾ Later David marries his daughter.

²³⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 12.

Moffet who was "on furlough from his missionary duties in South Africa"²⁵). He was influenced by Moffet to turn his eyes to Africa²⁶). On December 8th in 1840, he sailed off to Africa.

2.2 First expedition (1841 to 1849)

David Livingstone's first missionary expedition lasted from 1841 to 1849. Mainly he explored the region of Transvaal and Kalahari region. Livingstone arrived in Cape Town on March 14, 1841 and three months later he arrived in Kuruman which is situated further north of South Africa²⁷. Then he proceeded inland of Africa to Kuruman or Lattakoo, in the Bechuana country. This place was the most northerly station in South Africa, and the usual residence of Mr. Moffat, who was still absent in England²⁸. His instructions from the Directors were to go to Kuruman and remain there till Mr. Moffat should return from his furlough in England²⁹. While waiting for Mofatt, he was thinking of strategies to form a new station farther north³⁰. Livingstone did not expect Kuruman to be a paradise "but he had expected the place where Moffat had laboured for twenty years to be large, densely populated, entirely Christian and within reach of other heavily peopled areas"³¹. But unlike his

²⁴⁾ Douglas E. Welch, "David Livingstone: A Missiological Perspective," (D. Miss Diss, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1978), 30.

²⁵⁾ Douglas E. Welch, 30.

²⁶⁾ Douglas E. Welch, 30.

²⁷⁾ George Seaver, David Livingstone: His life and letters, 42.

²⁸⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 55.

²⁹⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 55.

³⁰⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 55.

³¹⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston. (London: PIMLICO, 1993), 39.

expectation the place was a small village. David was staggered by the fact that "Moffat's native congregation amounted to about 350. . .but of these just under forty were communicants"32). Waiting for Moffat more than six months, David remained there to learn their culture and language. Soon he made the decision to travel to the northern part of Kuruman, because he thought that "there was not enough population at that point to justify a concentration of missionary labor there, and that effort should be made speedily to reach teaming multitudes in the interior"33). In 1843 he traveled to three locations in the north. Jeal gives detailed information concerning these three voyages:

The three journeys were all to the north-east, and the farthest Livingstone travelled from Kuruman was 500 miles as the crow flies. The main tribes he met were the Bakhatla, 250 miles north-east of Kuruman; the Bakwains, a tribe split under two rival chiefs, and situated 60 miles north-west of the Bakhatla; and the Bamangwato, 150 miles north of the Bakwains³⁴).

Despite the fact that these places were discovered by European skin and ivory traders, it was a meaningful trip that he could gain knowledge of the possible difficulties when he would begin his mission workSf³⁵). In June, 1843, a letter arrives from the head quarter authorizing him to open a station in the farther-away regions³⁶).

³²⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 39.

³³⁾ J. H. Worcestor, 14.

³⁴⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston 43.

³⁵⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston 43.

³⁶⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 22.

In this year David was attacked by a lion. Unlike an ordinary person he confesses the mercy of God in this incident. Livingtstone reflects:

He caught my shoulder as he sprang. Growling horribly close to my ear, he shook me as a terrier dog does a rat. The shock produced a stupor similar to that which seems to be felt by a mouse after the first shake of the cat. It caused a sort of dreaminess, in which there was no sense of pain nor feeling of terror.. This peculiar state is probably produced in all animals killed by the carnivora; and if so, is a merciful provision by our benevolent Creator for lessening the pain of death³⁷).

In 1844 David began his ministry in Mabotsa where he built his house and settled down for three years³⁸⁾. In this year he gets married to Marry, Moffat's daughter. Later David has relational conflict with missionaries and he moved to Chonuane³⁹⁾. This place was the Bakwains region where chief Sechele was ruling. He wanted a mission station established there. Later when drought came, David suggested Bakwains that they must move to Kolobeng for a water supply. "This suggestion was immediately adopted, and soon the whole tribe was on the move to the Kolobeng, a stream about forty miles distant" At Kolobeng, David led the natives to build a dam for water supplies, built a school, and by the help of the chief Sechele he was able to build a church⁴¹⁾. Kolobeng was not the place that was exempted from the drought.

³⁷⁾ David Livingstone, *Missionary travels and researchers in South Africa*. (New York: Books for Library press Freeport, 1857), 18.

³⁸⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 29.

³⁹⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 37.

⁴⁰⁾ David Livingstone, Missionary travels and researchers in South Africa, 22.

⁴¹⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone (Westwood, NJ. Barbour and

The place was attacked by the heat before long⁴²). People thought that the new religion and conversion of the chief caused the drought⁴³). At this period David had to make a hard decision to send his family back to England. However the mission to the north was not worthless. He discovered Lake Ngami and the Zambezi River on August 1, 1849 and he was awarded a prize of 25 pounds by the British Royal Geographical Society which was large sum of funding for missionary works⁴⁴).

2.3 Second expedition (1850 to1856)

After David's family safely went back to England, David heard news that his home at Kolobeng was burned down by the Boers⁴⁵). They also attacked Bakwains as well. It was the result of an expansion of colonists. Not only English and French were at conflict, but English and Dutch conflict were dominant in Southern Africa. He went to the region of Makololo for a while and continued his ministry there. One noticeable incident that happened in this place was that David observed the tribe and expressed disgust of their paganism in his journal:

yet to endure the dancing, roaring, and singing, the jesting, anecdotes, grumbling, quarreling, and murdering of these children of nature, seemed more like a severe penance than anything I had before met with in the course of my missionary duties. I took thence a more intense disgust at heathenism

Company, 1986) 101.

⁴²⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 78.

⁴³⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 78-81.

⁴⁴⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 93.

⁴⁵⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 40.

than I had before⁴⁶).

After staying at Makololo, he decided to travel to Loanda to the Atlantic coast to western Africa. Speculation that he did not head further north but to the west was because he did not want trigger an unwanted conflict between the English and Dutch. David and his party of twenty-seven natives left Linyanti on 11th of November 1853 and headed toward the west⁴⁷⁾. His party arrived there in June 1854. During this journey they had to struggle with fever, sickness, thirst, hunger, and rain. He writes:

Sick all Sunday and unable to move. Several of the people were ill too, so that I could do nothing but roll from side to side in my miserable little tent, in which, with all the shade we could give it, the thermometer stood upward of $90^{\circ}48$).

Arriving at Loanda, David and his party were well received by Mr. Edmund Gabriel, the British Commissioner for the suppression of the slave-trade. David left Loanda on 24th September, arrived at Linyanti on 11th September, 1855, set out eastward on third of November, 1855, and reached Quilimane on the eastern coast on 20th May, 1856⁴⁹). In this trip he discovered Victoria falls⁵⁰). He became the first European to "penetrate the south central Africa"⁵¹). In late 1856, he went back to England. It took five years for him to arrive back

⁴⁶⁾ David Livingstone, Missionary travels and researchers in South Africa, 246.

⁴⁷⁾ George Seaver, David Livingstone: His life and letters, 186.

⁴⁸⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 174.

⁴⁹⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1980, 174.

⁵⁰⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 68.

⁵¹⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 89.

and when he landed in England, he was reunited with his wife and children⁵²). On December 15, the Royal Geographical Society held a special meeting for him. The Society had voted him the Victoria Medal for his trip crossing Africa⁵³). During this time he published a book called "Missionary Travels and Researches" in South Africa". The book became a best seller and second print was needed immediately. Ten thousand copies sold in London alone⁵⁴). Later he also published his speeches made at Cambridge in 1858. During his stay at London, he ended his relationship with the London Mission Society which supported him for 16 years because of "the criticism that he devoted too much time to exploration and saved but little of himself for true missionary endeavor"55). In Feb 13, 1858, he met Queen Victoria and a number of officers were appointed to assist David's next expedition⁵⁶). For David, leaving London Mission Society was irrelevant event. He was already a national hero. Jeal argues "His trans-continental journey seemed to his contemporaries to be a feat comparable in modern terms with a landing on the moon"57).

2.4 Third expedition (1858 to 1864)

His third expedition occurred along the Zambizi river. In March, 1858, Livingstone left England with his wife and his youngest son, Oswald. His wife and Oswell were sick during the trip and they had to stay in Kuruman

⁵²⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 106.

⁵³⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 77.

⁵⁴⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 77.

⁵⁵⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 82.

⁵⁶⁾ Thomas Hughes, *David Livingstone* (London. Macmillan and Co, 1906), 84.

⁵⁷⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 163.

with Mary's parents⁵⁸). Livingstone started his journey to Zambezi with the steamboat called 'Ma Robert' which was not helpful. "Her pace was so slow that native canoes would even shoot ahead of her hulk. Besides, those screwed-together plates leaked like a sieve, despite which handicaps, the party reached Tette on September 8, 1858"⁵⁹). David's plan was to pass the Kebrabasa Rapids on to the Batoka Plateau. The basic aim of the expedition was to examine the agricultural and mineral potential of the plateau⁶⁰). During this expedition he hears a news that his wife was sick. David went back to her but she died after three months. That was April 1862. In his journal, he says:

It is the first heavy stroke I have suffered, and quite takes away my strength. I wept over her who well deserved many tears. I loved her when I married her, and the longer I lived with her I loved her the more. God pity the poor children, who were all tenderly attached to her; and I am left alone in the world by one whom I felt to be a part of myself. I hope it may, by divine grace, lead me to realize heaven as my home and that she has but preceded me in the journey. Oh, my Mary, my Mary; how often we have longed for a quiet home since you and I were cast adrift at Kolobeng⁶¹⁾.

On the way back to his expedition to Shire, he sees dead bodies of natives thrown to the river which impacts him to oppose the slave trade even more⁶²).

Before he arrived at the Lake Nyassa (It was found in Sep 16 1859), he receives order from England that he will stop the expedition. He was also

⁵⁸⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 87.

⁵⁹⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 87.

⁶⁰⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 208.

⁶¹⁾ George Seaver, David Livingstone, 414.

⁶²⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 108.

informed from Tozer the successor of Bishop Mackenzie that the station at Shire was not healthy enough to be maintained and he will move the base to Zanzibar⁶³).

The death of his wife, order from the government, and the letter from Tozer all seemed to work against his dream. Livingston had to stop his third expedition and came back to England.

2.5 Last expedition (1866 to 1873)

Livingstone went on a search for the source of the Nile River during this time. When David came back to Africa, he discovered Lake Moero in 1867 and Lake Bangweolo, and Lake Tanganyika in 1868⁶⁴ (Hughes 1906, 125). On the way to the Lake Bangweolo he saw a long parade of slaves with chains attached to their necks singing as they marched. When he asked one of the native the meaning of the lyrics, the answer was that they will revenge when they die and become spirits⁶⁵). This was another experience that made him opposed to slavery. He spent five years in the region of Lake Nyassa, Tanganyika, Moero and Bangweolo searching for the source of the Nile River.

He wanted to explore more in search of the source of Nile, but his parties were exhausted and fled from him. Livingstone caught a fever which made him unable to move for six weeks but by the help of the Arab slave trader Mohammed he was able to come to Ujiji(The villiage is located near the Lake Tanganyika)⁶⁶. For about five years the world did not hear any news

⁶³⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 108.

⁶⁴⁾ Thomas Hughes, David Livingstone, 84.

⁶⁵⁾ Basil Matthews, Livingstone the Path Finder (London. Oxford University Press, 1913), 152.

from David. Henry Moreland Stanley, a journalist of the New York Herald was sent to find Livingstone. Since David was a worldly famous figure, finding his presence was a big news. Stanley's effort was successful. When he met Livingstone he said the famous phrase, "Dr Livingstone I presume?"67). David's health condition was not poor when Henry met him. Henry fed him treated him well until David regained his strength. After two month, rejecting Henry's persuasion to go back with him, David decided to stay in Africa⁶⁸⁾. He still had work to do in Africa. He wanted to find the source of the Nile River.

Just few months after Henry departed, Livingston's health got worse and was carried by others to Chitambo's village in Itala⁶⁹⁾ where he breathed his last breath. He died on the fourth of May, 1873⁷⁰⁾. "He was found dead on his knees in the posture of prayer"⁷¹⁾. David's heart and internal organs were buried in Africa and his body was sent to England⁷²⁾. The body arrived in England on 15th April 1874. His body was laid on the 18th April in Westminster Abbey⁷³⁾.

⁶⁶⁾ Basil Matthews, Livingstone the Path Finder, 153.

⁶⁷⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 145.

⁶⁸⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 349-350.

⁶⁹⁾ Thomas Hughes, David Livingstone, 177.

⁷⁰⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 227.

⁷¹⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 151.

⁷²⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 368.

⁷³⁾ Tim Jeal, Livingston, 369.

3. GENERAL VIEWS ON LIVINGSTONE

Before evaluating whether David was a missionary or an explorer it will be helpful to discuss the general view on Livingstone. First, he argued to import the western idea of commerce in Africa. Chapman's argument for powder trade among the Makololo gives a good example. "He would give them two barrels of powder, a large heap of lead and sundry other articles for a small tusk of ivory, or mend a dozen guns for paltry remuneration"⁷⁴).

Second, Livingstone was a colonialist. He was not ashamed of being a colonialist. "He was in Africa to offer the benefits of the white man's civilization, and no latter day beliefs in the black man's freedom, liberation and independence may be read into his actions"75).

Third, which is our main discussion, he was an explorer. In 1858, after his second journey when he got back to London, he was criticized by London Missionary Society that he was not doing missionary works but exploration only. This was the transition period for David. He thought that his calling was not to be involved in stationary missions but to explore inside the continent. He thought that this would open up the door for those who will come after him. He was sent by the government of Great Britain not by the mission agency. This is the issue that is controversial whether he should be considered as a missionary or a government agent whose main goal was to explore natural

⁷⁴⁾ James Chapman, Travels in the interior of South Africa, Vol 1 (London. Bell and Daldy, 1868),

⁷⁵⁾ Cecil Northcott, David Livingstone: His Triumph, Decline and Fall. (PHILADELPHIA, PA. Westminster Press, 1973), 74.

sources for England.

4. EVALUATION

Is there no place for the missionary then? Is seems that all the above mentioned modifiers⁷⁶), all his explorations⁷⁷), winning a gold medal from Geographical Society, meeting Queen Victoria, and becoming the national hero made him just a famous explorer. As London Mission Society pointed out it is inevitable for him to get criticism that he was investing his time excessively on expeditions which was true and fair criticism⁷⁸). As it was evidently seen in his summarized biography in the early section, there is no trace of building church or any types of traditional ministry (spreading gospel, leading worship and so forth).

However, it would be a premature judgment to entitle Livingstone as an explorer just by seeing the surface⁷⁹⁾ of his story. The problem of the London Mission Society was that they had a narrow perspective of missions. Livingstone had a broader concept of missions or holistic view on missions. Livingstone said:

My views of what missionary duty is not so contracted as those whose ideal is a dumpy sort of man with a Bible under his arm. I have labored

⁷⁶⁾ Colonialist, use of commerce, and explorer.

⁷⁷⁾ Searching for the source of Nile River, Victoria falls and Lakes, first European to across the

⁷⁸⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 82.

⁷⁹⁾ In the Introduction it was discussed that his biographical resources tend to focus only to his explorations.

in brick and motar, at the forge and carpenter's bench, as well as in preaching and medical practice. I feel that I am 'not my own'. I am serving Chirst when shooting buffalo for my men, or taking an astronomical observation, or writing to one of His children⁸⁰.

For Livingstone what a missionary does was not important than who a missionary was. Preaching and evangelizing was and is crucial aspect of missions. Livingstone did not neglect evangelism but it was part of his missions too. When a chief got converted David wrote in his journal:

I attached myself to the tribe called Bakuena or Bakwains, the chief of which, named Sechele, was then living with his people at a place called Shokuane. I was from the first struck by his intelligence, and by the marked manner in which we both felt drawn to each other. As this remarkable man has not only embraced Christianity, but expounds its doctrines to his people⁸¹⁾ (Livingstone 1857, 16).

When the chief received the gospel the chief said:

You startle me: these words make all my bones to shake; I have no more strength in me; but my forefathers were living at the same time yours were, and how is it that they did not send them word about these terrible things sooner? They all passed away into darkness without knowing whither they were going.

⁸⁰⁾ Basil Miller, David Livingston Explorer-Missionary, 81.

⁸¹⁾ David Livingstone, Missionary travels and researchers in South Africa. (New York: Books for Library press Freeport, 1857), 16.

Not only evangelism but also living with them and "Rejoice with those who rejoice, and weep with those who weep" (Rom 12:15) was another crucial matter for him. This sprang out from both a loving heart towards African souls and His strong desire to contextualize himself to African culture. Horne argues:

It was to isolate himself absolutely from all European society and live among the natives, so as to learn their language and study their habits and their laws. For six months he rigorously pursued his plan, and found his reward in the new appreciation he gained of the native character and mode of thinking, and the extent to which he conquered their confidences. So far advanced had he become in the knowledge of their language that he was able to enjoy a laugh at himself for "turning poet". One can believe that to Livingstone this was no easy work; but he succeeded in making Sechuana translations of several hymns which were afterwards adopted and printed by the French missionaries⁸²).

His holistic view carried on to his effort to social transformation. That was revealed in his effort to put an end to slave trade. The methodology he used was commerce. He thought if there were civilized⁸³⁾ natives this would lessen the slave trade. Neill says:

Only if the Africans could be persuaded to engage in legitimate commerce, exchanging the products of their own fields and forests for those desirable things which the white man could supply, would the evil and destructive commerce be brought to an end⁸⁴).

⁸²⁾ Silvester Horne, David Livingstone, 12.

⁸³⁾ What he meant by civilized was to adopt western concepts such as commerce.

However, it is convincing to say that his passion for His Kingdom's expansion was shaken by earthly things. It is evident that winning prizes from British Royal Geographical Society and publishing numerous have affected his motivation

5. CONCLUSION

The goal and purpose of this paper was to answer the question 'who was David Livingstone?' Most of the researchers recognized him as a missionary explorer, or physician. In the biographical summary, this paper adhered the traditional⁸⁵⁾ way to describe Livingstone. Due to this fact, it is more likely to define him as an explorer just by looking at the surface of his biographical summary. As it has been mentioned in Evaluation, one needs to see the underlying intention of Livingstone in order to evaluate him correctly. On the surface he was a mere explorer but his inner part consisted of a holistic view of missions. He included evangelism, living among the people, embracing their culture, and social transformation⁸⁶⁾ to his view of missions.

That does not mean he did not have any weaknesses in his ministry. There are two main weaknesses. First, his view that the Western idea would enlighten Africa. Every culture must stand before the Christ. There is no culture that

⁸⁴⁾ Stephen Neill, A History of Christian Missions. (London England: Penguins, 1964), 267.

⁸⁵⁾ Dividing his life by his expeditions. As it was mentioned in the introduction, the intention of following the traditional way was to maintain the fairness not to lean toward both to explorer side or to missionary side.

⁸⁶⁾ Put end to slave trade.

is flawless. Second, He seemed to put commerce in the same level of the scripture. Social transformation such as to put to an end of slavery is not possible by certain methodology alone. The Scripture should be the main leader and the method should follow it. And lastly, it is convincing to say that his passion for His Kingdom's expansion was shaken by earthly things. It is evident that winning prizes from British Royal Geographical Society and publishing numerous have affected his motivation. The reason is that he ended his relationship with the London Mission Society to focus on exploration.

Despite these weaknesses his intention was to dedicate his life to Jesus. In March, 19, 1873, on his last birthday he wrote in his diary:

My Jesus, my King, my Life, my All; I again dedicate my whole self to Thee. Accept me, and grant, O gracious Father, that ere this year is gone I may finish my task. In Jesus' name I ask it. Amen. So let it be⁸⁷).

Who was David Livingstone then? Livingstone was neither a mere explorer nor a physician. He was a pioneer missionary who had holistic view of missions, who had impacted many "zealous men and women to volunteer for overseas duty, no matter what the cost" 88). He was the man who loved Africa and he buried his heart 89) among the African people.

⁸⁷⁾ W. Garden Blaikie, The personal life of David Livingstone, 1880, 453.

⁸⁸⁾ Ruth A. Tucker, From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions. (Grand Rapids, MI. Zondervan. 2004), 163.

⁸⁹⁾ Both his physical heart and center of his total being.